

PURCHAS

HIS PILGRIMES.

IN FIVE BOOKES.

The sixth, Contayning *English Voyages*, to the East, West,
and South parts of *America*: Many Sea and Land Fights, Inuasions
and Victories against the Spaniards in those parts, and the
Spanish Islands, and Coast Townes on this side; Plantations
in Guiana, and many strange adventures of
English-men amongst the *Americani*.

The seuenth, *Voyages to and about the Southerne America*,
with many Marine Obseruations and Discourses of those Seas
and Lands, by *English-men* and others.

The eighth, *Voyages to and Land-Travels in Florida, Virginia,*
and other parts of the Northerne *AMERICA*. French
Plantings, Spanish Supplantings; *English-Virginian* voy-
ages, and to the lands *AZORES*.

The ninth, *English Plantations, Discoveries, Acts, and*
Occurrences, in *Virginia* and *Summer Islands*, since the
Yeere 1606, till 1624.

The tenth, *English Discoveries and Plantations in New England,*
New-found-land; with the Patent and Voyages to New
Scotland: Relations also of the Fleets sent forth by
Queen ELIZABETH against the Spaniards.

The Fourth Part.

Unus Deus, Una Veritas.



LONDON

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1625.

ARCHIVES

18 MARCH 19

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY
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TO THE MOST

REVEREND FATHER

IN GOD,

GEORGE,

Lord Archb. of Canterburie His Grace,

Primate of all ENGLAND and Metropolitan,

One of HIS MAJESTIES most HONO-

RABLE PRIVY COUNCELL,

His very good Lord.



Having brought unto your Grace the Sheafe Levin 23

of my first Fruits to bee waived before
the Lord, I am bold now also to offer (not
after 7: but above 77. weekes) these
waive loaves for my harvest, that both
may bee hallowed by the same Priestly
hand: in which respect your Graces Name

which first honored my Pilgrimage, hath the last place in these
Pilgrimage-Volumes, that my All might be blessed by your gra-
cious embracing (the Alpha and Omega of my Dedications)
and might bee by your Fatherly benediction commended to vul-
gar use. The subtiltynesse of the former worke to your Graces
Place and recreations, caused the former presumption: but now
the Anchor, by frequent Dedications knowne and graciously ac-
knowledge Yours (how unprofitable a servant soever) is guiltie
not of single boldnesse; beautifying the Frontispice with His
Highnesse Name unto your Graces entertainment (especially

in this time so many wayes Festive. II) that your Graces Name and entertainment might so much more Entitle and Endear the same to His Highnesse. The authorising of Bookes in iustest order belongeth to your Grace, as doth the Author also: whose mistie conceits of ignorance, or smokie vapours of ambition, suffering the exhaling rayes of Princely heat and Highnesse, hope in the Middle Region of your Gracious and vertuous moderation to be so mildly tempered, that they shall neither fall short in vanishing dewes, nor be reiected after a short blaze as falling Starres, nor transcend into combustious Comets, nor fall downe in furious Stormes, but gently descend as fresh and fruiisfull Showers on the thirstie Candid Readers. Pardon farre-fetched similitudes to a Historie of farre-fetched rarities, and the Elements of the world borrowed to patronise our world of literate Elements, not being (as the commendable labour of Others) a Booke of Voyages and Trauels in the world, but the World historiſed in a world of Voyages and Trauels. Wherein our Ship hath bene longer in her Circum-Navigation then any of the World-Compassers here related; often in danger to be overſet, whiles the Authors impotent and impatient Genius filled all her sailes to the Top and Top-gallant beyond the proportion of her balaſt; whereby some leakes of unwitting errors, happening in so new a course thorow so various Seas, implore your Graces indulgence to the Ship and Pilot, Sir Francis Drake a Ministers sonne, after a happy inuironing of the Globe, feasted Queene Elisabeth aboard his Argo, and then laid her vp at Deptford, deuoting her Carkeſſe to Time, Her (or rather his) exploits to Fame and Eternitie. An English Minister, beginneth and endeth his more then Circling Navigation with the glorious Name of His Maieſtie, in poore, but his best entertainment, and returning thus manned and freighted, humbly ſueth to bee laid vp in the Liberties and Libraries of Saint Iames, Yorke-houſe, Westminster, and Lambeth. Here also the Pilot further petitioneth, that his Body being more leakie then his Ship, your Grace (to whom principally the promise was made) will accept this Part of payment in satisfaction of the whole

whole debt of his European Peregrination and Christian Visitations. But a long Epistle were injurie to your Graces more necessarie imployments for the Church and State: My selfe am the Epistle, this Worke the Seale, this Epistle but the Superſcription, these Pilgrimes all humble Sutors for your Gracious fauour to the worst
of

Your Graces

Chap.

SAMUEL PURCHAS.





10 **ENGLISH VOYAGES,**
TO THE EAST, WEST, AND
SOUTH PARTS OF AMERICA: MANY
SEA AND LAND FIGHTS, INVASIONS
 AND VICTORIES AGAINST THE SPANIARDS IN

those parts, and the *Spanish* Islands, and coast Townes on
 20 *this side; plantations in GUIANA, and many*
strange adventures of Englishmen amongst the
 AMERICANS.

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

30 *A briefe Relation of the severall Voyages, Undertaken and performed by the*
Right Honorable, GEORGE, Earle of Cumberland, in his owne
person, or at his owne charge, and by his direction: collected
out of the Relations and Iournals of credible ver-
sous Authors therein,



40 The first Voyage of this Right Honorable Earle was intended to
 the South Sea: and begun from *Gravesend*, June 26. 1585.
 with three Ships and a Pinnace; the *Red Dragon* Admirall, of
 260. Tunnes, with 130. men, commanded by Captaine *Robert*
Warington: the *Barke Clifford* Vice-admirall, of 130. Tunnes,
 with 70. men, commanded by Captaine *Christopher Lyster* (he
 had bene taken prisoner in *Barbarie* at the battell of *Alcosjar*,
 in which King *Sebastian* was slaine) the *Roe Rere* Admirall,
 commanded by Captaine *Hawes*: the *Dorsetee*, a small Pinnace
 of Sir *Walter Raleighs* (This voyage being published at large in
 50 *Maister Hakloyts printed voyage, I will here but briefly runne*
*over) September. 7. they fell with the Coast of *Barbary*, hailing*
 in with the Road of *Santa Croce*: after that they anchored in *Rio del Oro*, and searched vp the
 River, finding it foureteen or fiftene leagues upward as broad as at the mouth, some two leagues
 over. The last of September they resolved for *Sierra Leona*, from whence they departed the se-
 venth of November. The fourth of Ianuarie they fell with the *American* shore in 30. degrees
 and 40. minutes South latitude, the weather temperate. Jan. 10. they tooke (a little short of
 the River of *Plate*) a small *Portugall* ship, and in her *Abraham Cock* of *Leigh* neere London
 married in that Country, who was brought home by the Admirall. They learned that in that
 River were five Townes each of seuentie houholds or more. *Buenos Ayres*, fittie leagues vp the
 River, the rest fortie or fittie above each other; *Tucuman* the vppermost 230. leagues from the
 entrance: In which was store of Corne, Cattell, Fruits, but neither Silver nor Gold. In this
 60 Barke were five and fortie *Negroes*. The next day they tooke another, in which were five and
 thirtie *Negro* women, foure or five *Friars*, one an *Irishman*. Their Bookes, Beades, and Pictures,
 cost about 1000. Duckets. The Bishop of *Tucuman* had sent for them to take possession of a Mo-
 nasterie, They learned of *Maister John Drake* who went in consort with Captaine *Fenton*, call
 Bbbbb 3

First voyage
 1586.
 The *Spanish*
 King had im-
 bargued all
 English ships in
 his Ports of
Spain and *Por-
 tugal* 1581.
 whence warres
 were not only
 expected at
 home but eue-
 ry where ho-
 norably fought
 and happily
 succeded.
 See *Hak. tom. 3.*
Sierra Leona.
Abraham Cock.
Andrew Battell
 was one of his
 companie. See
 of this voyage,
Tom. 1. 17. 63.
John Drake.
Fenton and
Hards expedi-
 tion. See *Hak.*
 63. I had it also
 written.

the Earle was faine to accept of fixe and thirtie thousand pounds for him and his, as out of gift.

Six voyage.
1593. **The** next yeere 1593. his Lorthip procured two ships Royall, the *Golden Lion* Admirall commanded by himselfe, the *Bonaventure* Vice-admirall, and therewith employed the *Backe Challen*, the *Pilgrime*, the *Antonie*, and the *Disconerie*: which three last when he came to the Coast of *Spaine* hee sent for the *West Indies*. Hee tooke from the protection of fourteen great Hulkes, two *French* ships of Saint *Malines* (which then held for the league, and were therefore reputed in date of *Spaniards*) of great value, one of which hee carried with him, and sent the other two into *England*. The *Spaniards* having intelligence, let forth an Armada against him, which he awaited for him at the lands, and the Earle hearing of their being at *Flores*, and within five leagues of them, lighted on a ship which they had sent to delery, which before thee could recover her fleet, hee tooke. Hee learning by theie that the *Spanish* fleet trebled the force of his, having kept company with them one day, quitted them and kept tenne or twelve leagues distant from them three weekes. In which place hee fell sicke beyond hope of life, and within five leagues from the boate. Captayne *Monfon* with much hazard, procured him some refreshing from *Corno*, and leaving the rest of the ships (which tooke one Prize after) hee returned for *England*, this procuring the most gainfull Voyage which hee made before or after.

The seventh Voyage. 1593. **The** *Antonie* of one hundred and twentie tunnes, commanded by Captayne *Jamus Langton*, Pilot *Antonie Martine* a *Spaniard*, which had long lived in those *Indies*, and well acquainted with those Ports: the *Pilgrime* of one hundred tunnes, commanded by Captayne *Francis Slingsby*, Diego *Petrus* a *Spanish* Pilot, and the *Disconerie*: these three after farewell solemnely taken and given by shot on all hands, shaped their Course for the *Antilia*, and fell with the land of Saint *Lucia*, there and at *Matrimio*, refreshing themselves three dayes, they concluded to attempt the taking of the *Rancheria*, which are the Pearle-fishings of *Margarita*, containing fixer or seven feuerall small Villages, which for that purpose they inhabie but not about one of them, when their fishing failes there, removing to another and so by course, having empty houses standing alway ready for that purpose. The Pearles for more safetie are monethly carried to the Towne of *Margarita* three leagues from the waters side. They kept out of sight all day for feare of discouerie, and at night landed and visited two empty *Rancheria*: but taking a *Spaniard* which then came thither in a Boate with two *Indians*, they made him their guide to the inhabited *Rancheria*, five leagues off, commanding the Boates to row along the shore, and not to double the point till evening. The two Captaynes with eight and twentie men, marched by land in the heat, which with want of water much annoyed them. They came thither in the beginning of the night, and agreed to assault the place in three places at once, notwithstanding their small numbers, lest they should gather head any where. The *Spaniards* at first thought it had bene some false alarme of the Gouverneur, and bid away with this idling but finding it earnestly, hastily fled to the woods. Thus did they take the Towne, with some two thousand pounds value in Pearle besides what other pillage the Souldiers gate. Their weapons they brake for feare of dispute.

In the morning they went aboard the fishing Boats, and tooke their Oysters gotten the night before: and gate aboard their ships (much in suspence for them, not knowing of this sudden enterprize) the fifth day after they had gone from the Towne. The ships now coming before the Towne demanded ranfome for their houses and Canoes, to redeeme which from destruction they gave two thousand Duckets in Pearle. But Carrels of aduice having every where given intelligence of them, at *Cumana* they found them on their guard and returned, not without losse. Thence they coasted *Terra Firme*, till they came to the Lands of *Araba* and *Corsica*, where they landed and refreshed themselves: Thence to *Rio de Hache*, which they thought to haue taken, but found the enemy ready for them, with other intelligence that they had carried their goods into the Mountaynes.

They therefore set saile for *Hispaniola*, came to Cape *Tubero*, and thence to the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and thence to *Fort Plat*, and others on the North side: thence to *Mona*, and so *Sauma*, where they watered againe, in this manner. The land is low destitute of any Spring, and to the Sea a small fine Sand. Not twenty paces from the wall of the Sea digging a hole and letting therein a Hoghead (the head knocked out) water is plentifully taken, seeming to be no other then the Sea water, losing the saltneffe in that passage. Thence they went to the River of *Socle*, about 5. l. Eastward of Saint *Domingo*, and went in the night 4. l. vp and suddenly surprised an *Esclave*, that is, a Farme place, where Iuses keepe the great messes cattle, make their *Cafes* bread, dresse their Ginger and Frutes, and doe other offices of Husbandry. Being thereof possessed, they came to pursue for ranfome of their Houses, and for their *Negros*, for which they gave them the flesh of thirtie Beemes with *Cassia* and Frutes. Beefe will not keepe in those parts about foure and twenty houres, while the flesh first salted, and then dried in the Sunne, being first cut into two sides like *Bacon*, without any bone left in it, nor any peece of flesh thicker then

a mans hand. It must first be searched with a Knife, then rubbed over with Salte, and having so remained twelue houres must be dried in the Sunne: and foure hot dayes drying will cure it sufficiently.

Other *Esclaves* being likewise taken yielded like contributions. From thence they went vp on another River called *Maracana*, where there was an *Ingens* of Sugars which they tooke for their prouisions and caused the owner to ranfome it from burning. Thence they went to the mouth of the harbour of Saint *Domingo*, and till there at the East side of the same, at Point *Torresio* to intercept any Shipping coming forth. The Sergeant Mayor came thither to treat for ranfome of some prisoners, and with him an *Englishe* man of Captaine *Lancasters* company of Captaine *Raymonds* fleet, whose Ship was newly cast away coming out of the East *Indies* into those parts, a little to the West of Saint *Domingo* at *Acas*. The *Spaniards* let forth two Carrels to intercept the Boates, which they did, but the Ships recovered the taken and takers together. They brought foure brasse Falcons of Captaine *Lancasters* Ship, ten others of Iron they left for the heauineffe being somewhat farre from the water. They tooke also a fine Eggot hidden vnder the trees, which they brought for *England*.

Thence they went for *Jamaica*, and there found two Barkes laden with Hides and *Canna*, *fibula*, one of which they manned and sent for *England*, taken by a *French* man of warre by the way. Thence they went to *Cuba*, to Cape *Corienter*, and Cape Saint *Antonie*, to expect Shipping coming for the *Havana*, but in vaine. Thus after eight months spent in the Countrey, the *Antonie* and the *Frigat* went to the Bay of *Honduras*: the *Pilgrime* at *Havana* spent some few dayes, and then set saile for *England*, where they arrived in *Plimmouth*, May 14. 1594.

The *Antonie* and the *Frigat* within foure leagues of *Porto Casallo* desiered seven Shippes in the Road, the least of nine score tun. They anchored within Caluar shot of the *Spanish* Shippes and moored their Snips a head and sterne, and bent their broad sides vnto a shot: Captaine *Langton* sent the Boate and Shallop to the shore, from whence they brought a *Frigot* of twenty tunnes. The next morning they fired the *Frigot*, and with their Boates purposed to bring her off the *Ada* mirals halfe. But when they saw them coming, they all ranne into the Boates and got ashore. Ships fired none should saile away with the Shippes if they were taken. They laded the Admirall with the best out of all the Shippes, and sent ashore to know if they would ranfome the rest, which they delaying, they fired one of them laden with Hides and Logwood, and then another laden with Sulphar. But the King of *Spaine* had forbidden them any ranfome, and they came not. All their Ordnance was heaued outboard firing two or three flasse peeces, in hope some *Englishe* men might be the better for them afterward. One of them was a Shippe of five hundred tunnes. They brought away the Admirall of 250 and came into *Plimmouth* the fiftenth of May, the next day after the *Pilgrims* arrival.

Nov 1594. The Earle of *Cumberland* on his owne charge with the helpe of some adventuresers let forth for the *Tercera* Ilands the *Royal Exchange*, Admirall of 250. tunnes, commanded by Captaine *George Come*: the *May Flower* Vice-admirall, of like burden, commanded by Captaine *William Antonio*: the *Samson* Rere-admirall, commanded by Captaine *Nicholas Domingo*, a Caruell and a small Pinnace. They set forth from *Plimmouth*, April 6. In the way they tooke a small Barke laden with *Gallies* wines, &c. June the second, they had fight of Saint *Michael*: After ten dayes they desiered the great Caruelle of 300. tunnes, called the *Cinque LLeas* or *Five Wounds*. The *May Flower* first got vp to her and received an vnwelcome salutation. In the night the *Samson* came in and continued the fight, and at last the Admirall. They agreed that the Admirall should lay the Carrake aboard in the Prow, the Vice-admirall in the Waite, and the Rere-admirall in the Quarter. But it fell out that the Admirall having her aboard at the looffe, recoiled a sterne, the Vice-admirall being so nere that he was faine to runne with her bolt spirit betweene the two quarters, which forced the Rere-admirall to lay her aboard on the Boare.

After many bickerings, fire-works flew about interchangeably. At last the Vice-admirall with a Culverin-shot at hand fired the Carrack in her sterne, and the Rere-admirall her Fore-castle by a shot that gaue fire to the Mat on the Beake-head, from thence burning to the Mat on the Bolt-sprit, and so ran vp by the Top-gale-yard: they flying and maintaining their fires so well with their small shot, that many of thie which came to quench them were daine. These fires increased so fore that the Vice-admirall, fore-gale and fore-top-gale were both burnt, the Rere-admirall being in like predicament, whilst the Admirall with much danger and difficultie quenched the fires throwne into her from the Carrick. To loose themselves in this heat and furie, the Admirall and Vice-admirall fell off, leaving the Rere-admirall foule of the Carricks fire-gale-yard in great danger to haue bene consumed with her, had they not helped her off with their Boates.

Pittill di-
stills of the
Carrick.

The impedi-
ments of
sinking the Car-
rick.

Another Car-
rick.

The ninth
voyage, 1597.

The *Dragon*
a fortunate
ship to the
East Indies.
Society: fur-
posed by the
Dutch: by
the Dutch:
relation, To L. 15.
An. 1597.
Fight.

Tenth voyage,
1596.

In this distresse the companie brought the Commander *Don Francisco de Mello* to put forth a flage of truce: but the Carricks Carpenter more desperate, comforted him with hope of quenching the fire, whereupon he cryed, *Coraggio, I will neuer yield*, notwithstanding the protestations, confestations, and obtestations of the lamenting out-crying companie. One ranvenged on him, charging him with this foule vncharitabletie, threatening vengeance on him and his for this obsequy in suffering so many foules to perish, rather then to accept the *English* assistance. Some of their chieftest, rich in chaines and jewels, cast off all, and naked as they were borne cast themselves into the Sea to adventure vpon *English* mercy; amongst all which, was taken vp by the Reare-admirals Boat, two men of note and three of inferiour qualitie. These three were clothed and set on land: the other two were *Don Nuno Pêro Pereira* (who had sometimes bin Governor of *Mozambique* and *Sofala*, and returning for *Spain* in a Carrick of great value, lost nere *Bona Speranza*, was now heres a passenger) and *Bra Carro*, Captaine of another Carrick callt away nere *Mozambique*, here also a passenger. These two were brought into *England* and ransomed. Three impediments happened to the Admirall, the Reare-admirall burnt with a shot and made in person vnfranchiseable being a valiant man; the Vice-admirall slain; and the Admirall himselfe Captaine *Cano* shot at the first throw both the legs, whereof shortly after his returne hee dyed. The Carruell and Pinnace were accidentally absent: one and twentie were slaine in the fight. In the Carrick were many of qualitie; and before infection had fallen amongst them nere the Cape, their number of white and blacke men exceeded 1100. all which perished both before named. The burden of this Carrick and her lading in wealth did farre exceede the *Madre da Dios*, returning after a long voyage freighted with pearles, jewels, drugs, silkes (her meane lading pepper) besides the best of the *Nazaret* (lately callt away) her commodities, the Captaine whereof had beene *Bra Carro* aforesaid.

They set saile after this disaster for *Flores* and after some refreshing, on the nine and twentieth of Iune descried another Carrick of 1500. Tunnes, which they supposed to bee the Saint *Philip* one of the King of *Spaines* men of warre. After some more cautious fight occasioned by that conceit, they sent their Boat to summon her to yeeld to the Queene of *England* ships vnder the command of the Earle of *Cumberland*, or else to vndergoe the fortunes of the *Fire-wound*, the forsworn witnesses whereof they presented those two former Captaines: to whom the General *Don Louys de Castijo* answered; *As your Generall hath bene at the burning of the Five* 30 *therefore let him doe what hee dare doe for his Queene, and I will doe what I am able for my King*: commanding the Boat instantly to bee gone. The fight was renewed, but intermitted by the calme, and remitted by the remissie companie, their Captaines being slaine and wounded. Whereupon they gaue ouer and arrived in *England* in August and the beginning of September, hauing done much harme to the enemies, and little good to themselves.

The Earle not liking his ill partage in the *Madre da Dios*, nor this vnhappy losse of two Carricks for want of sufficient strength to take them, builded a ship of his owne of 600. Tunnes at *Devon*, which the Queene at her lanching named *The Scurge of Malice*, the best ship putt euer before had beene built by any Subiect. Shee made his Lordship three voyages, and after was sold to the East *Indies* Companie, whence shee made many returns (before in the name of the *Dragon* related) and proved fortunate against the *Portugals* in the East. His Lordship had thought to haue gone in her person, and prepared the *Alcoba* his Vice-admirall, commanded by Captaine *Mayno*, the *Antonie* commanded by *Daniel Larrea* and the old *Frigot*. But when he had gone as farre as *Plimouth* on his intended voyage, Her Majestie by Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, sent for him to reuerse, which commandement his Lordship obeyed, but the ships proceeded to seeke their adventure, giuing command of the Admirall to Captaine *Langens*, which Captaine *Mayno* milking went forth severally to seeke his owne fortune in the *Alcoba*, *The Scurge*, the *Antonie*, and the *Frigot*, went together to the *Alcoba*, where first they tooke Saint *Thomas* Carruell of 100. Tunnes laden with Sugars. After which nere the Island of *Frisco* in a fogge they espyed a great Ship lying by the Lee, which they conceiued to be a Carrick, but found it to be the Saint *Thomas*, Vice-admiral of the King of *Spaines* fleet, lying for the waiteage of the East and West *Indies* Fleets: with whom they fell in to hot a fight that there was glad to beare vp to recouer her selfe amongst the rest of her Consorts; which after the clearing of the fogge they discerned not farre from them. Thence they went to the Coast of *Spain*, where they tooke three Dutch ships of the East-Countries laden with Wheat, Copper, and other munitions and provisions for the King of *Spain*. Hauing spent their victuals they returned.

Accompanied with the *Dread-nought* of the Queene, and some other small ships; and about thirtie or foure leagues from *England* was encountered with a storme, wherein the *Scurge* spent her mayne maul, and was made vnfranchiseable for that voyage: so that shee was forced to returne for *England* in the *Dread-nought*.

The

The time yeare perceiving that the Earle of *Essex* and the Lord Admirall were to goe to the Coast of *Spain* with a great fleet of the Queene, together with a Squadron of *Flemish* Eleuenth voy- men of warre, his Lordship thought good to wait. Some gleamings in Ordinance manned with 120. men, commanded by Captaine *Francis Slingsby*, chiefly to expect such ships as should come from *Lisbon*. The *Ascension* thus furnished, met with such a fleet of wintle that with all haile they handed in their failes, and being within the Hook of *Godwine Sands* drove with two anchors a-head, till they were within two Cables length of the Sands. They then let fall their short anchor, which by Gods grace staid them till the next day morn (hourly expecting these wreck) and as laist cut their Cables. Hauing refurnished themselves at *Plimouth* they set forwards and coming to the Rocks, lay off and on. After some frustrated attempts by the Boat on a Carruell (in which the Captaine was sore wounded) the King of *Spaines* Admirall *Strage* set forth three ships against them, and himselfe and another ship laid the *Ascension* aboard; the one on the Bow, the other on the Quarter, and now the moutnes of the great Ordinance (being nere in place to whisler) roared out their thunders and pierced thorow and thorow on all hands. Which ended, the *Spaniards* leaped into the fore-chaines and mayne-chaines, thinking to haue entred the ship; but were brauely repelled. The *English* seeing many *Spaniards* together vnder the Admiralls halfe decke, discharged amongst them a Fowler laden with safe shot to their no small hurme: so that the *Spaniards* had enough and were content to fall off. Of ours two and twentie were slaine and hurt, which losse lighted almuch on them which selfe themselves as those which flood to the fight. To preuent the like afterwards, they put laie in hold the Chirurgion, Carpenter, and Cooper for the publike dependance on them, and made fast the hatches that others should not come toge. But the *Spanish* Admirall making a brauado, and seeing them ready to reueire them, tackled about and went in for *Lisbon* without any further league taking. The *Ascension* continued on the Coast till they had but foureene dayes victuals left, and then returned with hurts to themselves, and losse also to his Lordship.

AN. 1597. the vndanted Earle hauing furnished and victualled his owne ship the *Malick* 30 *Scurge*, vnderooke a voyage in person. Vnder him in it commanded Captaine *Iohn Wray*, outward, and Captaine *James Langens* homewards. The Merchant *Royal* was Vice-admirall, commanded by Sir *Iohn Barkley*; Captaine *Robert Elcke* commanded in the *Ascension*; Reare-admirall; Captaine *Henric Clifford* commanded the *Saule*, after whose death at *Porto Rico*, *Christopher Colchist* was her Captaine; Master *Iohn Ley*, and homewards *Thomas Gutch* Captaines of the *Alcoba*; *Francis Slingsby* Captaine of the *Consent*; Captaine *James Langens* of the *Protespera*, an I homewards Captaine *Iohn Wray*; Captaine *Henric Palmer* in the *Centurie*, and homewards after his death his sonne *William Palmer*; *Hercules Polyanus* Captaine of the *Galton*, homeward *Gerard Middleton*; Captaine *Henric Ielliff* in the *Soom*; Captaine *Robert Carlet*, and after his death *Andrew Andruwe* in the *Antonie*; Captaine *Edward Godwin* in the *Pegasus*; Captaine *Henric Browley* in the *Royal Defence*; Captaine *Iohn Dixon* in the *Margaret*; and 30 *Iohn*; Master *Iohn Lea* Captaine of the *Barkley Bay*; *William Harper* Captaine of the old *Frigot*. To make up the fleet we may reckon two Barges vied for landing of men, as occasion required. For the land Souldiers, Sir *Iohn Barkley* was Cornell General: Captaine *William Melfin* Lieutenant Colonel: Captaine *Hercules Polyanus* Sergeant Major: Captaine *Arthur Parnell* Lieutenant Colonel of the Earles Regiment. Captaines, *Leuis Orrell*, *Thomas Roberts*, *Henric Gyll*, *Thomas Cuche*, *Hugh Starke*, *Ralph Roderick*, *Roger Turbin*; Captaine *Andrew Andruwe* Leader of the Earles Companie: Captaine *James Tophill* Leader of Sir *Iohn Barkley* Companie: Captaines, *James Ennis* and *George Orrell* Corporals of the field: Captaine *Iohn Man Prouost* Marshall: Captaine *Arthur Miller* Master of the Artillerie and Prouost Master.

The noble Earle thus attended and furnished (chiefly at his owne charges) set saile with this Fleet from *Portsmouth* the sixt of March. But you shall haue a better Relation.

His Lordship hauing had the spoile of all things at his pleasure, prepared for the sending aboard the Ordinance, Munitions, Bels, Ginger, Sugar, &c. of brasse Ordinance hee took about fixtie peeces: setting saile for *England* Iuly 16. In which returne his Lordship lost a Barge, by his commandement sunke in the Haue to the prejudice of the Enemye. Another Barge cutt away in a storme at the *Bermudas*. The *Pegasus* wracked vpon *Godwine Sands*, and the old *Frigot* vpon *Vlben*, with the losse of about feuen hundred men, whereof fix hundred dyed of the bloody flux and Calenture at *Porto Rico*: fixtie slaine in fight, and foure drowned in the wracks of the old *Frigot* and *Pegasus*.

Cccc

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Voyage to Saint John de Porto Rico, by the Right Honorable, GEORGE, Earl of Cumberland, written by himself.

1596.



Orthief of your Sexe, my chiefs Commanders, to give content to your wish in bare plannet. I have set down the courtes and fortunes of my late performed journey. The sixth day of March, with my whole Fleet I set sail out of the Sound of *Plumet*, the wind being prosperous though much. Wee kept altogether till the

His purpose frustrated.

Defect in the mayne Ma.

The Burlings.

Penechia.

Biscainers good fighters.

Ship of Hamburg taken.

Intelligence from Lisbonne. Five Carracks and twentie five ships.

when the faire passage put mee in hope that God had prepared this an unlooked for fortune, if it were well handled, in getting upon the Coast of *Spain* sure intelligence whether the Carracks were gone, and how neere they were ready if not gone. The doing of which vndercovered, though I knew was hard, yet not impossible for him that could well worke: And considering the mightie importance, I tooke the course to doe it myselfe, taking with me the *Guisana* and the *Skew*; which two I meant should only be fence vp-
 10 the Coast, and left the rest of the fleet, appointing them where to lye till I came vnto them. But God whose will is beyond mans resolutions, forced mee to alter this; for my Maits not made so sufficiently as I expected, both now began to shew their weaknesse, especially my mayne Maile, which I continually looked would have gone over board. My Mariners were at their writs end; and I protest I would have giuen five thousand pounds for a new one; the greatest part of my strength both by Sea and Land hauing bene loit, if that ship had returned in this extremitie.
 Hearing all that would, I heard many opinions to litle purpose, and at length resolved (though many thought it dangerous) left the winds should with a storme come vp at West (though many thought it dangerous) left the winds should with a storme come vp at West (though many thought it dangerous) left the winds should with a storme come vp at West
 20 North-west, to goe to the Burlings and there ride, till my Maits were fished, my little knowing the Road, though not any else in my ship: the winds they spoke of, I feared not; my only doubt was that I should be discouered, being within three leagues of *Penechia*; Carracks comming doubt was that I should be discouered, being within three leagues of *Penechia*; Carracks comming
 30 every day to fish; but this extremitie forced deuide howe. My ship was black which well fur-
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after Monsters, whose wealth exceeds their greatnesse, yet bee they the greatest ships in the world. My fleet being thus ioyned, I called all the Captaines and Masters aboard, and gave directions where and in what order we should lye, and how we would fight, not doubting to meete them being vndercovered, and well knowing the way they would come. Being drawne from our rests with our ioy in our hope, wee long continued going for that which came not, as I began to feare some vnlooked accident, and leaving my fleet aloof, and with a Carrack I went in with the shoare, and wish her and my Boat got another Carrack, by whom I vnderstood that the very same day that I tooke the first Carrack at the Rock, there came into *Lisbone* a ship that brought *Spaniards* out of *England*, and was in *Plumet* when I came by, which assured them that I was
 10 come forth, and they verily beleued was looking for them, so at they sent Carracks of aduice to search euery where for one of which when I returned to my fleet, I vnderstood had come by them to windward and discouered them all. So I feared it was vaine to tarry there any longer; for either they would shift their course or not come at all. So knowing that their feeling of me could not hurt, I went to see if they were come so low downe the River, as that it were possible to lay them aboard in the night where they rode. Now againe I left my fleet at Sea, and (the winds something fauouring me) got in betwixt the Cat-ships, from whence I saw them riding in the Bay of *Mari*. Here had I too much of my desire, seeing what I desired to see, but hopelesse of the good I expected by seeing them; for they were where no good could be done upon them, riding within the Castle of *Saint Iulian*, which lath in it about an hundred peeces
 20 of great Ordnance; so as though I could haue got in I verily beleue I could it had not bene possible to haue returned, the winds being euery vnto come forth withall, and hanging for the most part so farre North-west, as that for feare of the Cat-ships, I must of force haue come close by their platformes. With this vnto the night I returned to my fleet, and that night being the sixt of April, wee went altogether for the South Cape. The eight day I went from thence towards the *Canaries*, and the thirteenth day I came to *Lancrota*, where by diuers both *Englishmen* and *Spaniards* I had bene informed that there dwelt a Marquess, that was worth
 30 100000 pounds, if he could be taken suddenly: which I doubted not, hauing aboard mee three or foure which had bene prisoners there, who assured me they could bring me into the Road by night; and being on land could guide me to the Castle where he dwelt, how darke soeuer it were.
 40 But they fayled in all: for when I came to the land, they knew not where the Road was, so as I was forced to anchor in a bad ground, but where it was they knew not. And in truth, it was neere a ledge of Rocks, as if we had gone any further, the ships had bene in danger. In the morning, though then I had no other hope left me to catch the Marquess, I saw onely that perhaps he would looke this Castle, yet I thought it meete to let all my Souldiers on shoare, for that till this time I neuer had giuen them any traying, and well knew many of them to bee very raw and vnaccustomed to seruice at land. Wherefore my selfe then fearing an agut,ooke physick, was let blood, and sent Sir *Iohn Barkley* with them, knowing for certaine that place could make no resistance against such a force. So being landed they marched to the Towne, which the guides laid, was but three miles from the landing place. But it proved more then three leagues, the most wicked marching for loose stones and sand that euer I saw. That night I heard not from them, nor the next day till night, when I had word brought that they had taken the Towne and Castle without resistance. Onely as they marched the people of the Countrey (I meane the Mountayners) would watch if any straggled and would most desperately assault them with their Lances, being so swift of foot, as when once they runne, not any could come neere them. In the Castle was not any thing but some few peeces of Ordnance dismounted. In the Towne (whose houses were most beggarly) some little wine onely, which little was too much; for it dissembled so many, that if there had bene a strong enemy to haue attempted, they should haue found much resistance; the meaner sort being most ouer-thrown already, and the Commanders, some dis-
 50 tempered with wine, some with pride of themselves, or some of others, so as there were very few of them but that fell to most disorderly ourage one with another. And Sir *Iohn Barkley* which much grieue told me, if I tooke not some leuere course to remedie those things, he assured himselfe it would be the ruine of our voyage. Whereupon the next day I went on shoare to fee my men trayned, and calling all the Commanders before me, rebuked them for those faulces, and gave Ar-
 60 rowes both for their courtes at Land and Sea, reading to them my Commissions, that they might know I had full power to execute those punishments I set downe for euery offence; and assuring them I would not be slow in doing it if they offended. The next day being the one and twentieth of April, I let saile, and betwixt the *Grand Canarie* and *Teneriffe* met with the *Royal Defence*, a ship which should haue come with mee out of *England*, but being not ready followed me; and thware the Rocks, after I was come from thence mee with a Carrack, which by ten
 70 *Englishmen* were prisoners in *Lisbone*, was stolen forth in the night. They assured me (word being brought thither that I was gone off the Coast) they refused to lend forth the Carracks, and that within a few dayes they would come forth. Which I making knowne to all my Com-
 80 manders, they agreed with me that it was fit to spend some few dayes and looke for their coming; so did we: but not seeing them, the yeere was so farre spent that I assured my selfe they
 90 were

New intelli-
gence.Another at-
tempt.No hope this
way.He comes to
the Canaries,
Rich Mar-
quess.He lands his
Souldiers.Sir Iohn Bark-
ley.Towne and
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and yet too
rich.The Earles
honorable care
and wife pro-
visions.Carrack taken
forth by En-
glish capes.

Danger of late
going forth for
the Cape of
Good Hope.

Old Portugal
Pilots.

R. th. auditors.

The Earles
nature and
difficulties in
instruments.

His speech.

His purposes
and probabi-
lities.

They proceed.

They arrive at
Dominica.

La Virgines.

were either goud by, or would not goe this yeere, their time for doubling the Cape of *Bona Speranza* being now past; for they neuer went out so late but once, and then were all forced to returne.

Though many would imagine the missing of this faire fortune should much have troubled me; I assure you it did not: the reason I will let you know hereafter. Now againe, calling all the Captaines and Masters aboard me, I first asked them whether they thought it was fit to tarry a ny longer vpon that hope, telling them mine opinion how little reason there was in it, and that longer stay might hurt our other purposes, to which all agreeing, we resolved to proceede. Then I asked whether they thought the time was not too farre spent to get *Fernandus* to which many answered; No. And though I well knew what it was, I would not reply till I had called two *Portugall* Pilots, which brought with me out of *England*, old men that had at the least bene twentie times a piece there out of the *Portugall*: And asking their opinions, they told vs that they had gone it at that time of the yeere, but diuers times purt backe, and at their best passage bene fixe or seuen weekes in getting one degree. To which there was that answered, though sometimes it happened so, yet it might fall out otherwise: and if not, though we should be long in getting thither, yet there was assurance to win that place with ease, and we getting it to haue wealth enough. Till this I kept secret, what now euery occasion gave me time to vttre. Having dispatched from mee a ship that was in Trade at the *Cannaries* and bound for *England*, and being so farre shot to the Southwards, as I was sure not to meet with any going to the Northwards; so as not any newes where I was could come into *Spain*, till it came out of the *Indies*: which winning of time would give me to good leisure to dispose my selfe in the place whither I meant to goe, as hardly I would be supplanted till either wee honorably quitted the place, or had supply; you may see, too greedy desire is a dangerous enemy, for where I should haue but lightly touched this as yet, I was almost entring into the bowels of my intention, the all time ripe I saw to speake more freely then I had done. I told them I had aduisedly considered, of all these things now pleaded, and could, as I thought, before their speech haue given them so sufficient reasons for the shaping of some other course then *Brasil*, as would haue stayed all these pleadings. But I thought it better first to heare euery one strike his minde, and then to vttre my conceits. Which though I assured my selfe was the best for vs, yet if any amongst them could give reason against it, I would not only take it well, but be drunne to them. Then layd I before them how our men were already many of them sick; and that vnderstandly the crossing the Line would keep the from recouering, although the passage were as good as men could wish. Besides, I remembered them of intelligence given vs both vpon the Coast of *Spain* and the Land, that the King had sent thither to defend the place against me six hundred Souldiers; and also in what likely that he had given order, that if they saw not themselves strong enough to resist, that with their portable goods they should flee into the Mountains, and sit there Sugar and *Brasil* wood on fire; then were we sure to haue nothing; and lastly, if wee had long vnder the Line, vnderstandly the most of our men would fall sick, and then should we be forced to returne without doing any thing, for to in other place could we goe, once hearing vpon vpon that occasion.

With this I pawled, to heare if there would be any thing said by them: but not any speaking, I told them I well perceived by their silence the doubts my wordes had drunne into their mindes: but not to conceale any longer from them, that which hathen I had for all their goods done, the truth was I neuer had intention. After I found I could not get out of *England* before *Christmas*, to goe for *Brasil*, but only for the west *Indies*, where there were many probabilities to make a voyage by: as first, the seeking of *Margarita*, which they knew was rich; then *Porto Rico*, after that *Saint Domingo*, then in Iuly the outward bound fleet would be in the *Acas*, where we could not misse them: and if these gave vs not content, in the end of Iuly or August, wee should meete the fleet at *Cape Saint Antonio*. Many of these reasons I vttered, more to carry my men with good liking thither, then for any thought I had of diuers of them. And my speech had desired successe, for they all went with greedy desire, and were hopefull expectation, I appointing them to make what haite they could to *Dominica*, where we would stay one for another, thinking it better to goe straggling thither then to goe together, there being possibility to meete lone purchasely by the way, which we were in most likelihood of when we parted furtherth. Therefore we parted thus till we met at *Dominica*, where we straggled all the way the *Alcedan*, the *Centurion*, and two *Fleming*, laden with *Corne*, which I took vpon fauing the coast of *Spain*, and still carried along with me, as chiefe meane to effect my most desired purpose. There with all the rest came safely to *Dominica*, where we carried our sicke people a-shore the three and twentieth of May, and tarried till the first of Iune.

This Land is onely inhabited by the *Indians* that mightily hate the *Spaniard*, but loue the *English* very much. They brought vs great store of Potatoes, Pines, Plantins, Tabacco, Manamyes, *Indies*-pepper, and other of their Countrie commodities to trade. They most desired to haue *Swords*, Hatchets, and very much Clothes. But if they could get none of these, they would sell their commodities for glasse beads, and such trifling things. From hence I went to the *Virgines* Islands which are not inhabited, and there purposed againe to muster my men, the Land of *Dominica* being too wooddie as that there I could not doe it; and in the evening the third day I came there to an anchor. The next morning early I had them on shore, and after muste-

ring them for many respects, found it meet to speake to them, which as neere as I can remember, was thus: *Kinde Countymen and fellow Souldiers, I am farr there is neuer here but bene marked, and the wisest wonder at my light regarding the many grosse faults committed amongst you since my coming to Sea, suffering euery man to doe what he would, vrging no man further then he lyst: My courses drew me to this patience, only one I will now vttre the rest being fitter to conceale to my selfe, then to make so many acquainted with. The great hope of meeting the Caracks made me hope for a short journey; which hapning, I thought it better to returne with euery mans good word, then by rust punishing of any to haue their ill word at my retaine. But that hope as you now see is altogether passed, and now we are settled to another course, which though it may be will not prove altogether so rich, and must of force keepe vs longer abroad; yet I assure you vpon my honour and conscience, I doe constantly beleene there will spring out of it more glorie to God, more service to our Prince and Countrey, and more honour to our selves, then could haue done by the Carack; if we had taken them all. For the better performance we will fall to another course; I in governing, you in obeying; I in directing you what to doe, you in following my direction. To which end I haue already delivered you certaine Articles, wherein you may see how the breach of them shall be punished. Although these twentie dayes at the left you haue had them amongst you, yet heare I there are some which you they could but light vpon so much as they would conceale from me. Base conditions be hatefull things to men professing *Armes*, there is none before then theft; and no theft so base as for a man to steale from his owne company. And he that concealeth any thing gotten in this journey, stealeth from euery man in it, all going to haue their part of what better is gotten. This I thought not vnfit particularly to touch, because the speech hath given great offence to the whole Arme, and no doubt may encourage some men of lewd and base humour amongst vs to doe the like: but let the warning I now give you drunne vnto the thoughts that hold them: And be also a warning that they heedfully observe the rest of the Articles. For I assure you, my over-patience and forced fling glasse honour is broken off, and I will neither over-see, nor suffer to passe unpunished all delinquents.*

Thus deliuered, I presently shipped my men which were by muster and gaue order to set sail. Now having set all things in order, and wanting nothing but sure knowledge, where might be our safest and most commodious landing, there were many of my Masters and Sea Captaines that would willingly hude gone through the *Virgines*, as Sir *Francis Drake* did, when he was there. But I finding the way through the passages more certaine and false took that course; more desiring to be the first that tooke *Porto Rico*, then the second that passed through the *Virgines*. And the fifth day in the morning, I sent for Captaine *Lanckton*, and *Knotford*, who was Master of the Gallion, very expert in those Countreys, and was Pilot with *John Hawkins* when hee dyed, and putting either of them into a small Fynance, sent them before that they might make the landing place before night, and my selfe with the fleet did linger, and so when it was darke, putting out all our sailes, came to them vndiscovered, which was about one of the clocke that night. But they did me no good, for the place they went to discover was further from them then they expected, so as it was darke before they came to it, and for feare of carry- ing me to leeward fayled, and told me they had done nothing. Wherefore I stood close vpon a windie off and on, until the morning, when being close by the shore there was to my comfort a smooth landing place, which by all them in my fleet that were there with Sir *Francis Drake*, I was told was impossible to get, the windie our-blowing all day out of the Sea. Wherefore I tooke my Boat and Sir *Lohn Barkley* with me, rowed thither, and found it not onely smooth, but by the view of our eyes a most goodly landie Bay, to march all along by the Sea side till we came to the Towne. Being well pleased with this sight I returned aboard, and gaue order to all the Commanders prelenly to land there. But by diuers of them many objections were made against landing there. First, that the march seemed to be great: Then, that none knew the way: and lastly, if the Towne stood in an land, as they often had heard it did, we should be forced to returne to our ships, not hauing meane to get vnto them. Gentlemen, said I, a willing meane maketh long steps with great ease: I haue bene sicky and am not now strong; you shall see no further nor suffer then I will doe before you: for guides we need no better then our eyes; the Towne standing by the Sea side, and we landing from the Sea see no other but faire landie Bayes all the way thither: so as much neerer we might land if we were sure there were any where to leeward such a head-land as this: that maketh smooth landing within it. But that being vncertaine I meane to take this, which I doe assuredly beleene God hath directed vnto me. For I am sure, it is better then any euill word to me: And for your last argument, that if you be an land we shall not get into it, that reason is nothing; for you see our Boats may row by vs, and when we shall come to any water they may set vs on shore, if hee be in shallow places we shall passe our flues. So all you haue or can say being now thoroughly answered, let me haue no more speaking, but get your men all into your Boats, and follow in order as I haue directed you. I will goe before you in my Boat, and when you see my Colours displayed, make all the haste you can to land. This doe with good heart and courage, affuring your selves you haue the mayden head of *Porto Rico*, and so possess the keyes of all the *Indies*. And though there be not so many millions in it as there was when a greater force then we went without it: yet assure your selfe the Towne is rich. The last yeare there were eighteen ships laden with *Ginger* and *Sugar* from it. I assure you there are mynes of gold in it. And though the

My Lords
speech.

Basenese of
their.

Sir Francis
Drake.

They arrive at
the land.

Euill furnished

His search.

Objections.

The Earles
answers.

The Towne
described.

Inhabitants.

The Island of
Langerota.

Beasts.

One hundred
done before
the middle of
April.

The Church.

Pike of Tote-
riffe.Riches thereof
Ciprati Light
voies to Ore-
zoque.

could be no entrance there. I have heard sundry of our wisest Commanders say, that if they had drawne in their Ladder and onely thus the doore, twenty men victualled might have kept it against nine hundred. The Towne consisteth of somewhat more then a hundred houses, whose building is rude, being commonly but of one Storey; their Rooves flat and something sloping to east or west, covered onely with Canes or Straw laid upon a few rafters, and very dirt call upon all, which being lashed by the Sunne, be cometh of howe reproofe.

The Inhabitants are of very able and active bodies, their stature commonly tall, of swiftnesse (in that Mountainous Countrey) not farre behind their Horles and Cammels: their Armes are Pikes and Stones; when a Pece is presented to them, so soone as they perceive the cocke or match to light, they call themselves flat to the ground, and the report is no sooner heard, but they are vpon their teete, their stons out of their hands, and withall they charge with their Pikes, and thus in scattered encounters or single fight (for either they know not or neglect orderly battallion) utter great hurt. The Island it is not round, but stretched somewhat in length to the North-east and South-west, parted by a ridge of Hills from end to end, as *Italy* is by the Mountains-*Apennine*. These hills are barren, otherwise then that in prettie store they feede flocks of Sheepe and Goates. Their Vallies promise no fruitfullnesse, being very sandy and dry, something like Rye-fields in *England*, and yet they yeelde passing good Barley, and Wheate. Their beasts be Sheepe and Goates, few Neate, many Asies, fewer Camels, but fewest Genettes, and these of no great stature. The Island is thought to exceede the Weight both in breadth and length: of the Temper a man may judge (besides that it lyeth in 28. degrees, and some minutes) by the complexion of the Inhabitants, which is blackish, and by their Harrest-time, which was past before the middle of April, and looks for a second about Michaelmas, their landing there was vpon good Friday. The next day, the fifteenth of April, Sir *John Barkley*, being out of hope to finde the *Marguette*, not knowing where to seeke him, whom feare had taught to hile himselfe closely, marched backe to the Naue, without farther arme to the Towne or Caste, then borrowing some necessaries. There is in the Towne a Church of old, and a Friery not yet finished. Their Church hath no windowes, nor admitteth light otherwise then by the doores, it hath no Chancell, but is one vndeuided roome, stoned seats along the sides, and in the one end an Altar with the appurtenances: for the people seemeth full of ignorant Superstition, many Bolls and Pardons being found in diuers houses. The Friery is a prettie square, with more commodities of fresh water and Gardens, then any other place of the Towne, euen the *Marguette*'s house.

They came that night to the waters side, yet thought it better to lodge abroad then aboard, though there were Boates to receive them. The next day being Easter day, his Lordship hauing somewhat recovered his strength, after dinner went ashore to the Companies, hauing sent them trained knowing that the enemy watched for aduantage of caterers, saw all his men shipt first, and then himselfe tooke Boate. The next day being Munday, all the Captaines dined aboard the Admirall, and after dinner his Lordship caused his Commission (which was exceeding large in many points) to be openly read: and Articles of gouernment were giuen for Sea-matters to the Captaine of euery Ship, and for seruice by Land to the Captaine of euery company; besides 40 which Articles to the Sea Captaines, was deliuered a sealed letter, which they should open, if vpon any accident they lost the Fleete, and thereby learne direction where to seeke his Lordship. But withall it was expressly articulated, that in no other case they should adventure to open it; and that if they came into any danger of being taken by the enemy, they should not faile to caite the Letter ouer-board sealed, as it was deliuered; for in no sort would his Lordship haue his purpose disclosed, nor not by examination nor torture.

While his Lordship was coating neere *Teeriffa*, the breathes rather then windes were so diuers, that it was doubled on euery side almost and came so close aboard the shore, that we did easily see into *Santa Cruz*, and some other calling Townes, and might discern the men vpon the hills, the rather by comitute, by reason of the eminence and height thereof; among which there is one about the reit incomprable, generally held to be much higher then the *Pike* of the *Apores*, being then covered with Snow, when the bottom was as hot as at Midsummer it is in *England*. The Island though to the Sea a very high land, yet is full of many very fruitful Plains, and Vineyards, yielding to the King yearly (by credible mens report) 28000. Buts of *Canary-Sacke*. Certaine it is, that in common reputation it is held richer not onely then the reit, but euen then the grand *Canaria* is selfe (though it seeme not so goodly a champion Countrey) for we had that also in very nerekenning; And (that the King ellemeth it more, no man can doubt seeing he keepeth farre greater Garrison there, then in the *Canaria*.

Captaine *Charles Leigh* which hitherto had commanded the *Alceda*, on the fourth of May laid the Fleete and in his owne Barke, called the *Blacke Lee*, runne himselfe alone for the Ruet of *Orenoque*. His Lordship after diuers consultations determined that the Fleete should goe for *Dominica* (His speeches, Captaine *Slingsbies* employment, and other particulars, are here for breuety omitted).

An old *Portingall* Pilor told his Lordship that he had bene in eight and twentie voyages into *Strait*.

Brasil, but at this time of the yeere onely in one; wherein, hee faith, the windes were so contrarie, and they had so many other difficulties, that they were forced to put in againe and loose that yeeres voyage; so that the windes being in thiefe parts at set times of the yeere, themklues also constantly let, we might well thinke wee should be encountered with the same difficulties. All this while we huld on our course for the *West Indies*, running West and by South, and West South-west, but bearing still to the Westward, both because we are likelier to keepe the frether gale that way (though some were of contrarie opinion) and because the later wee entered within the Tropick, we should bee the likelier to meet with the *Brasil* fleet, whose course homewards must of necessity be much to the North. By Wednesday the tenth of May (for till then wee 10 met not with any memorable accident, seeing to tell of the flocks of flying fish, might iustly seeme triuiall) we were come so directly vnder the Sunne, that none could see evidently the shadow of a fife set perpendicularly, but if there were any it inclined rather to the due South. For by obseruation by the Astrolabe (the vie of the staffe now fayling) we were found to haue passed our Tropick three degrees and a halfe, and the Sunnes declination that day was precisely twentie degrees. This was more clearly perceived at night by taking the height of the Crozier (a flarre which of all other distinctly to be perceived neere the Antartic Pole, serueth for those Southerly parts, as the lesser *Beare* doth to the Northerly countries.)

It is a long itep from the *Canaries* to the *West Indies*, which first of all wee had in our kenning vpon Sunday being the one and twentieth of May. But to lay, if it be but a handfull of pebble 20 stones, in this gap. Vpon Saturday being the thirteenth of May, we had the first gulf, and it had many followers, for few dayes passed without raine. When this raine began, immediately we all felt a very noyome fauour, it was very sulphurous, and lasted so long as the raine did. What this proceeded of the nature of the water that fell from so neere the Sunne, or from the ship being very drie (as on land after a great drought there will sit a hot fauour) it is not clearly knowne, nor yet determined, but that others may the better, this obseruation is expressed. This fauour was not felt vpon the decks, or any where else besides the Cabbin, or at least not any where so much. The reason whereof may happily be, that the aire being suddenly beaten in, and that by narrow pilages, came the more violently, and by consequent the more sensibly into the Cabbin, then into other parts of the ship, and therefore whar 30 sooner qualitie it bore with it, it was there the strongest felt. In the following of as great gulfs as that which came first, there was no such fauour felt, the fleet going still farther and farther from the Sunne. And which may be moit to the purpose, not any of them that felt it, found any distemper after it, onely the fensle was much displeased therewithall; his Lordship had at this time aken much physick, but still rather to prevent sicknesse, then for to recouer health (for God be thanked, his body was very able to obey his minde) finding no difference in the world in the working of physick there and in *England*. Nauigators may helpe themselves by his Lordships obseruation: That vpon Friday being the nineteenth of May, the colour of the Sea began Colour of the sensibly to alter, that whereas before it was of a cleere azure, it then began to incline to a deepe Sea black. blacke. We were that day a hundredth and fixtie leagues (or thereabouts) from the *West Indies*.

40 and held our selues so certainly in the height of *Dominica*, that we runne a due Westerly course. It is not vnlikeley but this colour will be found in the same place at another time. And in such a course, wherein (besides the great difference of Cardes) a man must bee forced to trust to a dead reckoning: this may be some helpe to a heedfull man. Vpon Sunday in the evening his Lordship directed the Maister to runne that night with an easie faire, because he tooke himselfe neuer land then moit of the Mariners would consent to, being himselfe the first that both ipped and cryed land; they were but few that did assent at the first: some desired it so much, that they durst not let themselves be ouer credulous; others happily would haue had themselves the first dicryers, but his Lordship still made it land. We set faile for the land, and within two houres it was *Mainina*, made tobe *Mainina*. Leaving it therefore on the larboard side, wee stood for *Dominica*, and *Dominica* 50 within an houre or thereabouts had it in kenning.

§. II.

Description of Dominica and the Virgines. Their Landing on Port Ricco, march, fights, and taking the Towne.

BY two in the afternoon wee were come so neere aboard the shore, that wee were met with many Canoes, manned with men wholly naked, fusing that they had channes Naked Indians and bracelets and some bolkins in their eares, or some strap in their nostrils or lips; the cause of their coming was to exchange their Tabacco, Pinos, Plantins, Potatoes, and Pepper with any trifle if it were gawdie. They were at the first suspicious that wee were Spaniards or Frenchmen, but being assured that wee were English they came willingly aboard. They are men of good proportion, strong, and straight limmed, but few of them tall, their wits able

Their Canoes.
The people
described.

to direct them to things bodily profitable. Their Canoes are of one Tree commonly in breadth, but containing one man, yet in some are seen two yonkers sit shoulder to shoulder. They are of divers length: some for three or four men that sit in reasonable distance, and in some of them eight or nine persons a rowe. Besides their Merchandise for exchange, every one hath commonly his Bowe and Arrows; they speake some *Spanish* words; they have Wickes platted into things like a broad shield to defend the raine, that they want these, via a very broad leafe to that purpose, they provide shelter against the raine because it walseth of their red painting, laid on that if you touch it, you shall finde it on your fingers.

Red painting.

That night, having with much ado found land, within a quarter of a mile of the shore, we ankored for that night only, for though there were a good watering place, and a very sweete riuier fall by vs, yet his Lordship ment to waye ankore the next morning, and to beare in to another watering place, wherewithall we certainly looked for a hot Bath: Their Oares wherewith they rowe are not laid in banks as Ship-boates haue, but are made like a long Battledore, fusing that their palmes are much longer then broad, growing into a sharpe point, with a rising in the middelt of them a good way; very like they are to blades of bigge Wetterne Daggers, that are now made with gauging. The shanks of their Oares are of equall bignesse, and at the top crofset like a lame mans crutch. These they vse always with both their hands, but indifferently as they finde cause to flecte this way or that way.

Their Oares.

The next morning we bore in to the North-west end of the land, where we found a goodly Bay able to receiue a greater Naue then hath bene together in the memorie of this age. There his Lordship found the hote Bath: The bath by the side of a very fine Riuier. The Bath is as hot as either the Crofse-bathe or Kings-bathe at the Citie of *Bathe* in *England*, and within three or four yards runneth into the Riuier, which within a stones cast disburdeneth it selfe into the Sea. Here our sick men specially found good refreshing. In this place his Lordship staid some six dayes in watering the whole Fleet, which in that time was all come fuing the *Frigat*, one of the blacke Pinnaces, and one of the *Flemmings* (which we hoped to be before vs, for they haue directions). It was held conuenient here to take a Muster of our companies, and something better to acquaint euery one with his owne colours; but the weather was so extremely foule, that in three or four dayes spent to this purpose, there could be nothing done. Vpon Wednesday therefore, being the last of May, it was resolved to stay no longer there, but to come againe to ankore at the *Virgines*, and there bestow one day in training our men. For that was our way to *Saint Iohn de Puerto Rico*, whether his Lordship now declared it was his purpose to goe first of all. By this time (for his Lordship would not haue any thing done in that foule weather) the other blacke Pinnace was taken down for a long Boate to serue for the more conuenient landing of our men.

A hot Bath.

The Virgins.

Description of
Dominica.

That evening and the next morning all our men were brought aboard, and on thursday night our failles were cut for the *Virgines*. To describe this land, it lieth North-west and South-east, the foile is very fat, even in the most neglected places, matching the Garden-plots in *England* for a rich blacke molde: so Mountainous (certaine in the places where we came neere the Sea-coasts) that the Vallies may better be called Pits then Plaines, and withall so vnspafably woodie, that it is maruailous how those naked foules can be able to pull themselves through them, without renting their naturall clothes. Some speake of more easie passages in the Inland of the land, which make it probable that they leaue those skirts and edges of their Countrie thus of purpose for a wall of defence, These Hills are apperelled with very goodly greene Trees, of many sort. The tallnesse of their vntreunetted Trees make the hills seeme more hilly then of themselves happily they are: for they growe so like good children of some happy ciuill body, without enuie or oppression, as that they looke like a proud meadow about *Oxford*, when after some irruption, *Towne* is againe cooched low within his owne banks, leauing the earthen Mantle more rugged and hilly, then otherwise it would haue bin; yea so much seeme these naturall children delighted with equalitie and withall with multiplication, that hauing growne to a definite stature, without desire of ouertopping others, they willingly let downe their boughes, which being come to so the earth againe take roote, as it were to continue the succession of their decaying progenitors: and yet they doe continue to maintain themselves in a greene-good liking, through the liberallie partly of the Sunnes neighbourhood, which prouideth them in that necessitie to the Sea, of exceeding showres; partly of many fine Riuers, which to requite the shadow and coolement they receiue from the Trees, giue them backe againe, a continuall refreshing of very sweete and tastie water. For the Inhabitants of this Countrie, A Captaine or two watering neere the place where his Lordship first ankored, found a leasure to rowe vp a Riuier with some guard of Pikes and Musketers, till they came to a Towne of these poore Saluages; and a poore Towne it was of some twenty cottages rather then Houses, and yet there was there a King, whom they found in a wide hanging garment of rich crimion Taffie, a *Spanish* Rapier in his hand and the modell of a Lyon in shining Braile, hanging vpon his breast. There they saw their women as naked as we had seene their men, and alike attired euen to the boning of their lippes and eares, yet in that nakednesse, they perceiued some sparkes of modestie, not willingly comming in the sight of strange and apperelled men; and when they did come, busie to couer, what should haue bin bet

A Towne found
in Dominica.

Wilde Maiefty.

ter

ter couered. The Queene they saw not, nor any of the Noble wifes, but of the vulgar many; and the Maidens it should seeme they would not haue so squemish, for the King commanded his Daughters presence, with whom our Gentlemen did dance after meate was taken away. This withdrawing of their wifes seemeth to come of the common ielousie of these people; for (it is Adultery pu-reported) that though they admit one man to haue many wifes, yet for any man to meddle with another mans wife, is punished with death, euen among them. And no meruail if the severity of law be in stead of many other wanting hinderances. It seemeth that themselves are wene of their nakednesse, for besides the Kings apperrell, they are exceeding detestous to exchange any of their Commodities for an old Walte-coate, or but a Cap, yea or but a paire of Gloes.

- 10 It is pretie that they say is the difference twixt the habit of a Wife and a Maide. The Maide weareth no garter (and indeede the needeth none) but the Wife is the first night if she is married (which is not done without asking at the least the consent of her parents) to flaightly gartered, that in time the flesh will hang ouer the list. The haire of men and women are of like length, and fashion. But of all other things it is most memorable, that whereas their Houses are priuate to all other vies, yet they haue one common place, where all their men at least take their diet, nature teaching them that Law which in *Lucern* his mouth was thought strange and perhaps needlesse. The King sitteth in the same great roome with the rest, but withdrawing himselfe into some more louely part, accompanied onely with three or foure of the best eleeemes; their meates are their fine fruities, yet haue they Hennes and Pigges, but it should seeme rather for delight, then withall: their drinke is commonly water, but they make drinke of their Callian, better of their Pines (and it should seeme that might be made an excellent liquor) but the best and refered for the Kings cup onely of Potatoes: their Bread is Callian. The last report of them shall bee what I haue seene in experience, namely their great desire to vnderstand the *English* language; for some of them will pursue to most parts of his body, and haue told the name of it in the language of *Dominica*, he would not rest till he were told the name of it *English*. In *English*, which hauing once told he would repeat till he could eieken name of it right, or at least till he thought it was right, and so commonly it should be, lauing that at all words ending in a consonant they alwayes (at the second vowel, as for *eburne*, they say *eburne*, so making most of the monallables, & allillables. But it is time to leaue them who are already many legnes of.

On thursday night his Lordship set saile for the *Virgins*, and on saturday morning had them in sight; and in the afternoon we were come to an ankore. On Whitsunday in the morning betimes (for there was a fit place fought out the evening before) our land forces went on shore, and there his Lordship tooke a perfect muster of them. The Companies indeede were (though after much ticklenesse) goodly, in number one might well say not so fewe as a thousand. When the Companies had bin trained into all sorts, and faces of fights, at length his Lordship commanded the Drummes to beate a call, and the troopes being drawne in the neerest closefite that conueniently they might be, that he might be heard of all, his Lordship standing vnder a great chiffe of a rocke, his prospect to the Seaward, stept vpon one of the greater stones (which added to his naturall stature, gaue him a pretty height aboue the other company) so commanding audience, made a speech to them.

After which, the Fleete then within one dayes sailing from *Puerto Rico*, his Lordship presently appointed Officers for the field. They all made vp a dozen Companies: wherof it any wanted the full number of 80, they were plentifully supplied, by a large ouerplus of gallant Gentlemen that followed his Lordships colours, borne by Captaine *Bremley*; and Sir *Louis* also had more then 80. so that the whole Armie appointed to Land, was neere vpon a thousand, specially seeing the Officers of seuerall Companies were not reckoned in these numbers. The Officers that belonned, his Lordship forthwith commanded euery man to be shipped in Boates, and to goe aboard, where after dinner it was debated, whether it were better to passe through the *Virgins*, a way not clearly vnkowne (for diuers of our company both Souliours and Mariners had gone it before with Sir *Francis Drake*, in his last voyage) or life to hold the old course through the *Passage*. It was acknowledged that the *Virgins* was the neerer way, but withall none can denie, but that it was the more dangerous; for the way is very narrow (about the breadth of *Thames* about *London*) and we durst not promise ourselues the continuance of a leading winde. The way through the passages was found to be farther about, but withall it was without danger, and therefore hauing no great halfe choofe the safer way by the passages; for (said his Lordship) I choofe rather, to be the first that shall take *Puerto Rico*, then the second that shall passe the *Virgins*. The *Virgins* are little lands not inhabited; some think for want of water, some thinke that is no cause, and that there is store of water. They are very barren and craggie, somewhat like the *Burlings*, but being much more sandie, as it is much more hot. Among these many scattered lands there is one called the *Bird-Land*, by reason of the incredible store of Fowle. So stored is it with plentie of Fowle, that neuer was *English* Doue-coat more willing to yeelde her increafe then that hillocke, for you may take with your hands onely, as much

Difference of
maide & wife.

Common diet
roume.
Kings fate.

Desire to learn
English.

They come to
the Virgins.

My Lords land
companies about
one thousand.

The speech
you haue be-
fore in his own
relation, and
there are here
omitted.

See before the
names of the
Captaines and
Commanders,
here omitted.

Sir Fr. Drake.

The Virgins
described.

Bird-Land.

yet they say was without his consent) taketh the losse of the *Spaniards* most of all to heart. He seemeth truly to be wife about the common pitch of *Souldiers* which is his profession, yet hath he bene heard say and protest by the faith of a *Souldier*, that there is not so rich and good a myne in all the *Kings* Dominions to the Westward, as that of *Puerto Rico*. Others whose fathers were employed in the workes, report what their dying fathers told them. But that which maketh most of all to the purpose, is the present preparation which the King is euen now making, for the renewing of these workes afresh in *Puerto Rico*, by letting two hundred *Negroes* to worke, and for that purpose had sent great store of *Martocks* and *Spades* thither, there found in his store-house, and for what other use they should haue needed, is not well conceueable.

Much time was spent in taking order how the *Spaniards* might be dispatched to *Caribagena*; (for thither it was resolved they should bee sent) being a place so farre to the leeward of *Puerto Rico*, as that they neither could in haste themelues make any head, nor send newes to *Spain*, to procure the lending of any forces thence: and in providing victuals for this place, and repairing ships that were first to come for *England*. Vpon Thursday being *Saint Peters* day, there was a saile discried at Sea in the morning, and by noone there was come into the Harbour, which with much astonishment there found turned *English*. The *Spaniards* had some few dayes before reported that they looked for a ship to bring from the *Huana* much of the *Souldiers* pay that was behind. This held vs for the time in great suspence of hope and doubt, whether this might bee hee or no: the rather because this seemed to bee of the same biggnesse that they had spoken of, but when shee was fallen into the trap, it was found indeed to bee a very *Moule*, where we looked for a *Mountain*. For her lading was a number of poore naked *Negroes* from *Angola* to bee sold there. Yet was there a prettie *Boat*, and of her lading likely to bee made of good vie. Within few dayes after there was another saile almost taken after the same manner, yet perceiving a greater fleet riding thence, then these could hope to finde *Spanish* they got her tack aboard, and went away lasking, so that though the *Assault* was sent away in chase after her, yet shee escaped.

Vpon Friday being the seventh of Iuly, all things being made readie for their passage, the *Spaniards* were imbarked in a *Caruell*, and in another ship, which during the time the ships rode without the Harbour, for feare of them whom they could not passe, or enue that they should receive good by her, ranne her selfe desperately ashore, but shee and most things in her were fawled, and here shee faul the tending away of a better ship. With these two, wherein the biter *Spaniards* were put, there were two other ships sent to wait them, wherein also went the *Gouernour* and some few others, who deferred some respite. And for themelues it was permitted them to come directly home for *England*. The next day being the eighth of Iuly, there came to his Lordship two *Negroes* from the mayne Iland with a flagge of truce, and a letter from one *Seralta*, an ancient Commander in that Iland, and who vpon a wound received in the first fight at the bridge had with-drawne himselfe into the Countrie. The effect of his desire was, that being in great distresse through feare of the *English*, that daily marched vp and downe the Countrie, he desired his Lordship to grant him and his protection to trauell without danger. Whereinto his Lordship made this answer to be written, and sent him. *That he would absolutely denie his request, but yet if himselfe, or any of his Nation, or any dwelling with him or them would within eight dayes come unto him to Puerto Rico, he should by the vertue of that his Letter bee protected from being taken or spoiled, by any of his Souldiers: and thus hee willed him to signifie to them neere about him, that they might giue notice of the same throughout the whole Iland. And further, his Lordship promised that to as many as would come, that they should both come safely, and if they so would should bee imbarked, and sent away as the *Gouernour* with the rest of the *Spaniards* were alreadye.*

His Lordships honorable resolution and intendment was, not to come so farre from home, to take onely or spoile some place in this other world, and then run home againe: buthee had determined (by the leave of God) to keep *Puerto Rico*, if it pleased God to giue it into his hands. That was the place hee meant to carry, whatsoever it might cost him, being the very key of the West *Indies*, which locketh and thrusteth all the gold and silver in the Countie of *America* and *Brazilia*. He knew that *Saint Domingo* might with much lesse losse bee taken, and would bring much greater profit for the present; in regard whereof, and of the desire hee had his Aduenturers should become gainers, his thoughts sometime took that way, but finally they layed at *Puerto Rico*, and there settled themelues. As this was his resolution before hee had it, so was it also after hee had it, and then not onely his, but every man of worth or spirit (law such reason in his Lordships designments, that some thought themelues not to graciously dealt withall, that they were passed over, when others were named to stay. But God had otherwise disposed. For within a while that his Lordship had bene in *Puerto Rico*, many of our men fell sicke, and at the very last not very many dyed. The *Spanish* as well as the *English* were both sicke and dyed of the knellie, as besides *Seralta* was seene in diuers others. Others suspected their bodily labours to haue procured it, and both seeme to haue concurred.

In Iuly and August is their Winter, so called for their great raines at those times, which to bodies alreadye rarified by the heat of the Sunne then ouer them, and yet rather where vehement exercise hath more opened the pores whereby inward heat is exhaled, much needes be very dangerous. It was an extreme loosenesse of the body, which within few dayes would grow into a flux of blood, sometimes in the beginning accompanied with a hot Ague, but always in the end attended by an extreme debillitie and waite of spirits: so that some two dayes before death, the armes and legs of the sicke would be wonderfull cold. And that was held for a certaine signe of neere departure. This sicknesse usually within few dayes (for it was very extreme to die a number of fixtie eightie, and an hundred sicknesse man artificially day) brought a languishing number of fixtie eightie, and an hundred sicknesse (if age were of any note, commonly kept weaknesse ouer all the body, so that one mans ticknesse (if age were of any note, commonly kept two from doing duties, and this was it, which rather then the number alreadye dead, made his Lordship first thinke of quitting the place. For though towards the beginning of Iuly, there were not much about two hundred dead, yet was there twice as many sicke, and there was no great hope to recouer the most of them. The ships were left weakly manned, for when we landed we landed about a thousand men, of which the greater part was dead or made vnfructuable for the present. There were about foure hundred reported dead when his Lordship left the Towne, and surely as many so sicke, that most of them could not bring their filbes aboard, before his Lordship left the place. After that it was once openly giuen out what his Lordship purposed, then was order taken to make readie the ships, in which time these things happened. Vpon Friday the seventh of Iuly, there was a saile discried, which being come in was found to bee one of our owne, though made ours by purchase. Heretofore it was noted, that at our coming from the *Canaries*, wee wanted the *Frigat* and one of the black *Pinnaces*, which being sent vpon a piece of seruice with *Captaine Singly* in the *Consort*, had left him, and were gone after a chase, but how farre or whether none knew till this saile came in, which told vs that they had taken that chase, whose lading was *Muttons* onely and *Hennes*, passing from one Iland to another, but withall they had so irreuocably lost the fleet, that after they had there stayed nine or sixe dayes, beating vp and downe to finde vs againe, but without effect. *Captaine Harper* that commanded the *Frigat*, was forced to breake open his Letter, to know his direction whether his Lordship had appointed him to come to him. According whereunto they first stood for *Margarita*, where not finding his Lordship, nor hearing any newes of the fleet, they put off againe for *Puerto Rico*, according to the direction they had receiued. But by reason of the violence of the Current there not so well knowne to them, they were driven to the leeward of *Puerto Rico*, and so had bene at *Domingo* before they came to vs. There they heard newes of his Lordships being at *Puerto Rico*, and that hee had taken the Towne, but the Fort held out still. Making therefore all the halle they could bearing vp as high as the *Passages*, they got thither at last. The men in this ship were they which had bene in the black *Pinnace*, but because they began to bee leakie, and not to brooke these Seas, they had sunke her, and put themelues into the prize, which being of better faile funke. then the *Frigat*, had out-gone her some dayes sayling, for they told vs shee would also bee there within few dayes, and so shee was on Tuesday next after, hauing lost one man of their companie, all the rest were very strong, and in good liking. Vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of Iuly, there came into this Harbour a *Caruell*: Shee was found to bee of *Margarita*, laden onely with passengers that were bound for *Spain*. There were also found some rags and medicine pearle, to the value of a thousand Duckets; the men were not many, and it should seeme they had not further furnished themelues, then might prouide them necessities at their arriual in *Spain*, and to present their friends. Vpon interrogatories therefore hee found it very certaine by the agreeing confession of them all, that they were so farre from hearing of any fleet of the *English* in these Westerne partes, that in much securitie the Kings Chift was yet remaining in *Margarita*, with no more then the ordinarie guard. For besides the old *Garmon* of about thirtie *Souldiers*, there was not any new supply. Onely they had receiued direction from the King, that seeing the Chift was very rich, they should not adventure to lend so great treasure without assured strength; and therefore his pleasure was signified to be, that it should attend his sending of some Gallions or *Frigats* for the safe wafting of the same. The Chift had not bene thirtie yeeres, and therefore rich it must needs be, in a place which so plentifully yielded pearle. Tiall was made by his Lordship with three ships; but *Margarita* lying South-east or South-east by South from *Puerto Rico*, and the winds at that time of the yeere continually blowing East South-east or South-east by East, they were forced backe frustrate of their hopes.

Winter (so called of abundance of raine) in Iuly and August.

400. English dead of sicknesse in *Puerto Rico*.

Black Pinnace funke.

A thousand Duckets worth of pearles found.

The Kings rich Chift of pearles in *Margarita*.

p. IIII.

Purpose of returne. Treatise with the Spaniards. His Lordships departure.
Description of the Island, the Beasts, Fruits, Plants, &c.



In Lordship after he saw it was not Gods pleasure, that this place should yet bee kept by the English, had made some offers assaie off to the *Teniente*, and other chiefe men that were in the mayne land, for ramming their land and Citie. To this purpose he vied one *Antonio Robles*, a Licenciante in physick, that had bene taken in the ship of *Angola*, where I noted something before. This *Robles* is a man, whom I have learned and much experience added to his naturall wit, had made very subtilie and craftie. Hee once returned, but soon after gave the ship, as also did two others. By reason of this accident, the old Gouverneur and the rest of the *Spaniards*, were restrayned of much libertie they had, and were kept in closter durance: which wrought with them in such sort, that at his Lordships returne into the Harbour, the Gouverneur *Pedro Suarez* made offer to his Lordship, that if it would please him to send one *Vincent Lopez*, (that was in restraint with him) againe to negotiate with the *Teniente* touching the ranfome of the Citie and Stanfies, he would become furetie for his returne. His Lordship refused to write any more to men so unworthy of his curtesie, which they had much abused; Marry if you, I said my Lord, doe see likelihood that any thing would bee effected, and would your selfe and as from your selfe write to them to perswade them for their owne good, I would vpon your word and furetieship, be content that the said *Lopez* should passe. Thus vpon Tuesday the first of August, was *Lopez* dispatched with one Letter to the Bishop, and another to the *Teniente*, both from *Pedro Suarez*. Vpon Thursday the third day, *Lopez* returned. And brought his Lordship a Letter in shew from the Licenciante in physick, *Antonio Robles*, but indeed it was an answer from the *Teniente*, *Pedro Garcia*, and the rest, into whose hands the government fell, vpon the sending away of the present Gouverneur *Antonio Mufchere*. In this Letter, besides many idle excuses for his owne treacherous breach of promise (the conuenient doing whereof was in likelihood the cause, that he specially was deputed to write for the rest) there was offer made, that if it would please his Excellencie, to set downe and send them a definite summe, which he would accept, they would looke into their present abilitie, and accordingly would fend his Lordship assurance, that within seuen dayes it should be sent to him, to be received at the Point, where hee held continuall guard. Concluding, that in these sendings they fought nothing but delays, his Lordship determined not to send them any more, but withall speed to make himselfe and the flect readie for a lappy, and by many much desired returne, since it was cleere, that it was not Gods pleasure, that yet this land should bee inhabited by the English. All the Hides therefore, and Ginger and Sugar, which either was already readie or in time could be gotten, was forthwith shipped, and so was all the munition in the Towne, all the Ordnance in any place of that land, which amounted in all and of all sorts very neere the full number of fourecore cast peeces, some of them the goodliest that euer I saw. But when they saw his Lordship resolute to fend no more to them for negotiating touching the ranfome of their Citie, they now began to fend againe and againe to him. His Lordship neuer meant to deface their Citie, or to make it vnfit to be inhabited. But withall he took the likeliest wayes, to conceale this from the knowledge of the enemy, whom hee could not so well rule with any other bit, our owne strength being now growne so weak. His Lordship therefore entertaigned their offers, and to farre granted their desires, that to me in the name of them all, might with his Lordships Passe come to the Citie to goe through with his Excellencie. There came two, *Immanuel Cardero* and *Don Pedro de Pantoja*, who without the Bishops consent, they said, offered fise hundred kintals of Ginger; at whose returne (which should be within three or foure dayes) they did thinke that thise fise much would be giuen. The fleet was not yet altogether readie, and *Sir John Barkley* not yet so well recovered of his common disease, as that it was deemed it hee should presently commit himselfe to the Sea, being to bee so long without a baying place; and hee by his Lordships directions left him, might dispatch the matter. Thise two therefore were licensed to returne to *Luisa* to their friends vpon Saturday being the twelfth of August, with promise to be againe with vs on the Tuesday following. But before their appointed day his Lordship fell faile: yet it is not vnlike his returne was something hindered, by an accident that fell out. The old man *Pedro Suarez* had a countenance that promised an honest minde and, in regard of his age and weaknesse, he was not so narrowly looked to, as for sometime hee had bene. This old sick man found a meanes to escape the Sunday-night after they were gone to *Luisa*, certainly not without practise with his Countreimen; and it is thought with the priuie of his Keeper. Now this mans departure only therefore miliked, because it was traitorous and without leave, did more and more confirme his Lordship in his opinion that the *Spaniards* dealing with vs was traitorous, and for some other end, then was pretended. And therefore seeing his owne stay should not be needfull (for he knew *Sir John* very sufficient to dispatch any thing, that was to bee done) hee presently commanded that his owne ship should weigh, and with her, of great ships only the

the *Samson*; of the leiter, the *Royal Defence*, the *Frigat*, the *Scout*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Guana*, and two little ones that were found in the Harbour, one a *Frenchman*, and the other a *Spanish Frigate*, which were rigged during our aboad there. So that his Lordship left with *Sir John* the strength of the *Nauie*, the *Assention*, the *Gallion*, the *Alcedo*, the *Conjense*, the *Pegasus*, the *Centurion*, two strong die-boats, and the *Antonie*. The true reason of his Lordships desire to be gone from *Puerto Rico* quickly, was indeed a longing hee had to be quickly at the Islands. For hee had plotted the voyage, that still hee would haue a string left in thor for his Bow. And now hee had intelligence that the fleet of *Mexico*, which hee knew was to goe this yeere, was euen now vpon their dispatch. For vpon very good aduertisements he was giuen to vnderstand, that the fleet meant to dimbodge the first light: Moone in their September, which falleth out to bee the thuen and twentieth of our August, and his desire was to be at the Islands before them, which he might well hope for being in the height of the *Bermada*: by that time they should put forth of the Bay. Besides this hee had reason to looke for the meeting of a Carack, if by the middle of September hee were at the Islands. For though they, which are homewards bound hauing made their voyage in the East Indies, ordinarily haue timelier passage, and are at home by August, yet if any of them, which this yeere were to goe from *Lisbon*, should be put backe againe, September is the moneth, wherein they were to bee expected at the *Agres*. And for their more certaine meeting againe with his Lordship, that so all the fleet might come home together, his Lordship left them this direction, which was giuen to euery ship vnder his hand. *Ton shall steere in and furre the Southward part of Flores: if you finde me not in that course, then seeke me betwixt in and furre the lagues of Fayal, West South-west. If there you finde me not, then seeke me betwixt in and furre the lagues of Fayal, West South-west. If you finde me in none of these places, you may and the Pike; and seeke me in the Road at Gr. 1014: if you finde me in none of these places, you may be assured I am gone from the Islands for England. And for the Towne, *Sir John* had order giuen to leaue it vnderfaced, fauing that the Fort *Alcedo* should be razed to the landward. Thus we left *Puerto Rico*, and steered as directly to the Islands as the winde would suffer vs, which are there continually Easterly, yet steered vs so fauorably, that blowing much at East South-west, weeooke our felicitie to hold a North North-east course, allowing our ships to driue one point to the leeward; which courfe it we could hold, we hoped to weather the infamous land of *Bermada*, notorious with vnumerfull and incredible stormes of fearful thunder and lightning. It was the first day after our departure from *Puerto Rico*, being Saturday the nineteenth of August, when I wrote out this note, then were we a great way from the height of the *Bermada*, which lyeth in thirte degrees.*

Now we are in the way from *Puerto Rico* to the Islands of *Agres*, which must needs be found a long passage, and the way being not much beaten with resort of the Passengers, puts me in hope that this may be a leifurefull place, to pay a piece of a promise that I made before, to say something more of the nature and qualitie and largenesse of this mayne land of *Puerto Rico*. The means which I did most with and hope for, to enable mee the better for the payment of this debt, I could neuer with conueniency come by. For I alwayes waited if his Lordship would passe out into the Mayne. For without him I had no great desire, and indeed I should haue bene quickly misfed, seeing it was his Honor to vie me in the dispatch of all things, which were to be done by warrant or direction vnder his hand. So that whatsoever I shall lay here, I must be content to report vpon the report of others; and I will not tell you any thing, which (me thought) my selfe did not first see reason to beleue. The plat and figure of the land is a square, *altera parte longius*, the length exceeding the breadth neere the proportion of threen to foure; for it is told me, to be fixe and thirte leagues long, and twentie leagues broad, bearing it selfe out from end to end neere in the same distance. It lyeth East and West: at the West end the two corners doe so ioynt, that they make a goodly Bay betwixt them, but yet not so profitable, because a goodly Ruier, which would gladly disburden it selfe into the Bay, is choaked with sands, which the Sea casteth vp into the mouth of the Ruier, which being nauigable a good way vp into the land, is within a stones cast of losing his old name, and being called the Sea, made shallow and vnfit for the recit of Vessels of burthen. There are indeed in the same Bay other lesser Ruieres, wherof Passengers vie to take in fresh water, as *Sir Francis Drake* did, after hee was beaten from the Citie of *Puerto Rico*, and put forth thence to *Nombro de Dios*. Vpon this part of the land, which is commonly called *La Aguada*, in English, *The watering place*, the greatest Commander, and of largest possessions, is, or of late hath bene, one *Cherenos*; whose proper land, is thought to containe in compasse and circuit neere the quantitie of ten leagues. The other end, the Easterly end is knowne by the name of *La cabeza de San Iuan*, in English *Saint Iohns head*. The Citie of *Puerto Rico* is his right side or arme: and the South side called the Countreie of *Choama* (whether the Bishop at our coming had carried himselfe) will be answerable to the left side or left arme, as being lesse fit for action, and his feet: is the watering place. The most famous Riuer of this land are *Ton* and *Baiamond*, the rather because they runne into the Harbour of the Citie of *Puerto Rico*; wherof *Ton* is by much the greater, and fallett more from the West of the Towne: This Ruier riseth out of a Mountain, called *Guama*, being on the South side of the mayne land, some fiftene or sixteene leagues from *Puerto Rico* to the Eastward; from

Ships left with
Sir I. Barkley.

Cause of the
Earles quick
departure.

The Earle de-
parted from
Puerto Rico the
14. of August.

The Authors
employment
with the Earle.
Of the nature
qualitie, and
largenesse of
the mayne land
of *Puerto Rico*.

Ruier: *Ton*:

Lopez sent with
Letters.

80 peeces of
brazen Ordnance
brought
from *Puerto
Rico*.

Goats. yet (say they) that the land is not without reasonable flocks; and I have bene told so, by them who have received information from their owne eyes. Neither can this kind of sheepe be laid upon the nature of the soyle, as being vnfit or vnwilling to feed that feebler harmless creature, but it proceedeth rather of a woollish kind of wilde Dogs which are bred in the woods, and there goe in great companies together. This cometh to passe, by reason that these Dogs finde in the woods sufficient lufenance, and preferre that wilde libertie before domesticall, and to the thickets much more profitable seruice. These Dogs lue of Crabs; I meane not fruits of trees: only a contentednelle. These woods are full of these Crabs, in quantitie bigger then euer I saw any Sea-Crabs in England, and in such multitudes that they haue Berries, like Comes in English Warrens. They are in shap not different from Sea-Crabs, for ought I can perceiue. For I speake not this out of report, but of my owne sensible experience. I haue seene multitudes of men and catch and eat with good liking, and without any harme, that euer I heard complaint of. At our first coming to *Puerto Rico*, the Dogs of the Citie, every night kept a fearful howling, and in the day time, you should see them goe in flocks into the woods along the Sea-side. This was the first kinde b-moaning of their Masters absence, and leaving of them; but when within awhile they were acquainted with vs, who at first were strangers to them, and began to haue the howling by night, yet still continued their daily resort to the woods, and that in companies. We vnderstood by asking, that their resort thither was to hunt, and that whereof in the woods they should finde store. This then is the lufenance which the wilde Dogs of *Puerto Rico* finde in their woods; which either fayling them sometimes, or out of a woollish disposition they get by luing apart from men, they fall vpon the sheepe, whereof they haue made great waste; but which easily might be repayed, if the *Spaniards* would bee content, to because they loue cliftes of Rocks, or the tops of Hills, and therefore they are out of the ordinarie haunt of these murderous Dogs, by reason that their ordinarie food the Crabs are most vniuall in bottoms, and along the Sea side. Besides Sheep and Goats there is reasonable good flore of Swine, which in these Westerly and Southerly Ilands yield most sweet Porke. I doe not remember that I haue seene here either Hare or Come, but here is store of excellent Poultry, as Cocks and 30 Hens and Capons, some Turkeys and *Gump-hens*, Pigeons in meruallous abundance; not in Due-houses as with vs, but which breed and build in Trees, they are both of great number and goodfleece. For besides other places, there are two or three little Ilands hard by *Puerto Rico*, neere to the mouth of *Tosa*, where a Boat may goe in an evening or morning, and suddenly take nine, ten, or a dozen dozen; the chieftest of these three is called (as I haue heard) the *Gouernours Land*. I haue not marked any store of Fowle vpon this little land, nor haue heard of more by any that haue bene in the mayne land. Parrots and Parrachotes are here, as Crows and Dawes in England; I haue ordinarily seene them flie in flocks, and except it bee some extraordinary talkative, they are not here much regarded, as it should seeme.

Now, fruits of the land are abundant in number and measure, very excellent; Potatoes are 40 ordinarie. Their Pines are in shap like a Pine-apple, and of this likewise, I thinke, they had their names, but neither in feeling or taste are they any thing like; for that wherewith this Pine that it will not keepe long, whereas a woodie Pine-apple is of an exceeding durancie and lasting. The taste of this fruit is very delicious, so as it quickly breedeth a fullness. For I cannot rather if a man haue already eaten almost his belly full: for then they much resemble a Pine, I haue seene some a quarter of a yard long at least, and in proportionable thickness, to bee like a very thicke rustling apple, or a leetler-coat, of the bignesse of a great Collard, the rinde of it as 50 the thicker or thicker then the barke of a Willow, which being easily pulled off discovereth a yallow, but well tasting meat, something like a Carrot roote, but much better. Within this meat, there are two or three great rugged ill-shap'd stones, which (as I remember) haue kernels in them. Their *Gauaus* are a leetler fruit, as bigg as a Peach, and without not much unlike, but with in not so solid as the Mammies, or as an Apple is, but full of such litle feedes as a Goose-berry hath, not so greenish, but inclining to a languine colour, the taste of this is (me thought) like to a very ripe great white Plum: this fruit is (which a man would not thinke) a remedie against the flux, and so are their *Papayas*, a fruit like an Apple of a watenish smell, and white, their fleshes much bigger, and their meat much softer then in England, and cleie also 60 onely (me thinks) like Grapes, they are round, and as great as a good Musket-bullet, and yet haue they very litle meat vpon them, for their stone (if that which is not hard may bee called a stone) is exceeding great for the proportion of the fruit, in somuch that the meat seemeth to bee but the rinde of this stone. A stone I call it though you may put it together with your finger, but

it hath a bitterish kernell in it, and that which is without it is meat, and that of a delightful saporous taste. Their Planines are a fruit which grow on a shrub betwix an heath and a tree, but it is commonly called, a tree of the height of a man; the stem of it as bigg as a mans thigh, the fruit it selfe, of the bignesse and shap of a Goates home, it groweth yellowish and mellow being ripe either vpon the tree, or with keeping, and then eaten raw or roasted, it is a good meat, coming neere to the relish of an Apple-lobe, or a Dufon that hath bene kept still; it is ouer-ripe, fauing that me thought I still found some taste of a roote in it, the meat of it is lapped vpon a thin skin, which being scored the long way with a knife, easily discovereth what is within it. Their Coker-nuts please the eye, as well as their Nuts doe the taste. The body of them is but 10 slender, no where to bigg as a mans middle, and vprward growing proportionably lesse, till they are risen some thirtie or fortie foot high without spring or bough, then break out their boughs all at once, every one whereof is iust like a goodly Outrage feather; their leaues are so cunningly fit together, every one whereof alone is something like a Seige or the leaue of a wilde Lilly. Vnder this bough which is the head of the tree, doe the Coker-nuts grow, some forth on a tree round about the Beile, some yard downward from where the branches break out. These trees are a very great grace to the Citie of *Puerto Rico*, and very many there were found in it: and he that hath seene this may somewhat conceiue the forme of a Palmeto tree, for in shap they are not vnlike. This Palmeto tree, whilst it is young (at the yet of good yeeres) is much of it selfe meat, and 20 tasted (me thought) like a Wall-nut, but somewhat bitterish; when it is old they say it beareth fruit, the Date, one of the best fruits in my iudgement; I saw not any fruit vpon any of the Palmetoes that I saw, and therefore this shall be laid only vpon the report of others. Besides these fruits the land yieldeth Figs, Pomegranates, Muske-millions, Pome-citrons very fine (as we say) selfe (as we say) it is incredible almost that it is reported of them by men of good credite, that when Pome-citrons grow to fonge greatnesse, as that a very litle number three or foure of them will lade a horse. Limons I did not see any, yet they say there are some; but of Limes the number is 30 numberlesse; and as for Oranges, truly I thinke they are the best tasted, and most goodly in the world. For both their sweet and sowre Oranges are full of most delicate and taste-pleasing joyce, and besides they are the goodliest both in colour and greatnesse, that euer I saw. They haue Pepper also growing vpon trees, the Pepper it selfe is a litle feede of colour tawny where 40 and yellow, and inclosed in a bagge which sometime is round like a Bell, sometime it runneth out in a pickled length like a fruit, which we gather in our Gardens in England, and eate as a sallet with Mutton. This pepper is much hotter and stronger then the blacke pepper vied with vs in our Countrie. These fruits and many more grow vpon trees, and common to them all it is, and I thinke to all the fruits of the land, that the same tree at once beareth buds, Greene fruit, and ripe fruits, and often withall seedeth.

Now if any man thinke that wee haue found meates in good flore, but yet want bread and drinke, it may at one word bee answered, that the industrious and painfull can want neither of either. For first of all their Cassiaue specially new, and carefully dressed is good bread, and will keepe so well that it may be sent hence to *Spain* as vnderstand with it to the good health of the 40 fingers. The Cassiaue is the roote of a small tree, like, me thought, some ouer-grown Hyllope stalks, or a young Sallow, but the leaues are not so broad, but by much thicker vpon the branches of Cassiaue: this roote is very full of liquor, which may be easilie pressed forth, before the dryer part bee to make bread. For the roote eaten with the iuyce, or the iuyce by it selfe, bringeth a painfull swelling in the belly, whereof death doeth often follow. Wherefore the *Spaniards* generally hold it for a kinde of poyson. Yet our men (I am told) meeting with the rootes vnpresed, and mistaking them for Potatoes (whereby you may coniecture their shape) haue eaten them without after feeling any mortall distemper. And to a body whole natural heat is able to overcome their cruditie and rawnesse, there is hardly no present danger; for they tell me that of this iuyce sodden, there is made a prettie kinde of drinke somewhat like final Ale. The bread which they make of this roote is very passing white, not kneaded into loaves, but rolled out in Cakes of a reasonable thickness, yet may they be better called thin; and of such breadth that they lay them in foldes one vpon another. Besides their Cassiaue, they haue Maiz, 50 which maketh a much finer bread, and vied of the better sort. There are two sorts of Maiz, the lesser they say not vnlike to Rice, in proportion and bignesse and taste; this I neede say either growing or raw, but I haue seene it in the dish, and at first did take it for Rice, being that mee thought it was something ouer-swollen; they that eate it said, it tasted like Rice. The bigger sort of Maiz I haue seene growing, and it is either the same or exceeding like to the graine we call *Gumy wheat*; it groweth vpon a knotted stalk like a Reed, with large scattered leaues; it crieth by a sadome and a halfe at least in height, and at the very top thereof out the 60 Rice will grow, who will make a question of Come, But to put it without contradiction, that Come will come vpon such good increase, experience hath determined the question. For that same *Mulata Chereua* (whom I mentioned before) did make experience and did sow Come, which he reaped with good increas. But because it was painful to follow husbandrie and til-
lage,

Drinke.

lage, and (forsooth) Cassiaue and Maiz would serue, the *Spaniards* would none, nay this *Melato* halfe borne a flau, would not bee at the paines to continue tillage. For drinke, the *Spaniard* doth here, as in *Spaine* hee doth, vie water for most of his drinke, which is hot a climate, would well agree with the *English* after some acquaintance; yet the *Spaniard* hath two other sorts of drinke, the one called *Cucaupo*, made of *Malses* (that is, the courest of their Sugar) and some Spices; the other kinde, and vied by the better sort of them, is called *Alu*; which is a kinde of Bragget made with many hot spices. And if both these fayled, yet haue they good store of wines, indeed brought in from other Countries; nor that this land will not nourish Vines: for I haue seene some grow here in *Puerto Rico* very flourishingly. But I haue heard the King will not suffer them to plant and dreffe Vineyards, as a matter of policie.

Sensible plant.

I might here, and so would I make an end of speaking of the fruits of this land (for me thinks what hath bene said, therewith it to be selfe sufficient to live well and happily) but their *Terna vine* will not haue me forget it. This hearse is a little contemptible weed to looke vpon, with a long wooden stalk creeping vpon the ground, and seldom lifting it selfe above a handfull high from ground. But it hath a propertie, which confounded my vnderstanding, and perhaps will seeme strange in the way of Philosophers, who haue denayd every part of sense to any plant; yet this certainly seemeth to haue feeling. For if you lay your finger or a stick vpon the leaues of it, not onely that very piece which you touched, but that that is neere to it, will contract it selfe, and run together, as if it were gently dead and withered, nor onely the leaues but the very sprigs, being touched, will to diuinitall withdraw themselves, as if they would slip themselves rather then to be touched, in which state both leafe and sprig will continue a good while, before it returne to the former Greene and flourishing forme. And they say, that so long as the partie which touched it standeth by it, it will not open, but after his departure it will, this I did not my selfe obserue; and if it be so, it must be more then sense, whence such a fullenesse can proceed; but for the former, I haue my selfe bene often an eye-witnesse to my great wonder, for it groweth in very many places in the little land. His Lordship made me of it be put in pots with earth, and yet it lieth, and how farre it will continue is vncertaine. There hath bene Cinamon and something else giuen me as fruits of the Islands, but I doe thinke they are but rarities at the most, and therefore they shall not come in my bill. But now to returne to the slow steps we made towards the Islands of the *Azores*.

Cinamon.

§. V.

Accidents by Sea in their way to the Azores and there.

High Sea.

ON Saint *Barthelemyes* eue wee had store of lightning and thunder, which besides the observation, put vs more out of doubt of our neerer approach to the *Bermada*. The next day about noone we began to steere East North-east and better. Vpon Friday we five and tweluenth, we were melted with a greater and more smothering calme 40 then any time before; and yet (which made it stranger) we had out of the North-west higher Seas, then before that time I had sur seely, in the greatest windes that we had had. The burgesse of this Sea was perceived not onely by the view of our sight, but rather by the extraordinary heeling of our ship, certainly as much or more impatient of a high Sea in a calme, as of any other weather. This calme was so extremely hot, that we were in hope it would be like other exaggers, of no long continuance; but behold it lasted continually thirteene dayes, fusing that sometimes there would be some shew of a gale, but it would instantly and cowardly leaue vs, as if it had bene come onely so let vs be were needed not to despair. There had bene often speech of a Current, that were to haue, and some thought that they had found it, the most doubtful not be apprehensie. But vpon Wednesday the shew thereof began to be cleere; for though the wind was not worthy to be called so, nor scarce by the name of a breath, and besides so narrow, that we stood vpon abowling, yet we were found in that last passed artificiall day, to haue run about fiftie leagues at the least. For whereas vpon Tuesday we were by observation found to be almost precisely in thirte two: vpon Wednesday at noone, we had the Sunne in thirte three, and two tercies, and eight minutes. So that in foure and twene houres we had rayfed one degree and fortie eight minutes, which if we had run due North or South, had risen to about foure or five and thirte leagues. But seeing our course was three parts of the time at East North-east, and East and by North, the ship could not be allowed lesse way, then fiftie leagues at the least; and this being without wynde, argueth a violent Current, and the rather because for the time we had a had Sea. This was made yet more certain by observation of the Pole-star vpon Thursday 60 at night, his opinion for a Current, was vpon Saturday Sept. 2. made undoubtedly for the substance of the thing, I mean that there was a Current, but the circumstance seemed so varie something. For the Current was then iudged to lie rather to the East & by South, though this would fill the former observations with greater difficulties. This was perceived by many drags, which howeuer the

An apparent Current in 34 degrees.

the ship scaped, yet they still runne or were carried to the East Southerly. And then many other things purposely cast into the Sea to make further trial, all went the same way and that a good pace though directly ahead the ship. And yet farther if there were any breath at all, it was at North-east, so that they went against the wind that was.

And now I come to that the remembrance whereof of rather then present apprehension yet make me quake, like the man that dyed vpon the fearful knowledge of how great danger he had passed at *Rochester* bridge. It was a fearful full storme, which I truly nor knowing how dangerous it was, feared not much while we were in it, but since hearing old Sea-men and of long experience speake of it, I perceive it is good to be ignorant sometime. Vpon Thursday the fourth of September, the gale began to be very fresh and to keepe the sails stiffe from the Masts, and so continued all that day. Vpon Friday it began to speake yet lower, and to whistle a good in the throwes, insomuch that our Master made the Drablers bee taken off, and before night it had blowne the fore-top saile in pieces by the board; this was taken for the beginning of a storme, and the storme it selfe was looked for: which came indeed about the shutting in of the day, with such furie and rage, as none could say it stole vpon vs vnawares. For I am out of doubt that I had never heard any wind so high. One of our Bonnets had bene taken in the evening, and the other was rent off with the furie of the storme. And thus (for our mayne-top saile was taken in and the top-mast taken downe) bearing only a bare corse of each, if the ship had not bene exceeding strongly fised, shee could not haue indured so rough weather. For oftentimes the Sea 20 would ship in waues into her of three or foure Tunne of water, which (the ship being leakie within board) falling often, was as much as both the pumps were able to cast out againe, though they went continually all night, and till noone the next day were neuer thoroughly luct, so that if any leske had sprung vpon vs vnder water, it could not haue bene choicen, but shee must haue foundered, seeing the pumps were hardly able to rid the water that was cast in about hatches. The Mizen-saile had bene in the evening well fured (for the wind came vpon the starboard quarter) and yet the storme had caught it, and with such violence and furie rent it, that with much ado the Mizen-yard was halled downe, and so the quarter decke and poepe sueld from danger of renting vp. All this was in the night, which made it much more hideous, specially in the fore-end of the night before the Moore got vp. The wind continued in this excede of violence till mid night, and then abated her something, but then began the effect of his blowing to shew it selfe, for then the Sea began to worke, and swell farre higher then before. His Lordships ship is a very goodly one, and yet would shee bee as it were in a pit, and round about vail moon- 30 taines of water, so that a man might leaue out the rest of the verse, and say onely *ending pontus*.

Ignorance beneficiall.

A terrible storme.

High-swolne Sea. Ending pontus.

For I protest, besides that which was out our heads, our prospect any other way was quickly determined, with waues, in my conscience, higher then our mayne-top. And that (which is strange) round about vs: for the Sea came vpon euery point of the Compass, so that the poore ship, nor they that directed and cunn'd her, could not tell how to cunne her to bee safe from the breaking of these vail waues vpon her. This continued all night: and though the wind fell by little and little, yet the Sea was so light, that all Saturday it was not quieted, so that though out of a storme, yet we were still in a stormy Sea, insomuch that our mayne-top mast was broken. By Sunday we were come to haue reasonable weather, and rather too little then too much wind. And vpon Monday being the eleuenth of September, we were not much from a new calme, which we could not with much more patience haue endured then a good storme; for then we began to looke out for land, and now to come so neere, what so long we had longed for. After the storme, the Admirall found himselfe all alone, and so were we the most part of the next day, but towards euening, came the new Frigate to vs. And a sterne her there was a ship fence, which within a day or two afterward, the *Samson* came and told vs, was her selfe. With day the fiftenth of September, we had the South-west side of it in sight, and bore in therewith till noone. His Lordship had no mean to make any forcible attempt against it, nor to stay longer, then 50 to take in some fresh vittuals; for which purpose, hee sent the Boar off with an old *Portugall*, and an *African* of *Mozambique*, who bearing a flagge of truce, should giue the handlers to vnderstand what his Lordships pleasure was, that if they would let him haue things for his money, he would not vie them worse then in former times, they had had experience of him. Withall he gaue the Boar commandment, that they should bring him answere to the East North-east side of the land, where he meant to come to anchor, and tarry for the newes they could learne either *English* or *Spanish*. This day in voyding the Boar out, gaue the *Samson* time to get a head vs, and within awhile hee was at anchor. When hee did, at the opening of the Point, first there came one sail, then two, and then three sailes; and within a little the fourth was leene; it was not at first knowne what shee might be, yet because the *Samson* being much neerer, made no haste to weigh, we thought it best to make them to be friends. And within awhile we perceived them to be penitents in their fire-top-mast heads; this put vs out of doubt, that they were of our owne fleet. For his Lordship at his departure from *Puerto Rico*, had giuen them direction that euery ship should forbear a pendient, for a marke to be knowne of their friends, and which would make fire guns near about the water. These foure were the *Merchans*, the *Ascension*, the *Confus*, and

Negro fugi-
tive.Candian, ubi
sup.
Drake's vow for
the South Sea.
John Oxenham.His audacious
enterprize.

His prize.

Disorder cau-
sed by distrust
on.
Delay breeds
danger.Capitaine Bar-
ter of Bristol.

Covers quarrels.

Drake's happy
Circumnavi-
gation, see sup.
Tom. 1. 2. 2. 3.See Candian
Eliz. pag. 309.

intelligence by certaine fugitive *Negros* of Mules coming laden with treasure from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios*; and guided by them, intercepted two companies of Mules, and carried away the Gold only; for they were not able to carrie the Silver thorow the Mountaynes. Two dayes after he came to the house of Crofies, and burnt about 200000. Duckets in Merchandize, and is departed. When he traueiled ouer those Mountaynes hee beheld the South Sea; and thereby inflamed with desire of glory and wealth, was so rapit with desire of sayling therein, that he fell there on his knees, and begged of God, and besought his fauour of God to assist him in that exploit, and made a solemn vow to that purpose, one day to sayle on that Sea, which every day and night lay next his heart; pricking him forwards to the performance.

While he was musing and latching these haughtie *Designes*, *John Oxenham*, who in the former Navigations, had serued vnder Captayne *Drake*, both Souldier, Mariner, and Cooke, became a Capayne also, and with a ship of one hundred and fortie tunnes, and seauente men came to the faid Sound of *Darien*, Anno 1577. and had conference with those *Negros*. But hearing that the Mules were now conducted with Souldiers, hee refused on a new Enterprize, which neuer any had attempted, and landed in that place where Captayne *Drake* had had conference with the *Negros*; and having brought his ship aground, and couered her with boughes, and hid his Ordnance in the ground, hee took two small Petces of Ordnance and Calieues, with store of victuals, and went twelue leagues with five *Negros* into the mayne Land, to a Riuer which runneth into the South Sea, to the *Iland of Pearles*, five and twelue leagues distant from *Panama*, to watch for shippes coming from *Pern* thither: hee took a Barke with 60000. Pezos of Gold, coming from *Quito*; and staying five dayes longer, took another which came from *Lima* with 100000. Pezos of Silver in barres, and delaying somewhat longer, sent away his Prizes, and went with his Pinnasse vp the Riuer. This delaye gaue opportunitee of intelligence, and *John de Ortega* was sent to pursue him: at a partition of the Riuer into three, when he was taking vp the greatest, feathers of Hennes which the *English* had plucked, diuerted him vp the lesser streame, whereby hee lighted on the treasure first, *Oxenham* being gone to take *Negros* to helpe him carrie his treasure, his owne men quarrelling for larger pay. Some of the *English* were taken, which bewrayed the ship, and the reit were betrayed by the *Negros*, while they were making Canoes for the North Sea, there to take some Barke. They confited that they had no license from the Queene, and were all executed, but two Boyes. This perished *Oxenham*, a man, if his Calé had beene iust, worthy of lasting memory for an attempt so difficult, *Quem non tenuit, magnis tamen excedit ausis*. The King of *Spain* sent Souldiers to take those fugitive *Negros*, which had assisted the *English*, and two Gallies to guard the Coast. This and Capayne *Barker*'s frustrated attempts giue greater lustre to *Drake*'s glory.

Andrew Barker of Bristol, much wronged by the Inquisition, Anno 1576. fought to right himselfe in those parts, and came with two shippes to *Nombre de Dios*, and the Riuer of *Cogre*, eighteen leagues distant to the North-west, landed ten men to seeke intelligence of *Negros*, which they could not find, and most of the men also died of the *Cadentia*. Betwixt that and *Vera Cruz* hee took a Prize, and another in the Gulfe of *Honduras*. Mutual quarrels betwixt *Coxe* and the Capayne betrayed them to the *Spaniards*, which assailing them, flue the Capayne and eight men at the *Ile Francesca*. After this *Coxe* went with his Pinnasse, and took the Towne of *Truxillo*, but eight men were (by reason of men of warre chasing the ship, thus forced to shift for themselves) left there to their fortunes. Fourteen others and the Frigate with the treasure were call away. Duers of the reit after their retaine were long imprisoned.

These indeed are pettie things to Capayne *Drake*'s expedition in December 1577. wherein he encompassed first of any General, and except *Candian* more fortunately then all of them together, thus whole Terrestrial Globe. He set forth with five shippes, and one hundred sixtie six Mariners. The whole Voyage youe haue before at large. The Carcasse of the shippe; or some bones at least of that glorious Carcasse, yet remayne at *Depford*, consecrated to Fame and Poetrie; in which Queene *Elizabeth* being feasted, Knighted this noble Mariner: at which time a bridge of boords made for her Maiestie to passe, fell with one hundred men thereon, of which none were hurt, as if Good Fortune had both sayled abroad, and feasted at home in that ship. The goods taken were sequestred by her Maiestie, for answer to the *Spaniard* if need should bee. Some principall Courtiers are said to haue refused the offer of some of this, as Piratically gotten. *Bernardine Mendez* made demand for the King of *Spain*, (whose Embassador hee was) and recieued answer from the Queene, that the *Spaniards* had vniuilly prohibited commerce to the *English*, that *Drake* should legally answer if any thing were proued against him, the goods being to that purpose sequestred, howlouer the *Spaniard* had put her Maiestie to greater charges against the Rebels, which the *Spaniard* had raised in *England* and *Ireland*: Neither did the know why her subiects and others were prohibited the *Indies*, which the knew no reason to thinke proper to the *Spaniards*, by vertue of the Popes Bull (which could nothing oblige Princes which owed him no obedience) nor by reason that the *Spaniards* had armed here and there, had directed Cortages, and giuen names to Capes and Riuers. Neither might these things hinder

hinder other Princes from commerce, or to transport Colonies to places not inhabited by the *Spaniards* (the Law of Nations not infringing hereby, feeling prescription without possession is nothing worthy) the vie of the Sea and Aire being expole to all. Nor might any people or person challenge right ouer the Ocean, whereof neither nature, nor course of publike vie permitted possession. Yet a great part of the money was repaid after to *Peter Sessera* the *Spanish* Agent, which he repaid not to the owners, but made vie thereof against the Queene in the affaires of the *Spanish* Netherlands, as was afterwards found. Thus farre briefly collected out of *Matter Camden* and *Lopez Vaz a Portugal*. Men noated to haue compailed the world with *Drake*, which haue come to my hands are *Thomas Drake*, brother to *Sir Francis*; *Thomas Flood*, *Thomas Blackwater*, *John Grippe*, *George a Mulician*, *Crane*, *Fletcher*, *Cary*, *T. Moore*, *John Drake*, *John Thomas*, *Robert Winterly*, *Olmer* the Gunner, &c.

A little before this the Prince of Orange had beene married, and Pany had undertaken the same on her Maiestie, having the Cardinal Comenits intigilation, and the Popes absolution to that purpose. The *Spaniards* had giuen great diffaults in *English* and Irish rebellion, and had lately erred the *English* Ships and goods in *Spain*, with other unkindnesses in *Belgian* business. The *Belgians* had offered the confederate Provinces to her Maiesties Protection and dominion. This she refused, but their Protection she accepted, having discovered the *Spaniards* hatred to her Religion and Nation, which how easie were it to put in extreamest execution, if the Low-Countries were subdued to his full power (their ancient priuileges being all swallowed up) and so *England* should be expole to *Spanish* machinations with such opportunities of neighbouring Forts, Forces, Harbours, and Shippings. She therefore to remove present warre and future perils from her owne Countreie, with masculine magnanimie aduertured, not for vainglory but necessity, to undertake a business which made the world to wonder; being little lesse then denouncing warre to so mighty a Monarch. She agreed with the States to minister to their aide 5000. foote, and 1000. horse at her owne charge, to be by them after repayed, the first years charges in the first years of peace, the rest in the seauere following. Flushing and the Ramelins and Brill to remaine herein in caution, &c. Her Maiestie set forth a Booke also for her iustificati- on by the ancient leagues with the *Belgian* Provinces for mutual defence, the *Spanish* crueltie on the poore *Belgians*, and their nefarious desires against her: neither had she any intent in administering this aide, but that the Low-Countries might enuy their ancient liberty, (he and her subiects) their securitie, and both Nations peaceable commerce. And to the end that warre might not still be brought home to her owne doore, she set forth a Fleet to finde the *Spaniard* works abroad.

Hereupon Anno 1585. *Sir Francis Drake* with a Fleet of five and twenty saile, and 2300. Souldiers and Sailers was set forth from *Plymouth* Sep. 12. *Christopher Carlike* his Lieutenant Generall, *Antonie Powell* Sergeant Maior, Captaine *Matthew Morgan* and *John Samson* Corporall of the field; Land Capaines *Antonie Platt*, *Edward Winter*, *John Gering*, *Robert Pen*, *George Barrow*, *John Merckian*, *William Cull*, *Walter Bygon*, *John Hamon*, *Richard Stanton*, Captaine *Mar- tin Fresholme* Viceadmirall in the *Primrose*; Capaine *Francis Kneller* Reredmirall in the *Gallion* *Leicester*; Capaine *Thomas Vanner* in the *Eliza*. Remoued vnder the Generall Captaine *Ed- ward Winter* in the *Aide*; *Christopher Carlike* in the *Tyger*, *Henry White* Captaine of the Sea Dragon, 40 *Thomas Drake* Captaine of the *Thomas*, *Thomas Seely* Captaine of the *Caminion*. Capaine *Elyot* of the Barke *Talbot*, *Robert Crosse* of the Barke *Bond*, *George Fortescue* of the Barke *Bonar*, *Edward Carlele* of the Hope, *James Erizo* of the *White Lyn*, *Thomas Moore* of the *Fancie*, *John Ruers* of the *Vantage*, *John Vaughan* of the *Drake*, *John Vany* of the *George*, *John Marim* of the *Beniamin*, *Richard Gilman* of the *Scout*, *Richard Hawken* of the *Ducky*, Capaine *Bifford* of the *Swallow*. They took a Shippe of Saint *Sebastians* laden with fifteent, entered the Iles of *Bayon*, and sent to the Citie to know whether there were warres betwixt *England* and *Spain*, and why the *English* Merchants and their goods in *Spain* were embargoed or arrested. The Gouernour professed his ignorance in both, and that this later was the Kings pleasure. After some spoiles about *Vigo*, they fell with *Hierro*, but the Iland being poore, departed without harme. Thence they went to the Iles of *Cape Verde*, and at Saint Iago entered betwixt the Towne called *Playa* or *Praya* and *Saint Iago*, landed 1000. men, and (the men being fled) entered the Towne and thof all their Ordnance, being 50. peeces, answered from the Ships to honour the Queenes day, the 17. of Nouember. No Treasure was found but Wine, Oyle, Meale, &c. They possessed it foure- teene dayes. Nouember the foure and twentieth, they marched to Saint *Domungo*, twelue miles within land, and found the people fled.

After foureteen. dayes they departed having burned the Towne of *Playa*, none of the inhabitants having offered to intercede, which seemed to happen from their guiltinesse towards old *Master William Hawken*, whose men perfidiously they had murdered foure or five yeares before, against their promise, putting off to the West *Indies*, they could not put off the effects of the curse of the first Iland which they fell with was *Dominica*, the next Saint *Christopher*, and having there spent their Christmas, they reloued for *Hispamola*: and having received intelligence by a Frigate which they tooke in the way, they landed nine or ten miles to the Westward of Saint *Domungo* on New yeares day. About noone they approached the Towne vnder the conduct of *Master Carlike*,

S. Fr. Drake
to Domingo, &c.Names of the
Capitaines and
Commanders
by Sea & LandEnglish Ships
arrested, the
cause of the
breaking out
of Hostility.

S. Iago taken.

Voyage of old
Master William
Hawken,
Dominica.

S. Christopher.

Sir: Domingo
assaulted and
taken.

Ambitious
Armes.

Cartagena as-
saulted and ta-
ken.

Mortality by a
Calamity.
The Cause.

Other Towns
taken.

* So Candor
others: Saint
Augustine
Fifteen to
batter, and
(as may be
seen) of the
foolish looks
at the leisure
which the Pir-
giant (so ap-
pearing to be)
taught them.

* This voyage
is printed in
Miles: His
Tom. ap. 2. 1.
but finding
this was a
Relation, I
thought good
to insert it.
It was written
by one Thomas
Parker.

Carlike of
1400. tuns.

Carlike, and 150. horsemen presenting themselves from the Carie being retired, they divided their forces to assault both the Welternes gates at once. The Ordnance being discharged on them, they ran in to present a second charge and entered with them pell mell into the Gates, the enemy altering their fight into flight, which they made by the North gate. Both troops met in the Market-place and there barricaded themselves. The Cattle was abandoned the next night. They held the Towne a whole moneth. They burned many houses before they could bring the *Spaniards* to a price for the ransom of the rest, for which at last they paid after much spoile 25000. Duckets. The pray was not much. In the Towne-houses were the Kings Armes, and in the lower part of the Church was painted a globe of the Sea and Land, a horse standing thereon with his hinder legges, the forepart without the globe, with this motto ascribed to his mouth, *Nus sufficit Orbis*.

From Saint Domingo they set sail for *Cartagena* on the Continent, landing some Companies with Captaine *Carlike* hee miles off, which were led on by night, the Generall with this Fleet presenting themselves before the chained Port. After many houles burned 10000. Duckets were paid for ransom of the rest from burning. The *Calcutra* continued, killing some (being a pestilent spotted Fever) and spoiling others of their strength and memory for a long time. The Serena or Evening ayre is said to cause it to them which are then abroad, if not of that Country: so that by holding their watch, the *English* were thus infected. This forced them to give over their intended voyage to *Nombr de Dios*, and *Panama*, sailing therefore alongst the coast of *Florida*, they took and fired two garrison Townes of the *Spaniards*, Saint *Antonio* and Saint *Helena*, and the Port of Saint *John*. Then passing alongst the *Virginian* shore they took home the *English* Colonies there remaining with Master *Lane* their Governour, sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh*. These are said by Master *Candor* to have bene the first bringers in of the use of Tobacco, since so frequently abused by our Nation. They arrived at *Pomeroon* the 28. of July 1586. They got Ordnance of Brasie about 300. peeces, and about 40. of Iron. The prey was valued at 60000. li. *English*. They eyed (most of the *Calcutra*) 700. perions. The industry of the Generall in all places is remarkable, whose vigilance and bodily preference, and labour in all business: was much, that ha he bene in the meanest he had merited the highest place. To this is fitted in next place to adde his *Cadix* exploit Anno 1587. and the taking of the rich Caracke, called Saint *Philip*.

He Maieftie being informed of that inuincible Armadas preparing in *Spain* (which did come and was overcome the year after) sent a fleet of 20. saile vnder the command of Sir *Francis Drake*: the *Bonadventure*, the *Lyon*, the *Dread-nought*, and the *Rainbow* were cutt of her. Navy Revall chosen to this service. The 16. of Aprill two Shippes of *Middleborough* which came from *Cadix* (with whom we met in 40. degrees) came to vnderland that there was great prouision in *Cadix*, and thereabout provided to goe to *Lisbone*, whereupon the Generall with all possible spendinge himselfe thither to cut of the forces and prouisions the 19. of Aprill, one hour before the Sunne setting, entered the harbour of *Cadix*, and the *Spanish* Fleet checked vs, at the entering theret: with the Towne Gallies, but in short time retired vnder the Fortresse.

There were in the Roades 60. Shippes, and diuers other small shipping vnder the fortresse. There fled 20. French Shippes to port *Riall*, and some *Spaniards*, which could not be hindered of the Fleet by reason of the shoalnesse. There were funke by vs at our coming in with them, two *Orges* of 1000. tun, furnished with thirty peeces of Brasie, and richly laden. There were two Gallies more came presently from port *Riall*, and two other from Saint *Mary* port, but all in vaine the expenses of powder and shot, the great gain to themselves.

There were to the number of 38. Shippes taken before night, and the *English* victours of the Road: the Gallies retreating vnder the Fortresses. Twenty Hulks *Hollanders* confiscated to the King, and their goods sold to the Kings vse: fourteen of them were fired the other fix were at port *Riall* laden with Wines and Bread, and to be perfectly laden for *Lisbone* one Caracke of foureteen hundred tun apperaining to the Marquess of Saint *Croce*, five great Biskettes of foureteen hundred tun apperaining to the Kings prouision for *Lisbone*, kainers fired, foure of them lading and taking in of victuals for the Kings prouision for *Lisbone*, the Saint was a Ship of 1000. tuns, bound for *Lisbone* having in her great store of Pikes, much Iron, Nails, Spikes, Iron hoops, and such like, fired. One *Shutag* laden with Wines of 250. tuns for the Kings prouision, which were brought to Sea with vs, and discharged at Sea a part of tuns for the prouision of the Fleet, and there fired her. Three Flye-boates of foure hundred tuns laden with Bisket whereof the one being of two hundred tuns and upwards, we halfe vnailed and then fired her, the other two are yet with vs in company. Sometime Barks more laden with Wines, Raisins, Figges, Oyle, Wheate, with such like, fired. By supposition the eight and thirte Shippes and Barks fired, funke, and brought away with vs, amounted in iudgement to thirteene thousand tuns of shipping. There is in sight of vs at port *Riall*, by estimation, about foure saile, besides those that fled from *Cadix* aforesaid.

They

They gave vs little ease during our abode there, which they shot from the Gallies, as also from the Fortresses and from the shore, where continually they planted new Ordnance at places convenient to offend: notwithstanding their Shippes were continually fired as the flood came, thereby to bee cleared of them, which terrible fire was pleasant vnto vs to behold, and mitigated the continuall burthen of traualle, which lay vpon vs day and night in discharging, firing, and vnaiding, such prouisions, with obsecrations for good and gainable defence of the enemy. It pleased the Generall, after his great care and paines day and night, to finish this happy Action in her Maieties service, in one day and two nights, and hee came forth againe the Friday in the morning, with very little losse, thanks be to God.

Of twelue Gallies, and those that came from port *Riall*, and Saint *Mary* port, tenne of them came forth after vs, as it were to make some pasture with their great Ordnance. At length, the whole standing, we cut about againe and strooke in for the shore, and came to anker within a league of *Cales*, where the Gallies suffered vs to ride quietly. There were also three Flye Boates more at *Malaga* laden with Bysske, bound for *Cales*, and so for *Lisbone*. We vnderstood of their great prouisions and forces provided within the Straights. We doubt not, but as God hath begonne this worke in good happinesse, to the daunting of the enemy: so God will blisse this Arme in cutting daily their forces shorter, to the great annoyance of the enemy, and to the honour of our Prince and Countie.

Wee haue had the experience of Galley fights (wherein I can assure you) that these onely four of her Maieties Shippes will make none accompt of twenty Gallies: so as they were alone, and not driven to guard others.

There were Gallies had place taken for their advantage in fight: vpon shore they received, they had present access to ground vnder the towne, which they findry times did waye, riding in a narrow gutter, the place yielding no better, in that wee were driven to maintain the same vntill wee had discharged, and fired the Shippes, which could not conveniently be done but vpon the flood: that thereby they may diue clearer of vs.

We rest now victualled with Bread and Drinke, for six moneths in our Shippes, and Bread besides in two flye Boates to maintain a good Arme three moneths. We rest all in good loue with our Generall and vnto in all the whole Fleet.

After this, they came before the haven of *Lisbon*, where the Marquess of *Santa Cruz* was with his Gallies, whom the Generall invited to some exchange of Bullets, but he refused. Thence they sailed to the *Azores*, and met with a *Portugall* Caracke, called Saint *Philip*, which had in her voyage outward carried the three *Iapian* Princes into the *Indies*. This Caracke he tooke, the first of that kinde taken by the *English*, ominous in the name: and so it proved not only by the losse of so great wealth to King *Philip*, both in leading the daunce to others after taken, and in opening the eyes of the *English* to visite the *Indian* fontaines, whence such wealth issued: wherein altho the *Hollanders* quickly imitated them.

To moore other braue exploits neerer home, as that most glorious of 88. and the rest: our purpose is to giue you the remore Voyages of this worthy Sea-man; and now lastly that last and full expedition Anno 1595. with fixte of the *Queenes* Shippes and one and twenty other Shippes and Barks, containing 2500. men and boyes, intended for some speciall venture in the *West Indies*. Sir *Francis Drake* and Sir *John Hawkins* were joyned in Commission. They set sail from *Plimouth* the eight and twentieth of August. Nouember the twelfth, nere the East mouth of Saint *Iuan de Puerto Rico*, Sir *John Hawkins* died. The haue of Saint *Iuan* they found strongly fortified against them, but yet they fired their five Shippes each of 300. runnes, hauing in eury of them twenty peeces of Brasie, and richly laden. Much harme was done on both sides. The five and twentieth they pulled by *Mona*. In the beginning of December, they tooke *Rio de la Hacha*. They tooke also the *Rancheria* or fisher towne for *Peables*. The *Spaniards* offered to ransom their Towne at 24000. Ducates which they brought in *Pearle* so dearly rated, that the General sent them backe, and both were burnt. The fifteneenth they tooke *Tapia*, and after that Saint *Martha*, and the *Spanish* Lieutenant Generall. The feuen and twentieth *Nombr de Dios* was taken a Towne subject to raine, and very vnehealthfull: the road faire, hauing on each side as you come alonge of rocks. The nine and twentieth, Sir *Thomas Baskerville* with 700. Land-souldiers went for *Panama*, a fore march thorow the woods, the way cut out of the woods and rocks, very mirie, the *Spaniards* playing on them out of the woods. After ten leagues march, they came to a fort on the top of a hill: two such more were betwixt that and *Panama*, that also strongly fortified, the enemy hauing knowledge before of this designe. Herby he was forced to returne. Inuary the eight and twentieth. Sir *Francis Drake* died of a fluxe. He made his brother *Thomas Drake* his heire. Sir *Thomas Baskerville* succeeded. The fix and twentieth of February the *Spaniards* fought of twenty sailes and the *English* met: a fight followed, & continued two houres, and then they parted. A great Ship of the *Spaniards* that night was burned. In Aprill following they arrived at *Plimouth*.

Gally-fight.

Sir Francis Drake
Drakes last
voyage.

Death of Sir
John Hawkins.
S. I. A. P. R. R. R.

R. de la Hacha
taken: and
S. Marth.

Nombr de Dios
S. P. R. R. R.

S. P. R. R. R.

March for Pa-
nama.

S. P. R. R. R.

Sea-fight.

In this Voyage I have followed the printed Relation; but because another hath come to my hands, written (as it seems) by one offended therein, I have to thy other ear permitted him to speake, that freedom of judgement may remayne to every Reader.

Quartell be-
twixt the Ge-
nerals.

Reason for and
agaist the Ca-
nary exploit.

The Grand
Counsil.

Dominica.

Sir I. Hawkins
sicketh.

At Porto rico.

He dyeth.

Treasure lost.

Knowen.

Rio dela Hacha.

The seven and twentieth of August, having our dispatch from Mr. Matheffe, we brought all our fleet into the Sound of Plimouth, and the eight and twentieth day we set saile for our pretended Voyage. In our course along the Coast of Spain, we divers meetings with our Generals, where passed many talked speeches, and such as Sir John Hawkins never put off till death. In this tract was put an resolution with Sir Francis Drake, and Sir Thomas Baskerville to take the Grand Canaria, whereupon a counsel was held, and therein propounded by Sir Francis, how great a benefit, much bounty, and good refreshing was offered us, and therefore would stand on most voyces. Sir John Hawkins to whom hee spake this wittily refused, with these reasons following. First, there could be no need considering our small time out. Secondly, not possible to arrive without hazarding all, and Thirdly, not good to lose time, which would never be recovered. To this last reason Sir Thomas Baskerville answered. First, for time, hee would require but four dayes in this manner, in four hours he would take it, and in the rest would hee burne it downe, except they would compound, thus the fourth day would be he stopped ready for our Voyage.

In this conference Sir Francis would goe for the Canaria with such as would follow him, and Sir John Hawkins with the rest for the Indies, yet after this hard debating, at the earnest request of some friends, Sir John Hawkins upon the confiding of need, was content to assist them, yet in his judgement labour lost with much hazard of all. Thus altogether standing along, the five and twentieth of September we came to anchor before the Port that guards the landing place at Grand Canaria, where were put into our Boates and Pinnaces, all our land men under the conduct of Sir Thomas Baskerville Colonel General, who drew him to the middle of the Boate. Betwixt the Port and the Towne, as may safely be for our landing. To this place once then did the Spaniards come two or three very small Pieces of Ordnance, with which and with some companies of Soldiers; made some show of resistance, whereupon notwithstanding most of our smaller shipping, who accompanied our Boats with their Artillery, Sir Thomas made his retreat without putting foot on land, and then to know, as it was reported, if our Generals would put their Voyage thereon or no. With this better consideration were all our men shipped a game, and stood along to the Westward of the Boate. Here were many shawes some for water, some for pleasure, amongst whom, the eight and twentieth day was Captaine Grimstone with two men in his company flaine, and by Peasants as was thought; with this evil beginning, this night we weighed and stood along to the Indies.

The eight and twentieth of October, we came saile by the Southermost end of Dominica: and the thirtieth day we came all at saile anchoring at Guadalupe, only the Delight and the Francis, two of our smallest Pinnaces, who being to towards end of fight, were there chased by five Spanish ships, in which chase the Francis was taken, the other escaped with this news. The last of this month Sir John Hawkins not able to bear his grieves any longer, sicked. Here we built seven Pinnaces. The fourth of November were they launched, and we stood off for Porto rico, the eight day in the way we anchored among the Islands Virgins, where all our Soldiers were appointed to their Land Captaines. The twentieth day we came to anchor after the Harbour at Porto rico, where died Sir Nicholas Clifford, by a shot from a platforme, sitting at upper in the Distance, with this shot was likewise Master Brewt Browne hurt, who lived but few dayes after, and this day also died Sir John Hawkins, whose death my men was much lamented.

In this Harbour vid the five Frigats of the Kings, which came for the treasure. This place being well viewed by our Generall, and Colonell General, a counsel was held and therein agreed, That first and most necessary the Frigats should bee burned, and for that service was named on the next night thourie of our Boates and Pinnaces with fire workes, and with warlike weapons, these Frigats were so well defended aboard, and with the Ordnance above, that our men returned with consuming only one of them, out of which were saved some of the Spaniards, who reported certainly, that there the Treasure of two Millions was, and so were our men taken in the Francis.

Notwithstanding all these quickning news after some few dayes, we weighed and stood along to the Westward of this land, where we contented us with some refreshing of water, Oranges and Plantains, here were built seven Pinnaces more. At this place first wee aboard me with his Warrant Fortie Soldiers out of the Distance. The five and twentieth day we weighed and stood along for one Island, called knowne-lawe, with which wee fell the nine and twentieth day, but being not; thus standing along. The first of December we arrived at Cape dela Hacha, the second in the morning we put into our Boats with search in the Woods, and intelligence of some Negroes, was found great store of Pearle, Plate, Jewels, Rials of Plate, Bolts of Silke, rich apparel, with much other luggage. The first of this month, brought in Sir Francis from one other Towne called Rancharia, great quantities of Pearle and luggage. The ninth day came in some Spaniards, with intent to ransom their houses, Negroes, and some Spaniards Prisoners, and concluded for 24000. Pezoes, every Pezo worth five shillings six pence. The thirteenth day, came in the same all in Pearle, and the fourteenth day came in their Lieutenant for the deli.

delivery. But in so valuing, their quantity and quality would not be taken, whereby departed they with four hours respite for further answer from their Gouverneur Don Francisco Manfo, his answer was humble would come to conference, which hee did the sixteenth day. After dinner our Generall and Colonell General, with the Spaniards had secret conference about this Ransome, whereupon concluding, they absolutely broke off, and therefore in all haile was fire put in some of the houses, and the Gouverneur had two hours time to cleere him of our Army.

Thus having burnt Rio dela Hacha, Rancharia, and Tapia. The eighteenth day we weighed and stood along for Santa Marta, to which we came the twentieth day, here we only took some few Prisoners, whereof one was the Lieutenant there. The one and twentieth, it was put to fire, and we set saile for Nombre de Dios, to which we came the seven and twentieth day, where in the manner the people had conquered the Towne, yet here was found by intelligence of some Negroes, as I heard, two and twenty Sower of Silver, Gold in Bullion, some Jewels, a great store of Plate, and Rialls of Plate, with much other luggage. The nine and twentieth day, Sir Thomas Baskerville, Colonell General with all his ablest Captaines and Soldiers took their journey for Panama, now the mark of our Voyage: who neere the mid-way being empeached by some Spaniards and N. gros, made their retraite to the Ships at Nombre de Dios, at this encounter were few of our men slaine, some hurt, some of the which there left to the mercy of the Spaniards.

The fifth day of January, all our men being shipped, the towne and Gallies put to fire, we set saile by the advice of a Spaniard, for the River Nicotrago, in which way we fell with one Island called Elcudo, a place which affordeth nothing good, yet here we stayed 7 in the tenth day until the three and twentieth, when we set saile, and sailed to the Eastward, which by Gods speciall favour, the eight and twentieth day we came in with Porto Ibella. This morning died our Generall Sir Francis Drake. This is the place where the people of Nombre de Dios meeteth to dwell at. Here found we a beginning of a strong plat-forme with three Braffe Pieces ornamented. In my opinion, this was our best remove, for if God had not prevented our Generals purpose for the River Nicotrago, it would have hazarded all their Master-ships, farre with the rest. Here took we in ballast, water, mended our sayles, and calked our ships, such as had need.

The eight of February, Sir Thomas Baskerville taking upon him General, we all set saile for Santa Marta homeward, but not able to recover higher then Cartagena, as wee glosse in the Bonaventure, with the splitting of all our sayles, put over for Iamaica. In this course I saw the Fort-eighty, the Susan Parnell, the Helpe, and the Gregorie. The five and twentieth day came we saile by Canaria granda, which bore over us in the morning East North-east, and this day was all our selfe and fifth fleet. The second of March, making this our miserie life to be known to Sir Thomas Baskerville, who hath given me his promise to relieve me at my need, his answer was carefully for us, and with all said, hee would goe in with the Island Pinos to water, which I utterly misliked, the wind then being good to stand along, very ill to lose, and more for that no Englishman in our Fleet either knew or ever heard of any watering or other good there.

In this reasoning betwixt us, we desired twenty sayle of Ships a-head of us, who were the Kings men of warre, waiting our home coming, it was my fortune in the Bonaventure to take to take the Vice-admirall one of the twelve Apostles of the Kings, for I thought by a great good Saint, which mannered by the Kings. The manner of our fight and my desiring I leave even to the eyes of mine enemies, yet thus much understand their Admirall with the rest, all the next day being in the minde, was content we should passe in peace. Thus being quietly, and all our discommodities, wherefore I made a second demand of Sir Thomas, his promise for vituals, which hee utterly refused, wherefore I asked in regard of our Generals Lacke as mine own danger, with a shot in our fight, whereon it was understood, with mee to live or die; I told him I must make more haste home then I presumed hee would, yet we stayed with him two dayes longer, when in a storme I left him, and this was the fourteenth day of March.

Now for these two English Sea-worthies, as wee have begunne their American Adventures, and ended them together, I have thought good to inferre this following sentence of a Gentleman in a Letter of his, touching them both, as an Epitaph dedicated to their memory.

Sir, I have according to your request, and my owne plainnesse sent you here the comparison betweene those two Commanders Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins. They were both much given to travel in their youth and age, attempting many honourable Voyages alike; as that of Sir John Hawkins to Guay, to the Iles of America, to Saint John de Vlax. So likewise Sir Francis Drake after many Discoveries of the West Indies, and other parts, was the first Englishman that did our compass the World, wherein, as also in his deep judgement in Sea causes, hee did farre exceed Sir John Hawkins alone, but all others who follow. In their own natures and disposition they did as much differ, as in the managing matters of the Warre. Sir Francis being of a lively spirit, restless, quick, and sufficiently valiant; The other slow, steele, and hardly brought to resolution. In Council Sir John Hawkins did often differ from the judgement of others, seeming thereby to be more in doubtful things, then hee would venter. Sir Francis was a willing learner of every mans opinion, but commonly a follower of his owne: hee never attempted any action, whereon hee was an absolute Commander, but hee

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performed the same with great reputation, and did easily dispatch great matters; Contrariwise Sir John Hawkins did only grieve for bare attempt of things, for the most part without any Fortune or good success thereon. Sir John Hawkins did naturally hate the Land-souldier, and though hee were very popular, yet he affected more the common sort, then his equals; Sir Francis contrariwise did much love the Land-souldier, and greatly advanced good parts, wherefewer he found them. Hee was also affable to all men and of easy access, They were both of many vertues, and agreeing in some. As patience in enduring labours, and hardihood, Observation and Memory of things past, and great discretion in sudden dangers, in which neither of them was much discommoded, and in some other vertues they differed. Sir John Hawkins had in him more aptness to forgive, and true of word; Sir Francis hard in reconciliation, and constancie in friendship; he was withall fierce and courteous, magnanimous, and liberal. They were both sanctie in ambition, but more the one then the other; For in Sir Francis was an insatiable desire of honor, indeed beyond reason. He was infinite in promises, and more temperate in adversity, then in better Fortune. He had also other imperfections, as aptness to anger, and bitterness in disagreeing, and too much pleas'd with open flattery: Sir John Hawkins had in him malice with dissimulation, rudeness in behaviour, and passing sparing, indeed miserable. They were both happy alike in being Great Commanders, but not of equal success, and grew great and famous by one means, rising through their owne Vertues, and the Fortune of the Sea. Their was no comparison to be made betweene their well-deserving and good parts, for therein Sir Francis Drake did farre exceede. This is all I have observed in the Voyages, whereon I have served with them.

R. M.

A briefe recitall or nomination of Souldiers, other Englishmens Voyages related as large in the printed Works of Master HAKLEYTT.

Captaine Michelon

Treschery of Spaniards

Sir G. Carey.

Captaine Newport.

Earle of Suffolk

Thirteen English before Havana, Sir R. Dudley.

Captaine Amas Pri.

Captaine Summers.

Sir Antonio Sherley.

Captaine Zerk.

Sir W. Raleigh.

Mr. W. Hemmings.

Mr. Reiger.

Mr. Dudley.

Mr. Hare.

Sir I. Lancaster.

Fenton and Ward.

John Drake.

Other Voyages might here be inferred, made by Englishmen into the Bay of Mexico, as that by Captaine W. Michelson, and William Mace of Ratcliffe, in the *Dagge* 1589, which thereooke three shippes. They held fight with a Spanisll man of Warre, who by fraud sought perfidiously to obtayne that which they could not by vnspotted Fortitude. They put out a flagge of Truce, and after kinde enterainment aboard the English, invited them to their shippe, where they assailed them, flabbing Roger King (sold the Pilot to the Heart), slaying others; and forcing the rest to trust God and the Sea rather then the Deuill and the Spaniards; thus swimming to their shippe.

The valiant fight of the *Content*, a small ship of Sir George Careys, (Lord Howland, Lord Chamberlaine) 1591. June 13. with three great Spanish ships, each of six or seven hundred, and one small shippe and two Gallies, farre more being flaine of the enemies then the English lost to fight: I leave to Master Hakleys report: as also Captaine Christopher Newport, his Voyage with three ships and a Pinnasse the same yeere, which tooke and spoyled *Yaguana* and *Oca* in *Hispavilla*, and *Truxello*, besides other Prizes, and in the way homeward, were at the taking of the *Madre de Dios*.

The next yeere Captaine Lane Gen. of Master Wals his fleet, Captaine Roberts in the Exchange of *Brazil*, and Captaine *Burnam Wood* with foure shippes (set forth by the Lord Thomas Howard, Captaine Kemell of *Loma-houffe*, and Captaine King of *Ratcliffe Road*, with thirteen fuyles before *Havana*, waiting for purchase.

Anno 1594. the Honourable Sir Robert Dudley set forth with two shippes and two Pinnasses, and made his Voyage to *Trinidad*, and the Coast of *Paria*, returning by the Iles of *Granata*, *Santa Cruz*, *Santa Juan de Puerto Rico*, *Mona*, *Zachoe*, and *Bermuda*. In which Voyage he and his company tooke or funkne nine Spanish ships; of which one was a man of Warre of fixe hundred runs. The particulars are related by himselfe in Master Hakleys.

In him also the Reader may find the victorious Voyage of Captaine *Amias Preflen*, and Captaine *George Summers* (both since Knights) Anno 1595. in which the Iles of *Puerto Santo*, and of *Cochonete*, *Margarita*, the Fort and Towne of *Cero*, the Citie of *Saint Iago de Leon*, were sacked and burnt; the Towne of *Cumana* ranfomed, and *Iamaica* entered.

Sir Antonio Sherley. Anno 1596. set forth from *Hampton*, with nine shippes and a Galley, to *Saint Iago Dominica*, *Margarita*, *Iamaica*, Bay of *Honduras*, and homewards by *Newfoundland*. This and Captaine Parker's Voyage 1596. to the same parts and Ports, with his taking of *Campoe*, the chiefe Towne of *Iacatan*, and bringing thence a *Fngat*, laden with the Kings Tribute:

Also the Voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh to *Guiana*, and other intelligences of that Nation: likewise Master William Hawkins his Voyages to *Brazil*, and those of Reiger and Barry, Dudley, Stephen Hare, Sir James Lancaster's taking of *Fernambouc*, *Fenton* and *Ward*, and John Drake's Voyage after his departure from *Fenton* vnto the River of *Plate*, and liuing fifteen moneths with the *Sauages*, Anno 1582.

All

All these I referre to the painfull labours of Master Hakleys, who hath well deserued of the English Nation, and of these *Neptunian Heroes*, that I mention not the many Voyages of others in those times of Difference betwixt England and Spain, which here and there you shall finde mention of in these Relations. Anno 1589. three shippes were set forth by Master Chidley and others for the *Magellan* Straites, one of which arrived there and tooke there a *Spaniard*, one of the four hundred which had beene sent thither to inhabit, which had long liued there alone, the rest being famished. They spent fixe weekes there with contrary winds, and fixe or six of their company returned, they also being racked on the Coast of *Normandie*, as W. Maguirs one of the six hath related.

This I doe but summarily mention, as an Index rather to Master Hakleys labours, then with any intent to give the discourse thereof. But the strange fortunes of Peter Carder (not hitherto published) compell me to take speciall notice thereof, which himselfe hath thus related.

CHAP. V.

The Relation of PETER CARDER of Saint Verian in Cornwall, within seven miles of Falmouth, which went with Sir FRANCIS in his Voyage about the World, begun 1577. who with seven others in an open Pinnasse or Shallop of five tuns, with eight Oares, was separated from his Generall by foule weather in the South Sea, in October, An. 1578. who returning by the Straites of Magellan toward Brailill, were all cast away, save this one only afore named, who came into England nine yeeres after miraculouly, hauing escaped many strange dangers, aswell among diuers Saunges as Christians.



After Sir Francis Drake had passed the Straites of Magellan, the sixte of September 1578. and was driuen downe to the Southwards in the South Sea, vnto the latitude of fiftie five degrees, and a little, with such accidents as are mentioned in his Voyage, and returning backe toward the Straite againe. The eight of October wellost sight of the Elizabeth, one of our Conforts; wherein Master John Winter was, who returned by the Straites againe, as wee vnderstood afterward at our coming home into England; according to his Voyage extant in print. Shortly after his separation from our company, our Generall commanded eight men to furnish our small Pinnasse or Shallop with eight men, whose names were these, my selfe, Peter Carder afore said, Richard Burdett of London, John Cottle and another, both seruants to Master John Hawkins, Arthur a Dutch Trumpeter, Richard Ioyner, seruant to Vincent Scoble of Plumpton, Pasche Gide of Salt Abbe, and William Pitcher of London.

This company was commanded to waite vpon the ship for all necessary viues, but hauing not passed one dayes victuals in vs, nor any Card nor Compass, fauing only the benefit of eight oares, in the night time by foule weather suddenly arising we lost the sight of our ship, and though our ship sought vs and we them, for a fortnight together, yet could we neuer meet together againe. Howbeit within two dayes after we lost them, we recovered the shoare, and released our selues with Mussels, Oyters, Crabs, and some sorts of Roots in the Woods, and within a fortnight after the loss of our conuoy, wee returned backe into the Straites of Magellan, and in two places came on land on the mayne of America, to relieue our selues in certaine Bayes, where we found Oyters, Mussels and Crabs as before, and filled our Barriques with fresh water, and in one of these places we found Saunges, but they fled from vs.

Afterward we came to Penguin Island in the Straites, and there wee salted and dried many of the Penguins for our lutenance. Thence we shaped our course for Port Saint Iulian, where Sir Francis Drake nor many months before had beheaded Captaine Doute: In this Port we stayed a day or two, and tooke fish like Breames and Mackerels, with hookes and lines. Then coasting the land for some fortnight, some hundred leagues beyond the River of Plate, we found a small Island three leagues from the mayne full of Seales, whereof wee killed good store to our lutenance, the young ones we found best and eat them roast. Then passing ouer the Riuer of Plate to the North side, we put into a small Riuer, and went vp into the Woods fixe of vs: other two remaining on the shore to keepe the Boate.

While we thus seeking food in the Woods the people of the Countrey, called *Tapiner*, were sixte or seuentie armed with Bowes and Arrowes that fiercely at vs; and wounded vs all very grievously, and foure of vs were taken, and neuer recovered: the rest of vs they pursued to our Pinnasse, and wounded vs all: but in the end we put them to flight. Thence we went to an Island some three leagues of in the Sea, not about a league in compass. Where wee

Captaine Wals
returne.
With this Cape
Winter: I haue
had cōterence
in Sept. 1618.
at Bath: which
told me that
some time po-
ssibly was ac-
tually taken of
those parts, to
the view of the
Maistrey and
her succours
which he de-
sired also
should be pub-
lished to the
World. The names
of his compani-
ons.

They loile their
ship.
Their returne
to the Straits
and thorough
thence to the
North Sea.
Penguin Land.
Port Saint Iu-
lian.
River of Plate.
Seales.
Four English
taken by Saun-
ges, the rest
withdrew.

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Two. We cured our felues as well as we might, yet lo, that two of vs died of our late wounds, and that, which was worſe for want of helpe. Therough foule weather our Pinnaffe was daſht againſt the Rockie ſhoare and broken, and now there remayned aloue of vs eight, no more but my ſelfe, *Peter Carder* and *William Pitcher*.

Here we remayned the ſpace of two months, in all which time for our victuals, wee had a fruit ſomewhat like unto Oranges, growing vpon a high Tree, the leafe whereof was ſomewhat like the Alpen leafe, and ſmall. While Crabs creeping vpon the land, and little Eeles which we found vnder the ſands, but in all this land we could not find any freſh water in the World, in ſomuch that we were driuen to drinke our owne vrine, which we ſaued in ſome leades of ceruaine lattes, which we had out of our Pinnaffe, and let our vrine all night to coole therein, to drinke it the next morning, which thus being drunke often, and often auoyded, became in a while exceeding red, in all this time wee had no raie, nor any good meanes to ſaue it, if it had fallen, whereupon, ſeeing our felues in ſo great extremitie, wee deuised how we might get vnto the Mayne, and by good fortune, found a plank of ſome ten foot in length, which of likeli-hood had criuen from the Riuer of *Plate*, whereunto with wiſhes, wee bound ſome other wood, and furniſhing our felues with the ſeafraite fruit, Eeles and Crabs, wee committed our felues to God; hoping with the letting in of the tyde, and with the helpe of two poles, which we vied in ſtead of Oares to attayne vnto the Mayne, which was ſome three leagues off, but wee made it three dayes and two nights beforewe could come to the Mayne.

At our coming firſt on land, we found a little Riuer of very ſweet and pleaſant water, where *William Pitcher* my onely comfort and companion (although I diſſuaded him to the contrary) our ſtrange humilitie, being pinched both with extreme thirſt, and to my vnſpeakable grieve and diſcomfort, within halfe an houre after dyed in my preſence, whom I buried aſwell as I could in the ſand.

The next day following, as I traueiled along the ſhoare towards *Brasill*, hauing mine Arming Sword and Target with me, I met with ſome thirtie of the *Sauages* of the Countrey, called *Tapan Baſſe*, which being armed with Bowes and Arrowes, and hauing two or three great Rattles with Rumes in them, and a kind of Tabrets that they vied in ſtead of Drummes, they went dancing before me about a Muſket thot off, and then they ſlayed and hanged vp a piece of a white Net of Cotton-wool, vpon a tickſend of foure foote high, and went from it about a Muſket thot off: then I coming vnto it, tooke it in my hand, viewed it, and hung it vp againe, then many of them, beckning and waving with their hands, cryed vnto mee, *Ioyce, Ioyce*, which (as afterward I vnderſtood, by lying long among them) was as much as *Come hither*. Then I came to them, and they friendly led me a long ſome halfe a mile, all the way dancing, as well men as women, whereof there were ſome eight in the company, vntill we came to another Riuer ſide, where they hanged vp their Beds, tying them faſt to a couple of Trees, being a kinde of white Cotton Netting, which hanged two foot from the ground, and kindled fire of two ſticks, which they made on both ſides of their Beds, for warmth, and for driving away of wilde beaſts, and hauing fed me with ſuch as they had: we tooke our reſt for that night.

The next day early in the morning they tooke downe and cruſſed vp their beds, crying *tiſſe, tiſſe*, which is to ſay, *away, away*, and marched that day towards *Brasill* ſome twentie miles, and came to their Towne where their chiefe Gouvernour was. This Towne was built foure ſquare, with foure houſes onely, every houſe containing about two Bowe thot in length, and the houſes made with ſmall trees like an Arbour, being tharched ouer downe to the ground with Palme tree leaues: they had no windowes, but ſome thirtie or fortye doores on euery ſide of this Iſquadrone, by which each Familie paſſeth in and out; their chiefe Lord, whoſe name was *Cauon*, being a man of foure forty years old, had nine wiues; but theſe had onely one wife, except ſuch as are counted more valiant, then the reſt which are permitted two wiues, one to looke to their children at home, and the other to goe to the warres with them. This Towne contained very neere 4000. perſons of all ſorts. The next day the Gouvernour ſent diuers of his people a broad tobring in all ſorts of victual which the Countrey yielded, and offered them vnto me to ſee which of them I liked beſt, among which there was great force of fiſh, as well Sea-fiſh, as freſh water-fiſhes, many ſorts of Bowies, many ſorts of Rootes, and diuers Land-beaſts, as Armadillos, which afterward I found to be very good meate. Of all theſe at the firſt, I onely tooke one Powle, and a couple of fiſhes, and beſtowed the reſt among their children, which procured me no ſmall good will among them.

Here I ſtaied among them (being well entertained) for certaine moneths, vntill I had learned moſt part of their language, in which meane ſpace I noted their manners, which were as followeth. They went out to the warres armed by my firſt coming, onely with Bowes and Arrowes, ſome three or foure hundred at a time, and when they had the victory of their enemies, they tied one of their Captiues to one of their company with Cotton cords faſt arme to arme, and bringing them home, within two or three dayes after they would tie them to a poſt, and with a male club of red wood one of the ſtrongeſt of the company (after they haue drunke a certaine ſtrong drinke with dancing round about him) at one blow ſlits his head a ſunder: this

drinke

drinke is made by their women of a certaine roote called *I. P.* which ſift they ſeech, and afterward chew in their mouthes, and then ſpit it out againe into a long trough and mingle it with water, and then let it worke two or three dayes, and gett a yeell vpon it, like to our Ale: which done, they take the liquor and put it into broad mouth larks of earthen, and of this both their men and women doe drinke at their feaſts, till they be as drunke as Apes.

I could obſerue no Religion amongſt them, but onely that they reuerence and worſhippe the Moone, eſpecially the new Moone; whereat they doe reioyce in leaping, dancing, and clapping their hands. The Merchanteable commodities of this Countrey, are *Brasill-wood*, *Tobacco*, *Red Pepper*, and *Cotten Woolle*. They haue alſo great flocks of Apes, *Monkeys*, *Armadillos*, *Hogges* without tiales as bigge as ours; their Birds are *Parrots*, *Parakeets*, *blacke Fowles* as bigge as *Doues*, and *Oltriches* as high as a man. After I had liued about halfe a yeare amongſt them, and learned their language, the King requiſited me to goe to the warres with him againſt his enemies the *Tapanes*, which I granted, but before we ſet out, I ſhewed them a way for making of certaine Targets of the barks of a Tree ſome three quarters of a yerd long for defence againſt Arrowes, whereof we made ſome hundred; and withall I wiſhed them to make ſome two hundred of Clubs. Which being done we marched forward ſome 700. in number, which by mine aduice were all marked with a red kinde of Balſome from the knee downward vpon our legges, to be known from our enemies (by the way it is to be noted that there are three ſorts of Balſamum in that Countrey, to wit, *White*, *Red* and *Blacke* very odoriferous and excellent good for a greene wound, and the *White* I eſteeme to be beſt). In three dayes march we came to another Towne built foure ſquare, as before I haue declared, but muſt ſhew, we ſet vpon the Towne about foure of the clocke in the morning, the enemy ſtanding vpon defence of their Arrowes, were much deceiued by reaſon of our Targets, which being ſeconded by our Clubs, were immediately knocked downe to the number of two hundred, the reſt, except ſome twenty priſoners eſcaped into the woods. Here the King ſlaid one day, and cauſed many of their carkates to be broyled vpon the coales and eaten. The chieftieſt riches which we found here was their drinke which they vied to make themſelues drunke withall; their *Cotten Beddes* and their *Tobacco*. As for Gold and Silver they neither ſeeke, nor make any accompt thereof. This is to be noted, that how many men theſe *Sauages* doe kill, in many holes they will haue in their village, beginning firſt in their neether lippe, then in their cheekes, thirdly in both their eye-browes, and laſtly in their eares. Thoſe twenty priſoners which we brought home, were afterward killed, roſted and eaten.

While I remayned here amongſt theſe people, certayn *Portugals* accompanied with certayn *Negres* and *Brasillians*, came within ſome ten leagues of our town, to ſee whether they could ſurpriſe any of our *Sauages*, and to harken what was become of me, for that they had heard by this time that ſome of *Sir Francis Drake* company were all abſolute amongſt the *Savage* people, but there coming was a ſort of ſecret, but that two of the *Portugals* and certayne *Negres* were taken, and after their conſolation, of the intent of their coming thither, they were brained with clubs, broyled and eaten. Theſe things thus paſſing, I became ſutor to the King to giue mee leave to depart his Countrey, and to goe ſome Route of *Portuſſ* not planted by the *Portugals*, to ſee if I could tpy out a y *Engliſh* or *French* ſhip to paſſe me to my Countrey, which he in the end fauorably granted; and ſent foure of his people with me to furniſh me with victuals, which they did very plentifully of Birds, Fiſh, and Rootes, for the ſpace of nine or ten weekes, all which time they did accompany me, and I deſiring to goe toward the Line, they brought me into the towne of *Bahia*, *Detador los Sanctos*.

But about foure or five miles before we came to the towne, I yeilded my ſelfe to a *Portugall*, called *Michael Iona*, declaring vnto him that I was an *Engliſhman*, and enquired whether there were any *Engliſhmen* dwelling in the towne, he told me that there was one *Antonio de Paua* in the towne which could ſpeake good *Engliſh*, and was a louer of our Nation, and brought mee directly vnto his houſe. This *Antonio de Paua*, pitying my caſe, and aduizing mee not to bee knowne, that I vnderſtood the *Portugall* Tongue, brought mee to the Gouvernour, whoſe name was *Diego Vas*, this Gouvernour told me by *Antonio de Paua*, which became my Interpreter, that ſeeing I was found in the Inland of their Countrey *Westward*, being a ſtranger, contrary to their Lawes, he could doe no leſſe then commit me to Priſon, and ſend me into *Portuſſ* to be committed to the Gallies for tearme of life, to this I anſwered by the aduice of my good friend *Antonio de Paua*, that I came not willingly into theſe Dominions, but being by caſualtie once come there, I was not taken Priſoner, but fought them out and came and yeilded my ſelfe into their hands, leauing downe my weapons at one of his Nations fece.

Heuereleſſe he lent me to Priſon, whereby the meanes of *Antonio de Paua*, and other of His impious friends, I was ſufficiently relieved, and within one fortnight after brought againe publickly ment to the barre in the Towne-houſe to mine anſwere. There I anſwered the ſecond time by *Antonio de Paua*, my Interpreter, that I thought it ſufficient, that when I might haue kept out, yet of mine owne free will I had made a long journey, with great hazard of my life through the Countreys of *Sauages*, being *Man-eaters*, which fauoured me to lecke the *Portugall Chriſtians* out, and

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peace.

Deliverance. peaceably to put my selfe into their hands. Hereupon the Gouvernor and his assistants consulted and concluded together, that I should be committed to the house of *Antonio de Payne*, &c. there remaine untill they might write into *Portugall* to know the Kings pleasure concerning me. With- in one year they received answer from *Lisbon* concerning me, that I should be forth coming, and that hereafter the King would send further order for my transporting into *Portugall*. But be- cause two years passed before this order came. In which meane space, first I spent part of my time in going into the fields as overseer of my friends *Negroes* and *Sauages* in their planting and dressing of their Sugar Canes, and in planting of Ginger, which grew exceeding well, but is a forbidden trade to be transported out for hindering of other places, and in cutting downe of *Brasil-wood*, and in bringing it downe by *Riuers* upon rafts into the Port where the Ships doe lade it, and in seeing them gather their *Corten wood*, and picking the feedes out of it, and pack- ing the same, and in gathering of the long *Pepper* both white and red.

After I had spent, some year and an halfe in this businesse, my friend *Antonio de Payne* ha- ving a small *Barke* of his owne, which he employed in carrying of wares from Port to Port, and for bringing of Sugars to places where Ships should lade, vied me, knowing I had bin brought vp to the Sea, in these his busineses. Our first Voyage was to *Iboos*, where we left some wares, and litted there some money: then we went to *Puerto Seguro*, and thereooke in some Sugars for *Linnen Cloth*, *Bayes*, *Wine* and *Oyle*. Then returning home, shortly after we were let forth againe in the same *Barke* to *Spirito Santo*, and *Saint Vincent*, and the *Riuet Jenero*, where discharging our wares to certaine *Factors*, and receiving Sugars and *Corten Wood* aboard, we re- turned lately home. In my first Voyage one *Master Daniel Linker* an *Englis* Surgeon, loit there out of an *Englis* Shippe in the Countrey, being much sought for because of his skill, had passage with us from *Bahia* to *Spirito Santo*. Upon my returne of my second voyage, my good friend *Antonio de Payne* advertised me, that a Shippe was shortly to arrive there to carry me into *Portugall* prisoner, telling me, that he should not be able any longer to helpe me, and therefore with- drew me to looke to my selfe; but kindly offered me his helpe to conuay me away: whereupon I tooke his Boate and foure of his *Negroes*, prepering to goe on fishing to the Sea, and of purpose going much to *Leward* of the place, I put in to *Fernambuc*: where the *Negroes* being examined whence we came, and for what cause, being vterly ignorant of mine intent, answered that they were drawn thither by force of weather, and for their Masters sake were well intreated, and re- turned home with the next winde, my selfe remaining secretly behinde them.

Within certaine monthes there came thither a *Hulke* with eight *Englis* men and foureteen *Portugals*, who after some three monthes had laden the same with *Englis* and *Portugall* goods to come for *England*. The *Englis* goods belonged to *M. Cardal*, *M. Beecher* and *M. Sadler*, woorthfull Merchants of the *Citie of London*; which had bin left in the Countrey before by the *Mer- chant Royall*. Thus passing homeward in our course as far as the Ile of the *Apures*, within sight of the Ile of *Pike*, being five *Portugall* Ships in consort, we met with *Cap. Raymond*, and *Cap. George Spanno*, who broken the yeare before commanded vs to yeelde our felues to them as their lawfull prizes, which we did alseue accordingly without any resistance. But by contrary weather we were driven into *Baltimore* in *Ireland* and within a while after we arrived in the narrow Seas in the haven of *Chichester*, in the end of *November* 1586, nine yeares and foureteen dayes after my departure out of *England* with *Sir Francis Drake* in his Voyage about the World.

My strange adventures, and long lying among cruell *Sauages* being known to the right hono- rable the Lord *Charles Howard*, Lord high Admirall of *England*, he certified the *Queenes* Maiesty thereof with speeche, and brought me to her presence at *White-hall*, where I pleased her to talke with me a long houres space of my troubles and wonderfull escape, and among other things of the manner of *M. Dornies* execution and afterward bestowed 22. angels on me, willing my Lord to haue consideration of me: with many gracious words I was dismissed; humbly thanking the Almightie for my miraculous preferation, and false returne into my native Countrey.

To the Reader.

Here must thou read that dismall and fadall voyage of *Master Thomas Candish*, in which he com- manded his caribby peregrination. In the former voyage of his (which amongst our Circumnau- gators of the Globe, we haue presented thee yebouidest) a perpetuall Sunshine, no man ever having in neere so little time compassed that huge circumference, or taken his choice of so much more wealth then he could bring home, or resisted his native sole with greater pompe and triumph. The clearest day hath a night, nor doth Summer last alway: The sea hath his ebbs as well as flowing: the Aire hath calmes and stormes: the Moone hideth sometimes the Suns lustre from vs by her interposition; sometimes in her selfe merely darkened by the Earths shadow. And of the Elements, Seasons, and Heavens two Eyes, he sub- ject to such vicissitudes; what is this little match of earth, this modell of clay, this miserable creature.

ference of constant inconsistency, immutable mutability; this varying centre of diversified vanities, which we call Man; that broken staffe he should not resemble this sempiternal of the universe, do become; he is to map to be like that larger Prototype. This we see all, and feele daily in our felues: this in *Master Candish* here, in *Sir Francis Drake* before, the Seas two darlings, there and thence both living and dy- ing; if dissolution of the body may be called a death, where the soules arriveth in heauen, the name fits the case, the deades are presidents to posterity, and *England* their Countrey hath the glory alone that the hath brought forth two illustrious Captaines and Generals, which bene fortunately embraced the round world of their vaste mother, without waste of life, reputation, and substance; as victorious over elements and enemies, illustrious in wealth and honour, they bene come home like the Swaine in a Sum- mers day, setting greater needst his evening home, the whole life entertaining and welcoming him in festiual feasts and displayed colours of triumph. No Nation else hath yeelded one, which in all these respects may be matchable. *Magalhães* hath left himselfe aduise to his *Portugals* for offered service to the Spaniards, and like *Phaeton* thinking with *Phebus* his *Chariot* in compass the World, perished mid- way. *Midway* was *Schoutens* Ship and men attacked, and he and his had a feruile returne. *Cano* came or rather fled home like *Magalhães* ghost, hardly and with a few escape. *Noort* scarcely escaped taking, drowning, firing, treachery, and hostilitie. *Spilbergen* got belones in the South Sea where *Drake* and *Candish* were made rich, and returned an *Indian Merchant*, *Three* Dutch writings: but all lighted their candles at the two *Englis* Torches. Thus may we magnifie *Drakes* swimming, and can die the memory of our *Candish*. And whereas in a few yeare are Goeit, it is added, ye shall dye like men.

The Sea is a moving and changing foundation, the winds theate both for *Consolation* and *Tragedie*. You haue seen *Drake* sailing back, and in both you here finde *Candish*. *Christ* is yesterday, to day, the same for euer: God is without shadow, (without dissimulation or possibillitie) of change, a light in whom is no darkenitie: but sublimar things are like the *Moone* their neereff Planet, which neuer views the earth two dayes together with one face. God hath made way to him so full of chances and changes, that our vnsledd, slippery way on this earth, and calmes-for-waye in these Seas, may make vs more to meditate and thirst after that haven of unillability, and beauen of eternitie. Some passionate speeches of *Master Candish* against some primate persons not employed in this action, I haue suppressed, some others I haue left passe; not that I charge *Captaine Davis* or others, but that it may appeare what the Generall thought of them. *Master Hakuyt* hath published *Master Lanes* report of this Voyage, which makes more favourable on *Captaine Davis* his side. If hee did deale treacherously, treachery found him out, as in his last Voyage before is declared. If any thinke the *Captaine* here to conceale a misse, I shall be willing to haue the most charitable conceits, and therefore remit the Reader to *Master Hakuyts* Relation afore said, for his apology in this.

Master Lane there relateth, that Aug. 26. 1591. *Captaine Candish* set forth from *Plimmouth* with three tall Shipps, the blacke Pinnace, and a *Barke*. *November* 29. they fell with the coast of *Brasil*. They tooke the Towne of *Santos*, and burnt *Saint Vincent*. After a cruell storme they arrived at *Port Desire*, and after fell with the *Magellan* straites. Occasionally (saith *Lane*) they lost *Captaine Candish*, and went backe to *Port Desire* to seek him: and whiles *Captaine Davis* further intended to seek out the Generall, a dangerous conspiracie was plotted to murder him by *Parker* and *Smith*. There is also a testimoniall subscribed by fortie men. Thence they returned to the Straits, and had sight of the people, which were very strong, nimble, and naked. Sep. 13. they came in sight of the South Sea, and being forced backe, the next day put forth againe, and being eight or ten leagues free from land, were repelled into the Straits. Octob. 2. they put into the South Sea againe, and were free of all land, and there in a storme lost the blacke Pinnace. The Shipps company were in despair of life, but by Gods grace recovered the Straits, and a third time came to *Port Desire*; and there lost nine of their men (of which *Parker* and *Smith* were two) being on Land for Wood and Water: they knew not what became of them, but guessed that the *Sauages* had deuoured them. For the eleuenth of *November*, while most of the men were at the Ile of *Penguin*, onely the *Captaine* and *Master* with sixe others were left in the Shippe, there came a great multitude of *Sauages* to the Shippe (there on ground on the oaze) throwing dust in the ayre, leaping and running like brute Beasts, fawning vizards on their faces like *Dogges* faces, or else their faces are *Dogges* faces indeede. We feared they would set our Shipps on fire, for they would suddenly make fire, whereas we marvelled, setting the bulles on fire, but feared with Peeces they did. Here they found much *Sauris*, grasse which re- coured them, and dried 30000. *Penguin*, making some salt by laying the salt water on rocks in holes. The sixt of *February*, many reported to each other their dreames of killing and the like, and that day they lost 13. men at *Placencia*. Their dried *Penguin*, when they came neerer the Sun, began to corrupt, and there bred in them a moit loathsome and vgly worme which deuoured their vituals, clothes, timbers, and all but Iron, not sparing their flesh when they were alleste, so that they could scarcely sleepe. Their multitude was such that they could not destroy them. Another disease took them with swelling in their anckles, two dayes after which, shortness of breath, then falling into their coles and yards, so tormenting them that diuers fell mad and died: on five onely died the labour of the Ship relye; and June 12. 1593. without vituals, sails, or men God guided them to *Beare-hauen* in *Ireland*.

See *Of Orde* of *Set. 18. m.*Sup. *Tom. 1. 1.*Cap. *Davis* his voyage into the South Sea, reported by *M. Lane*, *Book* 1. *Chap.* 1. *Page* 103.Strange *Candish* with dogs face overze.

Dreams omi- nous. Men lost or rui- ned as Kai- ro faith. Loathsome Worms.

The morall of
this and other
historickall
Tragedies.

But let vs beare Master Candish himselfe more then alluring his owne part. Dicite iudicium monti. Let not prosperitie possesse the soule, with the sting of the old Serpent, swelling in pride, arrogant, raches, or promise to himselfe the perpetuall smiles of the world; and then it shall seme no thing, nor cause of despaire, if thee bites in stead of kissing. Shee is a Witch which transformeth men into Sinne with her Cyccean cups, if the minde learne not by Religion to fasten it selfe to God, to account him his treasure, and make her selfe the treasure, as a Fulcrum pressing toward the price of our high calling; that inheritance of the Saints in light; for which Rocks, to bee stripped of these Rags is a blessed purchase; meanwhile knowing that nothing doth, shall, can happen but by his providence, which is a Father, most wise, loving, bountifull, and mercifull, which already hath giuen vs his Sonne, doth now giue his Spirit, and will giue vs himselfe. No Rocks can wrack that Soule, no stormes oppress, no Seas can sinke, no fortunes can either pisse up with successe, or sinke and make vs sinke in it selfe by any pretenses to despaire, which hath thus made God her portion: yet the worst of aduersities by a holy Anticipation doe contrait and more onite the soules forces to greater alies of fortitude in doing and suffering in his Will, to whose oules ought alway to be subduerued. It is the voice of a Page, but the vertue of a Christian, Omnia mea mecum porto, and with Iob to say, The Lord hath giuen, the Lord hath taken, blessed bee the Name of the Lord. I haue giuen Master Knuiets Relation after this of Master Candish, as before Peter Carder after Sir Francis Drake; that as both serued vnder them in their Discoveries, so they may in this our Discoverie of these Discoveries, as Pages to those Worthies; the one a Mariner wayeing on a Mariner; the other a Gentleman following a Gentleman; both vnmachable by any English for the rare aduentsures, disaduentures, and manifold successions of miseries, in those wilde Countreies, and with the wilder Countreymen of Bruttia; especially Master Knuiet, who betwixt the Bruttian and Portugall, as betwixt two Mill Stones, was almost ground to powder: whom (Aids, Sicknes, Famine, Wanting, Calumny, Desertions, Solitarines, Deferts, Woods, Mountaines, Fennes, Rivers, Seas, Flights, Fights, wilde Beasts, wilder Serpents, wilder Men, and straight passages beyond all names of wildnesse) these Magellan Straits succeeded by drowning, fainting, freezing, betraying, beating, starving, hanging Straits) haue in various successions made the subiect of their working: whom God yet deliuered, that out of his manifold paines, thou shalt gather this poise of pleasures, and learne to bee thankfull for thy nature sweet at borne, when delights in the multitude of peace.

CHAP. VI.

Master THOMAS CANDISH his discourse of his fatall and disastrous voyage towards the South Sea, with his many aduentsures in the Magellan Straits and other places; written with his owne hand to Sir TRISTRAM GORGES his Executor.



Most louing friend, there is nothing in this world that makes a truer triall of friend. ship, then at death to see his mindfullnesse of loue and friendship, which now you shall make a perfect experience of: desiring you to hold my loue as deare dying poore, as I had becom infinitely rich. The successe of this most vnfortunate action, the bitter torments thereof I ye heauie vpon mee, as with much paine am I able to write these few lines, much lesse to make discouerie vnto you of all the aduerse lyps, that haue befallen me in this voyage, the least whereof is my death: but because you shall not be ignorant of them, I haue appointed some of the most sensiblen men that I left behinde me, to make discouerie vnto you of all these accidents. I haue made a simple will, wherein I haue made you sole, and onely disposer of all such little, as is left.

The Re-bucke.

Captaine Da-
niel blamed.

Mutinous
companye.

For Despe.

The Re-bucke left me in the most desolate cals that euer man was left in, what is become of my I cannot imagine: if thee bee returned into England, it is a most admirable matter; but if thee bee at home, or any other of my goods whatsoeuer returne into England, I haue made you onely Possessor of them. And now to come to that villaine that hath bene the death of me, and the decay of this whole action, I meane Damiel, whose onely treacherie in running from me, hath bene an vtter ruine of all: if any good returne by him, as euer you loue me, make such friends as he of all others, may reape least gaine. I assure my selfe you will be careful in all friendship, of my last requests. My debts which beowing be not much, &c. But I (most vnfortunate villaine) was matched with the most abiect minded and mutinous companye, that euer was carried out of England by any man luing. For I protest vnto you, that in going to the Straits of Magellan, after I was passed to the Southward of the Riuer of Plate, and had hidden the furie of stormes, which indeed I thinke to be such as worse might not be endured: I neuer made my course to the Straits-ward, but I was in continuall danger by my companye, which neuer ceased to practise and mutinie against me. And hauing gotten the appointed place called Port Despre, I met with all my companye, which had bene there twentie dayes before me: and had no

my most true friends bene there (whom to name my heart bleedes) I meane my cousin Locke, I had bene contrayned either to haue suffered violence, or some other most disordered mis-hap. I came into this Harbour with my Boat, my flupsiding without at Sea: where I found the Re-bucke, the Despre, and the Pinnaue, all which complained vnto mee, that the Tyde ranne too violently, as they were not able to ride, but were driuen aground, and wished me in any wise not to come in with my ship, for that if thee should come on ground, thee would be vtterly cast away: which I knew to be most true.

And finding it to be no place for so great a ship without her vtter ruine: I forthwith commanded them, to make themselves ready to depart: they being fresh, and infinitely well releued with Seales and Birds, which in that place did abound, and my companie being growne weak and feeble, with continuall watching, pumping, and bayling. For I must fay truly vnto you, there were neuer men that endured more extremities of the Seas, then my poore companie had done. Such was the furie of the West South-west, and South-west windes, as we were driuen from the shoare foure hundred leagues, and contrayned to beate from fiftie degrees to the Southward into fortie to the Northward againe, before we could recouer neere the shoare. In which time, we had a new shift of sailes cleane blowne away, and our ship in danger to sinke in the Sea three times: which with extremitie of men labour wee recovered. In this weaknesse, we departed for the Straits, being from that Harbour eight leagues, and in eightene dayes, we got the Straits: in which time, the men in my ship were growne extremely weak. The other ships companie were in good cale, by reason of their late reliefe.

And now we had bene almost foure months between the coast of Brasile, and the Straights, being in distance not about fixe hundred leagues, which is commonly run in twentie or thirtie dayes: but such was the aduerfence of our fortunes, that in comming thither wee spent the Summer, and found in the Straits, the beginning of a most extreme Winter, nor durable for Christians. In despite of all stormes and tempests, so long as we had ground to anchor in, and Tyles to helpe vs, we beate into the Straits some fiftie leagues, hating for the most part the windes contrarie. As length being forced by the extremitie of stormes, and the narrownesse of the Straits (being not able to turne windward no longer) we got into an Harbour, where we rid from the eighteenth day of April, till the tenth of May: in all which time, wee neuer had other then most furious contrarie windes. And after that the month of May was come in, nothing but such flights of Snow, and extremities of Frosts, as in all the time of my life, I neuer saw any to be compared with them.

This extremitie caused the weak men (in my ship onely) to decay; for in fuen or eight dayes, in this extremitie there dyed fortie men, and sickened fuentie, so that there were not fiftie men that were able to stand vpon the hatchels. I finding this miserable calamitie to fall vpon me, and found that besides the decay of my men, and expence of my victuall, the snow and frost decayed our sailes, and tackle, and the contagioufnesse of the place to bee such, for extremitie of frost and snow, as there was no long staying, without the vtter ruine of vs all. What by these extremities, and the daily decay of my men, I was contrayned forth with to determine some course, and not (for all this extremitie of weather) to tarrie there any longer.

Vpon this, I assembled my companie together, and shewed them that my intention was to goe for China, and that there were two wayes thither, the one through the Straits, the other by the way of Caput bonae spe: which course I shewed them, as well knowne to mee, as the way I had undertaken. And although that fortune had denyed vs this passage yet I desired not, but foules to recouer to this Cape, where I shewed them, I made no doubt, but we should releue our selues, and performe to their contents our intended voyage. Their perswasions with others, which I vied, seemed to content them for the present: but they were no longer gone from me, but forth with all manner of discontent were vntossed amongst themselves, so that to goe that way, they plainly and resolutely determined neuer to giue their willing consents. Some of the belt and honestest for hearing this their resolution, wished them rather to put vp a supplication to me, then thus priuately among themselves to mutinie and murmur, which course might cause an vtter ruine to fall vpon them all: affirming, that they knew me to be so reasonable, as I would not refuse to heare their petition. Vpon this, they traueled an humble supplication vnto me (as they termed it) the effect whereof was: That first they protested, to spend their lines most willingly for my sake, and that their loue was such to me, as their chiefest care was for mee, and they grueed very much to see mee put on a resolution, which (as they supposed) would be the end of my life, which was their greatest griefe. And next their owne lines would immediately follow, both by reason of the length of the course, all which they must performe without reliefe. And further, we had not left foure months victuall, which might very well last in running a course no farre being long. But if it would please me to returne againe for the Coast of Brasile (where they knew, my force being together, was able to take any place) there we might both provide victuall to returne againe, and furnish our selves of all other such wants, as these extremities had brought vpon vs, and at a seasonable time returne againe, and so performe our first intention.

Now, I knowing their resolution, and finding, that in some things their reasones were not vaine,

Windses and
frowns violent.

Port S. Indian.
Port Desire.

His returne
from the
Straits.

Grievous
fitrime.

Saint Vincent.

vaine, began more feriously to looke into all my wants. First, I found my greatest decay to bee in ropes, and sailes, wherein (by means of such mightie extremities) I was vnterminished, for I lost a new shift of sailes coming thither; and further the *Desire* had bidden the like extremity, which I furnished: so as I had left no store at all: for no ships carry three new shifts of sailes, all which, had bene little enough for me: and last of all, our victuals to be moit short, I was to fall into consideration what to doe. I knew well that the windses were such, and so continually against vs, as by no means it was possible to passe through: for the violent frowns were such, as in two dayes together we should not be able to seee five houres, the place not a league ouer in breadth, our ships not to be handled in such extremitie of winde: no, nor Canuas to hold the fure of the winde, our men so weaker, as of one hundred and fiftie men, I had not in my ship fiftie in health. And this ship coming with all her companie, was like three times to have bene upon the shoare, by reason of her vaine workings. These causes made mee vnterly depaure of any passage at this season: so I refolued the companie I would put out of the Harbour, and beat to get through, so long as the furious and westerly winds would suffer vs: but if they came vpon vs, so as we could not hold it vp, we would then beare vp againe, and so (according to their request) goe for the Coast of *Brasil*, which they so much seemed to desire, and I so much hated.

But in truth I was forced to take that way, for that there was no place, where this ship could come into, to tarry out a winter. For Port Saint Indian is a barred Harbour, ouer which two of my ships would not goe; and Port *Desire* hath neither wood, nor water: and besides that, the Tide runneth so extremely, as it is not possible for anchors to hold, the ground being so bad. But the last cause of all to be considered, was the sicknesse of my men, having no clothes to defend them from the extreme cold. These causes, and their ardent desires of being out of the cold, moued me to goe backe againe, for that moit wicked Coast of *Brasil*, where I encountered all manner of misfortunes, which as I haue vnripped these former, so I will briefly declare the latter.

We were beaten out of the Strait with a moit monstrous storme at West South-west, from which place we continued together, till we came in the latitude of fortye leue, in which place *Damus* in the *Desire*, and my Pinnace lost me in the night, after which time I neuer heard of them, but (as I since vnderstood) *Damus* his intention was euer to run away. This is Gods will, that I should put him in trust, that should be the end of my life, and the decay of this whole action. For had not these two small ships parted from vs, we would not haue miscarried on the coast of *Brasil*: for the onely decay of vs was, that we could not get into their barred Harbours. What became of these small ships, I am not able to iudge, but sure, it is moit like, they went backe againe for Port *Desire*, a place of reliefe, for two so small ships. For they might lye on ground there without danger, and being so few men, they might releue themselves with Seales, and Birds, and so take a good time of the yeere, and passe the Straits. The men in these small ships were all lustie, and in health: wherefore the likeliest to hold out. The short of all is this: *Damus* his onely intent was vnterly to ouerthrow me, which he hath well performed.

These ships being parted from vs, wee little suspecting any treacherie, the *Roe-bucks* and my selfe, held our course for *Brasil*, and kept together, till we came in the latitude of thirtie fixe, where we encountered the moit grievous storme, that euer any Christians indured vpon the Seas to lue, in which storme we lost companie. Wee with moit extreme labour, and great danger, got the Coast of *Brasil*, where we were fiftene dayes, and neuer heard of the *Roe-bucks*. Wee came to an anchor in the Bay of Saint Vincent, and being at an anchor there, the Gentlemen desired mee to let them leaue to goe shoare, so some of the *Portugall* Farme-houses, to get some fresh victuals, which I granted: willing them to make priuie returne, knowing very well, the whole Countrie was not able to preiudice them, if they willingly would not indanger themselves. They went to a Sugar mill hard by mee where I rode (for that was my speciall charge, that they should neuer goe a mile from the ship) where they got some victuall, and came aboard againe very well.

The next day in the morning betimes, an *Indian* came vnto me with Capitaine *Barker*; which *Indian* ran away from my Maister, at my last being there: this *Sauage* knew all the Countrie. He came vnto me, and laid, that beyond a Point, not a Culuering shot off, there was a very rich farme-house, and desired ten or twelue men to goe thither. Capitaine *Barker* being one whom I moit trusted in the conduction of men, and (who euer was the moit carefull in such matters of seruice) I appointed to goe, and to take some twentie or thirtie men with him: and wished him (as he had any respect or regard of my commandement) not to stay, but to come presently away, finding any thing or nothing. He forthwith tooke five and twentie men of the moit principall men in the ship, and then your cousin *Stafford* with no meanes bee left behind. They departed by foure of the clocke in the morning, so as I did not seee their companie. But what should I write more then this vnto you? they were all such, as neither respected me, nor any thing that I commanded. Away they went, and by one of the clocke, they sent my Boat againe with *Ginny* wheat, and fixe Hennes, and a small Hogge. I seeing no returne againe of the companie (for they had sent away the Boat onely with men to row her aboard) was very much grieved, and presently

presently returned the Boat againe with message: That I much maruailed they would tarry at a place so long, with so few men; and further, that it was not a Hogge, and fixe Hennes could releue vs: and seeing there was no other reliefe to bee had, I charged them straightly to come aboard presently. Thus hauing dispatched away my Boat for them, I still expected their present coming aboard: all that night, I heard nothing of them, the next morning I shot Ordnance, yet I saw no Boat come. Then I waighed anchor, and made aboard into the Bay, yet for all this, I heard nothing of them: then I doubted with my selfe very greatly, knowing there were no meanes left: to make any manifest signes to them to hasten away. All that day I heard nothing of them, in the evening I set sailes againe, and ran into the shoare: all that night I heard no newes of them.

The next morning, I saw an *Indian* come downe to the Sea-side, and weaued vnto the ship: we being desirous to heare some newes, caused a raft to be made, for Boat wee had none, and sent it ashore, and set the *Indian* aboard. When we saw him, we found him to bee our owne *Indian*, which had escaped away, being foure hurt in three places: who told vs, that all the rest of our men were slain with three hundred *Indians*, and eightie *Portugall*, which (in the evening) I sent vpon them suddenly. Then I demanded, why they came not aboard? the *Indian* answered mee, that some were vnwilling to come, and the rest, did nothing but cate Hennes and Hogs, which they had there in abundance, and that they minded nothing to come aboard. I leaue you to iudge, in what griefe I was, to seee five and twentie of my principall men thus bately and willfully cast away: but I leaue you to inquire of others, the practices of these men, left in writing vnto you it should be thought I did it of malice, which (I protest) is farre from me, they being now dead, and my selfe looking immminently to follow them.

Thus I was left destitute of my principall men, and a Boat, and had I not (by great hap the day before) taken an old Boat from the *Portugall*, I had bene vnterly vndone. Thus Boat I lent to an *Indian* fiftene leagues off, to see if they could heare any newes of the rest of my ships: three returned within eight dayes, all which time I remained without a Boat. Thus I was fixe dayes before I heard newes of any of my comforts. The fourteenth day I came in the *Roe-bucks*, having spent all her Maits, but their Mison, their Sailes blowne cleane away, and in the moit miserable case that euer ship was in: all which misse-haps falling vpon me, and thus in my small ships wherein (vpon that Coast) consisted all my strength, having no Pinnaces nor great Boats left to land my men in, for they were all cast away going to the Strait. I (notwithstanding the want of Boats and Pinnaces) determined rather then not to be reuenged of so base Dogs, to venture the ships to goe downe the Riuer afore their Towne, and to take beaten it to the ground, which forthwith I put in execution. And having gotten downe halfe the way, we found the Riuer so narrow by reason of a shoale, as all the companie affirmed plainly, it was both desperate and moit dangerous. For the Riuer is all Oile, and if a ship come aground, it is vnpossible cure to get off, for there is rieth not about a foot water, and no anchors will hold to hale off any of my ships, in so narrow a place, as we were almost aground in wending.

Seeing this apparant danger, I forthwith bare vp out of the Riuer, where we escaped no small danger to get well out, for we had not little more water then we drew: and if we had come aground, it had bene vnpossible euer to haue gotten her off. By these means of not passing the Riuer, we were constrained to let our reuenge passe: for our Boats were so bad and small, as we durst put no men in them. Notwithstanding wee landed, and did them much spoile vpon their Farme-houses, and got some quantitie of fresh victuals. This place being not for vs, considering our ships were not able to passe to their Towne; and further our great wants did constrain vs to seeke some course of reliefe, which being not to bee had there, both for that wee had spoyled it a little before, and also for that we could not conveniently come to doe them any preiudice, without moit losse to our selues: I determined to part from thence, and to goe to a small *Indian* three twentie leagues off, and there to haue fitted all my necessities, and to haue call off the *Roe-bucks*, for that by no means her wants could by mee bee furnished, and so at a seasonable time, to haue gone for the Straits of *Magellan* againe.

Which intention (I must confesse) I kept moit secret, for feare of some mutinie, but shewed the whole Companie, that I would goe for Saint Helena, where we should meet with the Caracks: which course I well knew did not much please them; for they desired nothing more then returning home into *England*, and if I had but named the Straits, they would forthwith haue fallen into a moit extreme mutinie: for such were the miseries and torments they had indured, as all the best fort had taken an oath vpon a Bible, to die rather then euer to yeild their consents to goe backe that way againe. I knowing this, seemed to speake nothing of that course, but comforting their despairing mindes as well as I might, seeing their greatest griefe was for the wants of the small ships, without which, they all affirmed (and that truly) we were able to doe nothing. For the Ports where their Townes stand, were all barred Harbours, and that it was not possible to get any of these ships ouer them, whereby we could releue our felous of such wants, as we were in. These things being alleged, I seemed to passe ouer as lightly as might be, but yet comforted them, that we would presently seeke some place of reliefe with all speede.

Capitaine Barker and fourtie others slain.

The *Roe-bucks* cometh in.

Brasilian Coast full of heales and barres. Moit landfests high spirit.

His intention.

Necessitie of small ships to be had.

There

Portugall Pilots
wider-making
for Spanish
Sailors.

There was a *Portugall* aboard me, who took upon him to be a Pilot, who came unto me, and told me upon his life, that he would take upon him to carry both my Shippes over the barre at *Spiritus Sanctus*, a place indeede of great reliefe, and the onely place in *Braile* for victuall, and all other wants; that we were in I knowing very well, that if I could bring my Shippes within shot of the Towne, I should land my men, and further, it could not be in them to make resistance. The whole company desired this course, affirming that there was no way left to relieue all our wants but this: and that there they were in hope to finde some Shippes, to repaire the *Ros-bucke* againe. I finding their willingness, and charging the *Portugall* upon his life, to tell me truly, whether the Ships might palee ouer the barre without danger; he willed me to take his life, if euer the Shippes came in lile water then fue fathome, with such constant affirmations as he desired not to lue, if he should not performe this. I considering the greattelle of our wants, and knowing right well, the place to be the onely wished Towne on all the coast to relieue vs, forthwith gaue my content, and thither we went, leauing all other intentions. We anchored before the barre, and lent my Boate to found the barre, and found the deepeft water to be but fiftene and fouetene fote: (the *Portugall* him selfe going with them, all ouer the barre) the moft water to be but three fathome. They coming aboard, brought me word of the truth, I called for the *Portugall*, and demanded of him why he had so lied vnto me? who affirmed that he neuer founded the barre before, and that he had brought in Ships of 100. tons, and that he made accompt, there had not bin lile water then fue fathome.

His ignorance.

This mis-lap was no small amazement to me, and all the company, considering our distresse for water and other necessities, and that the road was full, as we were scant tile to ride there, so as we could neither take in water, nor doe any other business. In this meane time while we were scanning of these matters, the *Ros-bucke* Boate rowing further into the Baye, saw where three Shippes were at an anchor, not farre from the Towne, and came aboard, and brought me word thereof: at which newes the Company seemed much to reioyce, and all affirmed that they would goe with our Boates, and bring them out of the harbour. I shewed them how much the taking of them imported vs, and told them, that although the day was spent, yet I thought the night not to be altogether inconuenient, if they would put on mindes to performe it. Reluctantly my reasons were these: first they were not so sufficiently prouided to defend themselves at that instant as they would be in the morning; and further I told them, that if they were not able to defend them, they would take the principal and best things out of them, being so neere the shoare, and that if they had wherewith to defend themselves, it would be leile offense to vs in the night, then in the day, and we in greatt security, and more offense to the enemy, especially this exploit being to be done on the water, not landing.

His count-
not told.

Their persuasions seemed a little to moue them, for they all desired to stay all morning: yet some of them prepared themselves. Coming amongst them, I found them all, or for the most part: utterly vnwilling to goe that night: vpon which occasion (I confesse) I was much moued, and gaue them some bitter words, and shewed them our case was not to make detractions, but to take that opportunitie which was offered vs, and not to feare a night more then a day, and told them plainly, that in refusing this, I could stay there no longer, for ouer the barre we could not goe, and the road so dangerous, as neuer Shippes rid in a worle. And further, we saw all the Countrey to be fire round about, and that to land we could not without vnto spoile to vs all, for our Boates were naught; and further, we could by no means be succoured by our Shippes, so as intended to depart. The next morning, there was almost an vproare amongst them, the most of them swearing that if I would not greeue them leave, they would take the Boats and bring away those Shippes of themselves. I coming among them, beganne to reprehend them for their rashness, and told them that now all opportunitie was past, and that they must be contented, for goe they should not. They much importuned me, and some of the chieft of them desired me with teares in their eyes, that they might goe, affirming, that there was no danger to be feared at all; for if they were not able to take them, they would returne againe, and that to depart without attempting to doe this, was a thing that most greatly grieved them.

Their vnreaso-
nable cagernes

I knowing right well, that if they landed not they could receiue no prejudice: for if their Ships had beene able to withstood them, it was in their power to goe from them, being farke calme. And further I knew that no Shippes vnto *Braile* that be able to defend themselves from a Cock-boate: much leffe that they should be of force to offend those Boates, wherein there were so many Muskettees as could hit one by another. I seeing their great importunitie, was contented to greeue them leave to goe; and this was my charge to Capitaine *Morgan* (to whom at that present I left my Iurechins) that first, vpon paine of his life, he should not land at all what opportunitie sooner was offered; and that if he saw any danger in coming to these Shippes, he should attempt no further, but returne aboard againe, but contrariwise, if he saw that the place was such, as we might land without too much disadvantage, and if we might land on plain ground, free from woods, or bushes, hard before the Towne, that then he would presently repaire vnto me againe, and I, and so many as these bad Boates would carrie, would presently land vpon them.

His instructions
to Capitaine
Morgan.

Thus my Boate departed from me, hauing some eightie men, as well furnished with weapons, as it is possible to fort such a number withall. Now you shall vnderstand, that in the night the *Portugals* had hailed the Shippes hard afore the Towne: the Riuer where the Towne stood was not above a Bird-bolt-shot ouer, and halfe a mile from the Towne where the Shippes rode: the night were came in, they had new cast vp two small trenches, on each side the Riuer one, where they had planted some two small bales a peece vpon an hill: Right ouer them were thicke woods, and great rocks, so that if any were possessed of them, they might but tumble stones downe, and beat away 1000. men. The trench on the West-side of the Riuer shot at our Boats, once or twice; vpon that they began to thinke with themselves what to doe, Capitaine *Morgan* affirming the place to be verie narrow, and that they could not well passe it without danger, 10 considering the many men in their Boats, and also the charge which I had giuen, was such, if they saw any danger, they should presently repaire aboard, and certifie me, and not to passe any further, till they had vnderstood my further determinations: This Matter *Morgan* made knowne amongst them, whereupon some of the hairebraine Sailors began to sweare, that they neuer thought other, but that he was a coward, and now he will shew it, that durst not hand vpon a bable ditch, as they termed it. Vpon this, the gentleman was very much moued, and answered them, that they should finde him to be none such as they accounted him, and that, come what could happen him, he would land.

The place de-
scribed.

Mad Mutinesie

Vpon this, they put the Boats betweene the two scones (that on the Easter-side they had none) and the Boats being hard vpon it, were shot at, and in the biggest Boate they hurt two, and killed one with that shot. Vpon this, they determined, that the smallest Boate with their company should land on the West-side, and the other to land on the Easter-side. The small Boate landed first, and that place hauing but few in it, they being not able to defend themselves, ranne away, so that our men entred peaceably without hurt of any. The other Boate drawing much water, was aground before they came neere the shoare, so as they that landed, were faine to wade about knee high in water. Now the place, or Scone, was in height some ten fote, made of stone (Capitaine *Morgan* more resolutely then discreetly) scaled the wall, and ten more with him, which went out of the Boate together. Then the *Indians* and *Portugals* shewed themselves, and with great stones from ouer the trench, killed *Morgan* and five more, and the rest of them being fore hurt, retired to the Boate, which by this time was so filled with *Indian* arrows, as of 45. men being in the Boate, there escaped not eight of them vnhurt, some hauing three arrows sticking in them, some two, and there was none which escaped without wound. The furie of those arrows coming so thicke, and so many of them being spoiled, they put the Boat from the shoare, leauing the rest on land, a spoile for the *Indians*.

Capitaine *Morgan*
slaine.

Many others
slaine or hurt.

By this time, there came two Boates full of lustie *Portugals*, and some *Spaniards*, who knowing the Scone on the West-side to be weakly manned, came with their Boates to the forts: one of them ran ashore which was full of men, then our men let flye their Muskets at them, and spoiled and killed all that were in that Boate. The others, seeing their fellows speede so full, rowed backe againe, with all their force, and got the Towne againe. In this meane time the 40. great Boate being gotten of, they called to them in the Scone, and willed them to forsake the Fort, and to come and helpe them; for they told them that all their men were spoiled & slaine. Vpon this they strait came out of the Scone againe, and retired to their Boate; who rushing in all together into the Boat, came on ground, so that off they could not get her, but some must goe out of her againe: tenne of the lustiest men went out, and by that time the *Indians* were come downe into the Fort againe, and shot at our men. They which were a land (perceiving the arrows fye among them) ranne againe to the Forts side, and shot in the lower hull with their Muskets. By this, the Boat was got of, and one that was the Master of the *Ros-bucke* (a most cowardly villaine that euer was borne of a woman) caused them in the Boat to rowe away, and so left those braue men a spoile for the *Portugals*, yet they waded vp to the necks in the water to them, but those mercelless villaines in the Boate, would haue no pity on them. Their excuse was, that the Boat was so full of water, that had they come in, the would haue sunke with all them in her; thus vilely were those poore men lost.

Ten braue
men lost.

Cowardly
basefelts.

By this time, they which were landed on the other side (the great Boate not being able to rowe neere the shoare to relieue them) were killed with stones by the *Indians*, being thus wilfully and vndiscreetly spoiled, which you may well perceiue, if you looke into their landing, especially in such a place, as they could not escape killing with stones. They returned aboard againe, hauing lost five and twenty men, whereof tenne of them were left ashore, in such sort as I haue shewed you. When the Boates came to the Shippes side, there were not eight men in the biggest Boate, which were not most grievously wounded. I demanded of them the cause of their misshappes, and how they durst land, considering my strait commandment to the contrary: they answered mee, that there was no fault in Capitaine *Morgan*, but the greatt occasion of all this spoile to them, happened vpon a controuersie betwene the Capitaine and those Souldiers that landed with him, and were killed at the Fort, for their ill speeches and vrging of Capitaine *Morgan*, was the cause that he landed contrary to my commandment.

16. men slaine,
others wound-
ed.

mandement, and vpon such a place, as they all confessed fortie men were sufficient to spoile fih hundred.

I leaue it to your selfe to iudge, what a fight it was to mee, to see so many of my best men, thus wilfully spoiled, hauing not left in my Shippe fittie found men: so as wee were no more then able to waye our Ankers, which (the next morning) wee did, and finding it calme wee were constrained to come to an Anker againe: for my only intention was, to get out of that bad roade, and to put of into the Sea, and there to determine what to doe, for that place was not for vs to tarrie in, for the roade was so bad, as wee were not able to helpe our felues with a Boate loading of fresh water, whereof wee flood in no small want. In this dayes it lay in the Roade, I comforted these distressed poore men, what I might, and found most of their desires, to returne againe into England. I let them vnderstand, how wee would goe backe againe to the Island of Saint Sebastian, and there wee would water, and doe our other necessary buisines, and there make a resolute determination of the rest of our proceedings. This course seemed to like them all very well, but the companie in the *Roe-bucke*, instantly desired nothing more, then to returne home, all affirming, that was pittie such a Shippe should be cast off. But in truth, it was not of any care of the Shippe, but only of a most cowardly minde of the Maister, and the chieft of the companie to returne home.

Now you shall vnderstand that the Capitaine was verie sicke, and since the time that the Ship lost her Maister, became the most labourious Ship that ever did swimme on the Sea, so as he was not able to indure in her, and at that present he lay aboard my Shippe, so as there was none of any trust, or accompt left in her. But such was the case of that Shippe (being without failers, masts, or any manner of tackle) as in the seile & iudgement of any man liuing, there did not lue that desperate minded man in the world, which (in that case he was then in) would haue ventured to haue sailed in her halfe so farre as England: and if he doe returne, it is (in my opinion) the most admirable returne that euer Ship made, being so farr off, and in so great danger. The villaines hauing left in my Ship all their hurt men, and hauing aboard of them both my Surgeons, I hauing not one in mine owne Ship, which knew how to lay a plaster to a wound, much lesse to cure any by balues: and further, hauing in their Shippe three times the proportion of my victuall (wherein consisted the only reliefe and comfort of all my companie) these most hard hearted villaines, determined that night amongst themselves, to looke mee at their next convenient time they could espie, and in this case to goe for England, leauing vs in the greatest distresse that euer one Christian left another in: for wee had all her hurt men in vs, and wee had taken out of her the best part of her men not long before: so as in running from vs, they not onely carried away our Surgeons, and all their prouision, but also our victuall, wherein consisted all our reliefe and comfort: hauing in them at their departure but six and fortie men, carrying away with them the proportion for six moneths victuall of one hundred and twenty men at large.

I leaue you to consider of this part of theirs, and the miserable case I was left in, with so many hurt men, so little victuall, and my Boate being so bad, as sixe or seuen men continually bailing water, were scant able to keepe her from sinking; and mend her we could not by any means, before we recouered some shore: for had not these villaines in the *Roe-bucke* (that night wee rode in this Baye) suffered their Boate to run ahoare with *Irish* men (which wee were to betraye) I had taken her Boate, and sunk this great naughty Boate. Such was the great griefe of our mis-haps, as wee were not able to winke the comfort and hope of a Boate to relieue our felues withall, we not hauing left in the Ship leaseth three tons of water for 140. men, the most part whereof being hurt and sicke. We putting out of the roade the next day, they, the same night in this case left vs, and (as I suppose) they could not accompt otherwise, then that wee should neuer againe be heard of.

The next morning looking for the *Roe-bucke*, we could no where be seene. I leaue you to you to iudge in what plight my companie was, being now destitute of Surgeons, victuall, and all other reliefe: which in truth was so great a discomfort vnto them, as they held themselves dead men, as well whole as hurt. The scantness of water made vs that we could not seeke after them, but were enforced to seeke to this land, with all possible speede, hauing to beate backe againe together two hundred leagues: which place, God suffered vs to get with our last caske water, the poore men being most extremely pinched for want thereof. Where (after we had a litle refreshed our felues) we presently mended our Boat in such sort, as with great labour and danger, we brought fortie tonnes of water aboard. And in the meane time searching our store of ropes, tackle, and failers, we found our felues vtterly vnsupplied both of ropes and failers: which accident pleased the companie not a litle, for by these want, they assuredly accounted to goe home. Then making a fury of the victuall, we found to be remaining in the Shippe (according to the rate we then had) fourteene weekes victuall large.

Hauing rigged our Shippes in such sort, as our small store would furnish vs, which was wanting meanly, for we had but foure failers (our sprits-failers, and foretoppe-failers being worn) which

which two, the Ship (most principally leueth) and those which we had (except her maine saile) were more then halfe worn. In this poore case being furnished, and our water taken in, my companie knowing my determination (which was to haile my Boate a ground, and build her a new) they forthwith openly began to mutine, and mutine affirming plainly, that I neede not mend the Boate, for they would goe home, and then, there should be no vie of her. I, hearing these speeches, thought it was no time to looke amongst them, calling them together, and told them, that although we had many misfortunes, fallen vpon vs, yet (I hoped) that their minds would not in such sort be overcome with any of these misfortunes, that they would goe about to undertake any bafe, or disorderd course; but that they would cheerfully goe forward, to attempt either to make themselves famous, in resolutely dying, or in luing, to performe that, which would be to their perpetuall reputation: and thus, the more we attempted, being in so weak a case, the more (if we performed) would be to our honours. But contrariwise, if we dyed in attempting we did but that which we came for, which was either to performe or dye.

And then I shewed them my determination, to goe againe for the Straits of Magellanus: which words were no longer vttered, but forthwith they all with one consent affirmed plainly, they would neuer goe that way againe; and that they would rather stay ahoare in that desart land, then in such case to goe for the Straits. I thought by peaceable meanes to perswade them, shewing them that in going that way, we should release our victuall, by salting of Seales, and Birds: which (they did well know) we might doe in greater quantitie, then our Ship could carry. And further, if we got through the Strait (which we might now easily performe, considering we had the chieft part of Summer before vs) we could not but make a most rich Voyage, and also meete againe with the two small Ships which were gone from vs: and that it was but six hundred leagues thither, and to goe into England they had two thousand. And further that they should be most infamous to the world, that being within six hundred leagues of the place, which we so much desired, to returne home againe so farr, being most infamous and beggerly. These perswasions tooke no place with them, but most boldly, they all affirmed, that they had iuror, they would neuer goe againe to the Straits: neither by no means would they.

And one of the chieft of their faction, most proudly and stubbornly vttered these words to my face, in presence of all the rest, which I hearing, and finding mine owne fault to be to weak to for them were not any that iuroured my part, but my poore cousin Lucke, and the Maister of the Ship I tooke this bold companion by the bosome, and with mine owne hands put a rope about his necke, meaning resolutely to trangle him, for weapon about me I had none. His companions seeing one of their chieft champions in this case, & perceiving me to goe roundly to worke with him, they all came to the Maister, and desired him to speake; affirming they would be ready to take any course that I should thinke good of. I, hearing this, flayed my selfe, and let the fellow goe: after which time, I found them somewhat conformable, at least in speeches, though amongst themselves they still murmured at my intention. Thus hauing somewhat pacified them, and perswaded them, that by no means I would take no other course, then to goe for the Straits, I tooke ahoare with me thurrie Soldiers, and my Carpenters, carrying foureteene dayes victuall with me for them. Thus going ahoare, I hailed vp my Boate, to a new build her in such sort, as she might be able to abide the Seas, leauing aboard all my failers, and the rest, to rigge the Ship, and mend failers, and to doe other buisines.

And now to let you know, in what case I lay ahoare amongst these bafe men, you shall vnderstand, that of these thirty there were v. a few of them, which had not rather haue gone to the Portugals; then to haue remained with vs: for there were some, which at my being ahoare, were making rafts to goe out to the maine, which was not a mile ouer, where the Portugals had continual watch of vs, looking but for a fit opportunity to let vpon vs: being in this case, I alwaies expecting the coming of the Portugals, against whom I could haue made no resistance, and further the trecherie of some of my companie, which desired nothing more, then to feale out, so to betray me, I protest, I liued hourly, as he that still expecteth death. In this case I made all the speed I could to make an end of my Boate: that we might be able to rowe her ahoare, which in twelue daies we mainly finished, which being done, I came aboard, and found all my buisines in good forwardnesse: so I determined with all possible speede to dispatch, and be gone for the Straits of Magellanus.

But ere we could get in all our water, and timber-wood, and other necessities an *Irish* man (a noble villaine) hauing made a raft, got ouer to the maine, and told the Portugals which were there (watching nothing but an opportunity) that if they would goe ouer in the night, they should finde most of our men ahoare, without weapon, and that they might doe with them what they would. vpon this, the next night, they came ouer, and hauing taken some of our men, they brought them where the rest lay, which they most cruelly killed, being sicke men, not able to stirre to helpe themselves. These which were ahoare, more then the sick men, had stole out of the Shippe, for it was all my care to keepe them aboard, knowing well, that the Portugals sought to spoile vs, the place being so fit for them, all outgrowne with woods and bulhes, as these *Indians* might goe and spoile vs with their arrows at their pleasures, and

Mutinous murmuring.

His perswas.

Mutineer punished.

An Irish rascall and traitor to his fellows.

and we not be able to hurt one of them. In the morning perceiving their coming, I sent my Boate alohaire, and refused all my healthfull men, but five, which they found out in the night, without weapons to defend them: whereof (besides the loss of our men) we having but four failes, left one alohaire, which was no small mishap among the rest.

Cap. Candithes
weakens.

The *Portugals* went presently againe out to the maine, but left their *Indians* to keepe in the bushes. About the watering place, our men going alohaire, were shot at, and hurt, and could by no means come to hurt them againe, by reason of the wood, and bushes. Wherefore finding my men hurt, and that by no means I could doe any thing there, without more losse of men (whereof I had no neede) for I had not above ninetie men left, or little over, notwithstanding my wants of wood and water, and my Boate (not being sufficiently mended) was in no possibilitie to doe me pleasure, in this case was I forced to depart: fortune neuer ceasing to lay her greatesse adversities vpon me.

But now I am growne so weak and faint, as I am scarce able to hold the penne in my hand: wherefore I must leave you to inquire of the rest of our most vnhappy proceedings, which is this, that (for the Straits) I could by no means, get my company to give their consents to goe. For after this misfortune, and the want of our failes (which was a chiefe matter they alledged) and to tell you truth, all the men left in the Shippe, were no more then able to weigh our ankers. But in truth I desired nothing more, then to attempt that course, rather desiring to dye in going forward, then basely in returning backe againe: but God would not suffer me to dye so happy a man, although I fought all the wayes I could, till to attempt to performe somewhat. For, after 20 that by no means I saw they could be brought to goe for the Straits, having to many reasonable reasons to alledge against me, as they had: first, hauing but three failes, and the place subject to such furious stormes, and the losse of one of these was death: and further, our Boate was not sufficiently repaired, to abide the Seas: and last of all, the fownesse, and feeblenesse of our company (wherein we had not left thirty failes) these causes being alledged against me, I could not well answere: but refused them plainly, that to *England* I would neuer give my consent to goe, and that (if they would not take such courses as I intended) I was then determined, that Shippe and all shouldinke in the Seas together. Vpon this, they began to be more tractable, and then I shewed them, that I would beate for *Saint Helena*, and there, either to make our felues happy, by mending, or ending. This course (in truth) pleased none of them, and yet seeing my determination, and supposing it would be more danger to resist me, then in seeming to be willing, they were at quiet, vntill I had beaten from 29. degrees, to the Southward of the *Equator* to 20. At which time, finding that I was too far Northwesterly, to haue good winde, I called them to tacke about the Shippe to the Southward againe. They all plainly made answere, they would not, and that they had rather dye there, then be starved in seeking an Iland, which (they thought) that way we should neuer get.

His purpose
for *S. Helena*.

What means I vied to stand againe to the Southward, I leaue you to inquire of themselves: but from the latitude of 20. I beate backe againe into 28. with such contrary windes, as (I suppose) neuer man was troubled with the like, so long a time together. Being in this latitude, I found the winde fauourable, and then I stood againe to the Northward, willing the Master & his company to saile East North-east, and they in the night (I being a keepe) steered North-east, and mere Northwesterly. Notwithstanding all this most vile wlage, we got within two leagues of the Iland, and had the winde fauoured vs so, as that we might haue stemmed from 18. degrees to 16. East North-east, we had found the *violo*: but it was not Gods will to great a blessing should befall me. Being now in the latitude of the Iland, almost eightene leagues to the Westward of it, the winde being continually at East South-east, the most contrary winde that could blow: I presently made a suray of my victuall, and found, that according to that proportion (which we then liued at) there was not left in the Ship eight weekes victuall; which being so farre from reliefe, was (as I suppose) as small a portion, as euer men were at in the Seas.

Sailors disobe-
dience.

Scarcity of
victuall.

Being so vncertaine of reliefe, I demanded of them, whether they would venture (like good minded men) to beate to the Southward againe, to get this Iland, where we should not onely relieue our felues, but also be in full assurance, either to sinke, or take a Carracke: and that by this means, we would haue a sufficient reuenge of the *Portugals*, for all their villanies done vnto vs: or that they would pinch, and take halfe the allowance they had before, and so to goe for *England*. They all assented mee, they would pinch to death, rather then goe to the Southward againe. I knowing their dispositions, and hauing liued among them in such continuall torment, and disquietnesse, and now to tell you of my greatest griefe, which was the sickness of my deare kinsman *John Locke*, who by this time was growne in great weaknesse, by reason whereof, hee desired rather quietnesse, and contentednesse in our course, then such continuall disquietnesse, which neuer ceased mee. And now by this, what with griefe for him, and the continuall trouble I indured among such hel-hounds, my Spirits were cleane spent; wishing my selfe vpon any desert place in the world, there to dye, rather then thus basely to returne home againe: which course, I had put in execution, had I found an Iland, which the Cardes make to be in 8. degrees to the Southward of the line. I tware to you, I fought

Desperate
thoughts.

it with all diligence, meaning (if I had found it) to haue there ended my vnfortunate life. But God suffered not such happinesse to light vpon me, for I could by no means finde it, so as I was forced to goe towards *England*: and hauing gotten eight degrees by North the Line, I lost my most dearest coulin.

Master Lockes
death.

And now consider, whether a heart made of flesh, be able to indure so many misfortunes, all falling vpon me without intermission. I thank my God, that in ending of me, he hath pleased to rid me of all further trouble and mis-haps. And now to returne to our priuate matters, I haue made my Will, wherein I haue giuen [specill charge, that all goods (whatsoever belong vnto me) be deliuered into your hands. For Gods sake, refuse not to doe this last request for mee. I owe little, that I know of, and therefore it will be the less trouble: but if there be any debt, that (of truth) is owing by mee, for Gods sake, see it paid. I haue left a place in the Will for another name, and (if you thinke it good) I pray take in my Cousin *Henrie Sackford*, hee will ease you much in many businesse. There is a Bill of Adventure to my Cousin *Richard Locke* (if it happen the other ship returne home with any thing, as it is not impossible) I pray remember him, for he hath nothing to shew for it. And likewise Master *Heene* the Customer of *Hamp-ton*, which is 50. pounds, and one *Elise* of *Ratschiff* by *London*, which is 50. pounds more, the rest haue all Bills of adventure, but the ruine in the victuall, only two excepted, which I haue written vnto you. I haue giuen Sir *George Cary* the *Desire*, if euer shee returne, for I alwayes promised him her, if shee returned, and a little part of her getting, if any such thing happen, I pray you see it performed.

Cap. Candithes
Will.

To vie complements of loue (now at my last breath) were fruitles, but know: that I left none in *England*, whom I loued halfe so well as your selfe: which you, in such sort deferred at my hands, as I can by no means requite. I haue left all (that little remayning) vnto you, not to be accountable for any thing. That which you will (if you finde any coulples of remayned, your selfe (especially being inticed to your owne desire) giue vnto my sister *Aune Candith*. I haue written to no man liuing but your selfe, leaving all friends and kinsmen, only repaying you as dearest. I commend me to both your brethren, being glad, that your brother *Edward* escaped so vnfortunate a voyage. I pray giue this Copie of my vnhappy proceedings in this Action, to none, but only to Sir *George Cary*, and tell him, that if I had thought, the letter of a dead man would haue bene acceptable, I would haue written vnto him. I haue taken order with the Master of my ship, to see his peeces of Ordnance deliuered vnto him, for hee knoweth them. And if the *Roe-bucke* bee not returned, then, I haue appointed him to deliuer him two braffe peeces, out of this ship, which I pray see performed. I haue now no more to say but take this last farewell. That you haue lost the louingest friend, that was lost by any. I commend mee to your wife, no more, but as you loue God, doe not refuse to vnderake this last request of mine. I pray forget not Master *Carey* of *Cockenow*, gratifie him with some thing: for hee vied mee kindly at my departure. Beare with this scribling: for I protest, I am scant able to hold a pen in my hand.

Mistress Aune
Candith.

CHAP. VII.

The admirable adventures and strange fortunes of Master ANTONIE KNIVET, which went with Master THOMAS CANDISH in his second voyage to the South Seas. 1591.

§. I.

What befell in their voyage to the Straits, and after, till he was taken by the Portugals.



HE departed from *Plimmouth* with five saile of ships, determining to goe for the South Sea (the names of our Ships were these) the *Gallion Leicester*, which was our Admirall; the *Roe-bucke*, Vice-admirall; the *Desire*, the *Damier*, and the *Blacke Pinnasse*. Sixe or seven dayes after that wee were departed from the Coast of *England*, we met with nineteene saile of *Flammingis* in the night. Not regarding what they were, our Vice-admirall tooke one of them, and all the rest escaped the morning the Master of our *Flamming* prize was brought before the Generall, and of him wee had newes of a fleet of ships, that was departed out of *Lisbone* for *Brazill*, the which newes we

Flamming prize
Guished with
Engl. shipes.

were very glad of. The *Fleming* ship was laden with Sale, whereof the General tooke three Tuns for his provision. This *Fleming* also shewes vs a leuence that hee had to pisse the Seas, vnder her Majties hand and seale, the which as our General had seene he presently commanded, that euery man should retaine all such things as they had taken from the *Fleming*, and lesse himselfe payed for the Sale that he had taken, and so we departed from them with a faire winde, holding our course from the Coast of *Portugall* to the Islands of *Canary*. Thus in twentie dayes we had sight of the said Islands, which when our General knew of troth to be the same, he commanded his two small ships, the *Daintie* and the *Blacke Pinnasse*, to be sent along the shore, to see if they could espie any Caruels fishing, or any ships betwene the Islands, and not discriing any thing, the next morning they returned backe vnto vs.

Vnder the Equinoctiall Line, we lay ten and twentie dayes driving too and fro without puffe of winde: In which time most of our men fell sick of the Scourie by reason of the extreme heat of the Sunne, and the vapours of the night; notwithstanding our great danger of sickness did not appaule the hardnesse of our hearts, being in as great extremitie as euery men were, it happened that two men of *Iapan* which the General had taken in his first voyage (bearing enuie to a poore *Portugall* that went with vs from *Flammouth*, accused him to the General) haue before confessed his death in this sort: The General being at dinner, these two *Iapones* came to his Cabbin, telling their tale to loud that euery one might heare the report (which was thus) that the *Portugall* of the ship was a *Trayce*, and that he had often giuen them counsell to run away with him as *Brazil* men doe (quoth he) if it is so had pleased God we had taken the Towne of *Santos*, as our General had pretended, from thence that hee would guide them to the South Sea, where they should be well rewarded for their intelligence; vpon the which accusations, the poore *Portugall* was hanged, And as for his going from *Santos* by land through *America*, to the South Sea, had beene a thing impossible, for the Countrey is all Wildernesse, and full of Sauiages.

After we had bene so long becalmed vnder the Line, we had a faire North-west winde, and in twentie dayes laid we a light fige of Land on the coast of *Brazil*, but no man knew certainly what part it should be. At length comming neere the shore, we espied two small ships, the one of them we tooke, the other clapped; that wee tooke was laden with *Blackamores*, and some merchandise; they came from *Fernambouck*, and were determined to saue gone to the Riuer of *Plata*. By the Pilot of this ship we knew we were at Cape *Frio*, that is, *Cold Cape*. This Cape lyeth twelue leagues from the Riuer of *Senes*, and thirte leagues from *Santos*; which was the Towne we meant to take. In this ship we tooke a *Friar* that hid himselfe in a Chift of malle; the night following by the directions of our new taken Pilot, we came to a place called *Iba Grande*, twelue leagues from *Santos*; at this place we tooke fise or sixe houses with *Portugalls* and *Sauiages* of the Countrey. Here we had good store of Potatoes, and Plantains, diuers kindes of good rootes, with some Hogs and Hennes, which was very good and comfortable for the refreshing of our men. Here we had such disorder amongst our souldiers, that if the *Portugalls* had bene of any courage, they might haue killed many of vs, for our men would fight for their victuals as if they had bene o. Chilians but fewes, and they that got the best, would get them into some hole, or into the Wildernesse vnder lone Tree, and there they would remaine as long as they had meat. For mine owne part (there was such sharking) I could in that place get neither meat nor money, and pure hunger compelled me to goe into the Woods, to see if we could kill any thing with our Peeces, or if we could finde some *Portugalls*. And as wee went, wee encountered with ten or eight of our companie, that went together by the sea-side about a Hogge they had killed, and the thirte was, who should haue the best share, we comming in at that time, when euery one vied their hits, stole away a quarter, and went a good way into the Wildernesse, where we were merry for that night; the next day wee came backe againe with good store of Potatoe rootes; and going into the house where the Generals musicians were, wee found them dressing of eight yong Wildelopes for their dinner; wee giuing them of our rootes they were contented that wee should dine with them.

In the afternoon we let fire on a new ship, and barned all the houses, leauing the Merchant and all his *Affaires* ashore, we departed from thence, and hauing a fair winde about fixe of the clocke we came to the Head of *San Sebastian*, where we were anchored; being fise leagues from *Santos*. As, as soon as the ships were in the Harbour, our Master and Captaine came aboard of the General, to know how he pretended to take the Towne of *Santos*; and they all resolved that our long Boaz and our Shallop onely with one hundred men was enough for the taking of it. For the *Portugall* Pilot told vs, that it was of no strength. On Christmas-eue about ten a clocke in the night, when the Boaz were to goe ashore there were so many that would haue gone, that wee began to fight and cast one another our-board into the Sea; but as soone as our General heard the noise, he commanded euery man to come aboard the ship againe. I fearing the General, and being desirous to goe ashore with the first (for I had scene before that they which came last got nothing) crept vnder the leate of our Shallop, where I was for the space of two houres, and the Boat being full of men, I could not get out, but there had bene most need, if it had not bene

been for *William Waldren* that was our Boatman, and steered the Boat, who hearing me crie vnder him, tore vp the boards, and saved my life. About three a clocke in the morning, we met with a Canoe (which is a Boat that they make of a whole Tree) in which we tooke foure *Portugalls* and two Women; the one of them was going to be married that morning. After we had taken this Boat we went close to the shore, and hauing tarried for our Boat an houre we heard the *Portugalls* ring a Bell, precisely *Leffter large* the *Portugall* Pilot told vs, that now was the time to land, for he knew by that Bell that they were in the middle of their Maffe, and at that instant the *Friar* was holding vp the Bread of Sacrament before the people to worship it.

He had no sooner spoke, but we were all on shore, and so marching to the Church, we tooke euery mans sword without resistance, and there we remayned till it was leuen of the clocke, for the comming of our long Boat, and the rest of our companie (for we were but twentie three in all) and we durst not take lack of the Towne with so few. By that means some of the *Portugalls* that were in their houses elapsed with their persons and money. Here was good store of victuall and great store of Succats, Sugars, and Castiuit malle, of the which we made very good bread. In the Church there were three hundred men betide women and children. Alfoone as wee had taken the sack of the Towne, and placed all our men in order, word was sent to our General of all that had bene done. After the General had sent in were againe to the Towne, all the *Portugalls* were let at libertie, and we fortified our souldiers in the Towne, keeping onely fise or eight of the chieft and principall prisoners, Master *Cole* Captaine of the Vice-admirall, went Captaine of all the companie that were ashore; he fauoured me very much, and commanded mee to take a *Friars* Cell to lodge in, in the College of *Iesus*, where he himselfe lodged with many Captaines and young Gentlemen. It was my chance going vp and downe from Cell to Cell, that I looked vnder a bed standing in a darke hole, where I found a little chilt fast steyled, and the flames thereof were white with wheat flower. I drew it forth, and finding it of great weight, broke it in pieces, wherein I found 1700. Rials of silver, each whereof conyenth foure shilling English. This hole I tooke for my lodging, and no man knew of my good purchase; cloth, shirts, blankets, and beds, and such stufe no man regarded.

The next day following, being *S. Steuens* day, the *Portugalls* gaue vs a false alarm; the General came also with all the ships into the Road, and presently landed with two hundred men, and commanded all the outward part of the Towne to be barned. Then hee gaue order for the building of a Pinnasse to row with twentie Oares, and commanded all the ships that were in the Harbour to be set on fire. At this Towne we tooke an English man, called *Iohn King*, which had bene there threene yeeres. Our General lay in the College of *Iesus* all the time that we were at *Santos*. This Colledge had many back-ways to the Sea-side, and it happened one night, that two Sauiages being abused by the *Portugalls* ran away, and knowing the passages of the Colledge, came in the night to the Generals bed-side, and brought with them Turkeys and Hennes: The General being awaked by them cryed out for helpe. One of them that could speake *Portugall*, fell downe on his knees, and said, that hee came to craie his fauour, and not to offend him. The morning following the General had discourse with these two Sauiages, and by them he knew of what strength the *Portugalls* campe was, and how that at his going out of the Towne they were determined to giue battaile: likewise they told him of three great bags of money, and a jare, that was hid vnder the roote of a Fig tree, and guided vs where we had three hundred head of Cattel, which ferued vs all the time we were there.

The *Daintie* being a small ship made a good voyage to *Santos*, for three came in before any of our ships, by the which means they laded her with Sugar, and good commodities of the *Portugalls* that were in the Harbour; this ship went voluntarily with vs, and hauing made a good voyage, the Captaine told the General that he would returne for *England*, the General answered, that he was determined to send him into the Riuer of *Plata*, and then with all his heart he should returne. We continued two moneths at *Santos*, which was the ouerthrow of our voyage. In the time that we were there many Canibals came vnto vs, desiring the General that he would destroy the *Portugalls*, and keepe the Countrey to himselfe, protesting to be all on his side; the General thanked them for their kindness, and told them that at that time he had a farther pretence. We found store of gold in this Towne, that the *Indians* had brought from a place, called by the *Indians*, *Maringa*, and now the *Portugalls* haue mines there. Many of our companie counselled the General to winter at this Towne, but he would not by any means.

From our first setting forth from *England*, till we came to *Santos*, I had great love to *Christopher the Lapin*, because I found his experience to be good in many things. This *Lapin* and I grew into such friendship one with another, that wee had nothing betwixt vs unknowing together. I a long time hauing found him true, I told him of the money I had found vnder the *Friars* bed; with that hee told mee of some money that hee had got, and we were fisure to part halfe from thenceforth whatsoeuer God should permit vs to obaine: some fure dayes after that, when we were ready to depart, he told me that that time of the year was past, wherefore it was best to hide our money in the ground, and remaine in the Countrey. I beleueing his persuasions, agreed to doe what he thought best; thus we determined both, that the same

Santos taken.

How Antonio found a chilt of siluer.

Iohn King English man.

The Generall by two Sauiages first feared, and after instructed.

The Daintie would haue returned from Santos to England.

Shewing mynes.

Agooden part.

S. Vincent.

At the river of
Platte we had a
great storm.
In this storm
the Crow a small
Boat of 30 run
sunke before
our eyes, with
twelve men &
a boy. The Ro-
bucke lost her
boat with two
men, and wee
lost ours with
three men.
And at the
Strait we took
the *Desires*
long Boat for
the Admirall.
Murmuring.

Port Desire.

*Magellan
Straits.
Port Famine.*

Current.

Barke like Si-
namon.
Naked Sana-
ges.

Miserable co

Anthony's Kni-
vet lost his toe
in the Straits.

day we were to goe a fshippboard, that then he should take all the money in a Canoe, and hide it by a Kuier side; in the morning I deluiered all the money into his hands, and he fswore that in leffe then two hours he would returne, but I staid about five hours, and might have tarried all my life, for he was gone aboard the Ship, afterward by good meanes I got mine owne againe, and so our former friendship was parted. Our men married by the way some *Santas*, to another day we went to the *Indians* to see how they wayed our men battell full of *Eugenia*, and *Sugar* meates, they offered them their imbricking, that if the *Portugals* had bene of any courage, they might easily have cut our throates, the two *Indians* which came at night to the Generals chamber went with vs to the Straits.

We departed from *Santo*, with a fair winde for the Straits of *Magellan*, fourteen days, we had faire weather, the fiftenth day all the Masters and Captaines of the flecte comming aboard, the Admirall wonne a great summe of money. Two dayes after we were becalmed, and the Pilotes taking their height, found it to be in the altitude with the River of *Plate*. And we beinge farre from the shore did beare more for Land, determining to fend the *Damie*, the *Blacky Pinnace*, and the _____ into the aforesaid River of *Plate*, but it was not the will of God that we should excecute our pretence. For the same day we thought to have defiered Land, the winde beganne to blow South-west, and the Seas were very darke, swelling in waues so high, that we could not perceive any of our accompanied ships, althogh we were very neere one to another, the Seas brake ouer the Pooppe of our shippe, and wathed our men afloat with feare into the Skippers, the *Roe-buckin* this forme ranne her _____ against our Pooppe, and brake downe all our Gallerie: all things were callt into the Sea that stood aboue Hatches, heere miserable fowle began to frowne on vsall, especially on mee, for all that I had, both in clothes and money, were callt into the Sea, all our shippe _____ with the Seas that brake ouer her fides. Here our Generall shewed himselfe to bee of a noble courage, for hee did nothing but runne up and downe encouraging his men which were all amazed, thinking that to bee their last hour, this forme continued three dayes, in which time wee lost most of our sayles blowne away from the vards.

It was the will of God, that after we had been three days in the forme, the wind ceased, but the Sea continued to great, that wee were not able to bewaye any layle. We lying thus toft with Seas, without feede of any of our fleet, the company murmured, and withed themelues againe at *Santos*, and indeed we al thought that the rest of our company were driven back with the storme to the Coast, thinking it best for vs to returne againe The Generall hearing what speeches passed in the shippe, came forth vpon the halfe decke, and commanded al the company to come before him, and after he had heard them speake, he answered that he had giuen directions to al the Masters and Captaines of the fleets, that when the weather fouled part diuers of them, they should vnder their indeour to take the *Defire*, and that the weather fouled part diuers of them, they should vnder their indeour to take the *Defire*, and that they should tary a fortnight; if none of the company was satisfied, he should add lesse, or more mark on the shoare, and goe on their Voyage, with that company man was satisfied, The Generall promising twentie pounds to whomsoever could fitt spie a layle, we made our course to *Port Defire*, and in ten dayes we safely arriued at our desired *Port*, where we found al our fleet but the *Dainie*, which was no little comfort to vs al, because the time of our yeare was almost past, we stayed here but two dayes taking a few *Penguins*, from an Island right before *Port Defire*.

[illegible]

Thus

Thus I continued for the space of a fortnight, till we came into a fair Bay, where there were many faire lands, and on the rocks of some of these lands, we found Scots made the barkes of trees, and afterwards we found many *Indians*, but none of them would come to vs. On the South-west field of the Mayne we found a *River*, which wee thought had gone to the South Sea: Our long Boate was sent up this *River*, and found it to be very fraite and deepe. On the sides thereof they found great Mudfles, and in them good store of *Pearles*, and we named it the *River of Pearles*: the Bay had the name of the *Maister of our Pinnace*, because he first found it and did soone call it *Iohns Bay*. From this place we went further into the *Straites* hauing the wind against vs, and with the cold there died euery day out of our ship eight or **to** ten men. Here we *Harris a Goldsmith* told his *Colfe*: for going to blow it with his fingers, call it *to men*. Here we *Iohn Chambers, Caffer Ricafon*, and many that are now in *England* can testify. The Generall hauing experience, that the wind would tarry at the least two months, his mind was to fail, that he thought best to returne for the *Coast of Brazil*, and there to separate our fleet to the *Hauens*, of *Santos* that lye on the *Coast River of Iemary, Spiritu Santo*, determining by this means, to furnish himselfe with *Ropes, Sayles*, and *Vials* of such prices as hee did gett, doubt not to take, and likewise determining to take *Santos* againe.

and those that were General came back with this pretence for *Brasli*, came to *Pert Famine*, where were anchored two dayes, and there took a note of all his men, that were luing, and finding some that were very like, commanded them to be fet on shoare, I was so ill in the Straites that no man
20 thought I would have lued, and twice I was brought upon the Hatches to be caft into the Sea; but it was the will of God, that when they had fid Prayers, as they accustomed when any man died, and that they laid hands on me to caft me ouer-board, I pake, desiring them not to caft me ouer-board, till I was dead. At this *Pert Famine* comming backe, the General would have fet me on shoare, but Captaine *Cocke* entreated for me; so I remayned in the ship. I had very forie clothes, the toyes of my teet full of Lice, that (God is my record) they lay in clufters within my flesh, and of many more beets full of life; I had no Gabbin, but was in my shift. Now we came out of the Straits wright westerly, and *Drum* that left us in the Ruer of *Pluier* in the former voyage, was here againe, and *Crow* that was Boate went before. After that we came out of the Straits, we came be-
30 fore the *Isle of Deigre* againe, and there our Vans were taken to *Penguin* land for *Penguin*; at this place the General took a Chirurgion who cured with words; This man comming about our ship, faid many words out my teet, and I had feeling in my legges and feete which I had lost before, for the space of a fortnight, many times between this man came, I had hot Irons laid to my feet, but I had no feeling were they neuer so hot.

[illegible]

Wee with much adoe in the end got to the Harbour of *Santos*, where wee found none of our company, we anchored right before a Sugar-mill, that stood hard by the Sea side, the Generall asked if they were any that would goe ashore, then Captaine *Stafford*, Captaine *Smithwell*, and the *Barke* of *Barbadoes* came to the Mill, and the Generall asked them if they were any that would goe ashore, 60 that they went in was made of Sugar chifts and barrel boards, they landed and took to the Sugar-mill, at the which they tooke a great Barke, and then it laden with victuals, aboard our shippe which was more welcome vnto them if it had beene good. Here wee continued all that day, and the next day they went the great Boate againe laden with Sugars and *Guinnee* Wheate, then the Generall feint them word that they should come away, but they feint him word againe, so they

Straits and
deepe Rivers:
Muscles with
Pearles.

c Harris his hard
 hap.

How we returned from the straits of Magellan.

General Can-
dish commeth
again to Port
Famine, where
bee setteth
eight men on
shore and
would have
set mee on
shore with
them, had it
not bene for
Captain Cooke.
How I got feel-
ing againe of
my limmes af-
ter we came
out of the
straits.

How the *Desire*
and the *Black*
Pinnaffe goth
away from vs

Of a great
storm we have
coming back

How the Generall strooke mee dead against his will

They come to Santos again.

The *Portugals*
kill our men.
See Cap. Can-
dib before.

S. Sebastian.

The *Roe-bucke*
comes to vs at
Santos.

Portugals ad-
vise.

Spirito Santo.

Portugals ha-
ve d.

80. men slain
40. wounded.

Roe-bucke beech.

S. Sebastian.

Anthony Knivet
left for dead.

Venerous
Peale.

they had more provision on shoare, and before all was aboard they would not come. The third day, that our men were on floare, the *Portugall* let on them. They had the little Boate aloft, but the wind being from shoare, the great Boate went not from the ship side that day. The next day that our men were slain, our long Boate went aloft, and brought vs newes how the little Boate was broke and how all our men were gone. One of the *Indians* that I have told you of landed here with our men, and having experience of the Countrey, when our men were in the hottell of their fight ranne away, having one Arrow shot thorow his necke, and another in his mouth and at his poole, this *Indian* I sawe aboard vnto vs vpon a legge, and told vs that all our men were slaine.

The Generall thought good to goe hence to the land of *San Sebastian*, and there if he did not meete with some of the ships, that then he would returne to *England*, the same day that we were to depart from *Santos*, the *Roe-bucke* past by the mouth of the River of *Berria*: where we were, and shot a Pece, and we answered with another, then the *Roe-bucke* came into vs with her Malts broken. After the *Roe-bucke* came to vs, we went neerer the Towne, determining to have beaten downe the Towne with our Ordnance, but wanting water, the *Galien Leecher* toucht ground, and we had much ado to get her cleere againe. Then we landed eightie of our men, at a small Riuer neere the Towne, where we had great store of *Mandiana* Roots, Potatoes, Plantons, and Pine Apples. The *Portugals* seeing our men going into the Riuer, sent six Canoes to meete them, we seeing them, made a shot at them with the claime of our Pumpe, with they returned, and our Boats came lately aboard with good store of the aforementioned Roots. To our ship there was a *Portugall* whom we tooke in the ship taken at *Cape Fria*, this *Portugall* went with vs to the Straits of *Magellanus*, and seeing of our ourchrow, told vs of a Towne called *Spirito Santo*, this *Portugall* said that we might goe before the Towne with our ships, and that without danger, we might take many Sugars, and good store of carle.

The words of this *Portugall* made vs beake off our pretence that wee had for *San Sebastian*, and we went to *Spirito Santo*, in eight dayes we got before the mouth of the Harbour, at length we came to an Anchor in the Route, and presently we sent our Boats to found the Channell, and we found not halfe the depth that the *Portugall* said we should finde, the Generall thinking that the *Portugall* would have betrayed vs without any triall caused him to be hauged, the which was done in a trife. Here all the Gentlemen that were living, desired that they might goe ashore to take the Towne. The Generall was very unwilling, & told them of diuers inconueniences, but all would not suffice them, they were so importunate, that the Generall chose out one hundred and twentie men, of the best that were in both the ships, and sent Captaine *Morgan* a singular good Land-fouldier, and Lieutenant *Keyden*, for chiefe Commanders in this action. They landed before a small Fort which one of the Boats, and draue the *Portugals* out of it, the other Boate went higher, when they had a very hot skirmish, and their lues were quickly shortned, for they landed on a Rocks, that stood before the Fort, as they leaped out of the Boate, they slid all armed into the Sea, and so most of them were drowned. To be short wee loit eight men, at this place, and of the fortie that returned, there came not one without an Arrow or two in his body, and some had lues or fixe.

When we saw we could doe no good at this place, we determined to come againe for the land of *San Sebastian*, and there we meant to burne one of our ships, and from thence we determined to goe for the Straits againe, the company that was in the *Roe-bucke*, hearing of it, in the night runne away from vs, and we were left alone againe. We went to *San Sebastian* land, all this while I lay vnder Hatches lame, sicke, and almost starved: I was not able to turne, I was so weakie. After we came to this land, the first thing that was done, the sicke men were let on shoare to luff for themselves, twentie of vs were let on shoare, all were able to go vp and downe although very weakly, but (alas!) my toes were raw, my body was blacke, I could not speake nor stirre. In this case I was layed by the shoare side, and thus I remayned from due of the clock in the morning, till it was betweene eleven and twelve of the clocke, that the Sunne came to his highell, and the extreme heate of the Sunne pierced through my bodie, whereby I came to my selfe, as a man awaked from sleepe; and I saw them that were let on shoare with me, lye dead and a dying round about me: these men had eaten a kind of Peale, that did grow by the Sea side which did poyson them. When I saw all these men dead, I prayd God that had rid them out of their miserable estate, and cursd my hard fortune, that Death it selfe did refuse to end my tormented and most miserable life. I looked towards the shoare, and saw nothing but the Peale, and if I did eate them, I was sure of death, if I did not eate them, I saw no remedie but to starve.

Seeing in this manner, I looked towards the ship, to see if the Boate came ashore, but (alas!) all my hopes were with speed to end my life, but that it was the will of God, I saw things I dre by the Sea side, and it was a great comfort, then I went creeping on my hands and my feete like a childe, and when I had gotten to the Sea side, I saw many Crabs lye in the holes of the maide, I pulled off one of my stockins, and filled it with Crabs, and as well as I could, I carried them to a hollow figge tree, where I found a great fire made; so casting them on the coles, I did eat them, and

and so I lay downe to sleepe till the next day; and then I watched for the ebbe to get some more meate. Thus I lued eight or nine dayes without sight of any man, the flinke of some of the dead men that the Sea came not to, was so noyome that I was faine to remoue from that place, and as I went along the shiare to seeke some place to abide in, I passed by a faire Riuer that went into the Sea; where I thought it good to make my abode because of the fresh water, I had not bene there scarce the space of halfe a quarter of an hoare, but I saw a great thing come out of the water, with great scales on the backe, with great egly claws and a long tayl; this beaust came towards me, and I had not the power to thin it, but as it came towards me I went and met it, when I came neere it, I stood still amazed to see so monstro a thing before me. Hereupon this beaust stood still and opened his mouth, and thrust out a long tongue like a Harping-frore. I commended my selfe to God, and thought there to have bin torn in pieces; but this beaust turned againe, and went into the Riuer, and I followed to the Riuer side.

The next day I went farther into the land, fearing to tarry in this place, and I found a great Whale lying on the shoare like a ship with the keele upwards, all covered with a kinde of short moss with the long lying there. At this place I made a little house, and fed on the Whale for the space of a fortnight. In this time the Generall sent forty men more ashore, at the place where I was let first on land, likewise the Generall trimmed his Boate at this place, and had a next continually a hung, of which *John Chambers* his Cooke had charge, who is this day living in *London*. After that these men came ashore, I left the place where I was with the Whale, and came to our men and lued with them, being at this time reasonable well, and able to goe very well, for the vie of going into the Sea did heale my toes. After these men had bene on shoare seven or eight dayes, we had taken wood and water for the ship, the *Portugals* of the Riuer of *Ianero*, landed on the North point of the land hard by the Whale, they took two of our men and one escaped, who came to vs in the night, and told vs that the *Portugals* and the *Sauages* were landed. That day wee had taken a great Tortoise ashore, and we did bid the Saylor to bee of good cheere, for if it were true, it was the better for vs, for we were sure, that the Generall would not take vs againe into the ship, with that we all commended our selues to God, and dranke to our friends in faire water, and so we determined to march along the shoare with a white flur instead of a flagge of truce, but the Sea was so high that we could not, then we determined to watch quietly, till such times as we could espie them, I had the first watch, and watched till I was weareie, so called one of my fellows, to watch, and he answered angrily, *Tu, tu, tu*: with that I lay downe by the fire as well as the rest. Before I was asleepe, the *Portugals* were at our doore, then I started vp, and one of them took me by the legge, presently we were all led to the shoare side, there all that were taken with me, were knocked on the heads with fire-brands, the *Indian* that had hold of me, strooke twice or thrice at me with a short Bill, but I striving, cryed out in *Portugall*, That if they would faine me I would tell them newes, with that a *Portugall* passed by, and I caught hold of him, so well as I could I told him a Tale which faued my life at that time, this *Portugall* gaue me againe to a *Savage*, & I cryed to him that I would goe whersoever he went, then he bid me not feare, for that *Savage* was his slave, and that he would carrie me to the Caprayn, so I was content perforce to goe. I knew not whether, this *Caniball* carried me along the shire, and when wee came where any Rocks reached into the Sea; hee would take me on his backe, and I swime with mee round about the Rocks, till wee were free from the Rocks, then we went almost all night, till at length we came by a great Cliffe that stood by the shore. Then the *Savage* whistled, and another *Savage* answered him from the Cliffe, whereupon fue or fix *Portugals* came forth, and amongst them came the Captaine with a piece of bread and Marmelade in his hand, and as soone as he saw me, he asked me what newes, I answered that I was very hungry, and desired him that hee would giue me some meate, and then I would tell him all the newes that I could, with that all the *Portugals* broke out in a laughter, and gaue me bread and fish to eate, after I had eaten that which they had giuen me, I told them the truth of all that they asked me, heere they killed eight and twentie of our men, and faued only my selfe, and *Henne Barrowell*, who was faued by my meanes.

Anthony Knivet
termined to be
a cannibal. But
he did not
eat the
meat
of the
whale.

Whale.

They are taken
and slaine.

He is capeth.

§. II.

ANTHONY KNIVET his comming to the R. of Ianero, and escape
amongst the *Portugals*, and *Indians*: his diuers travels
thorow diuers Regions of these parts.

THE next day our ship weighed Anchor, and whether I knew not, we were carried by the *Portugals* to the Riuer of *Ianero*, I went with a *Medicina*, which is halfe a *Portugall*, and halfe a *Savage* that faued my life in the night when I was taken. When we came to the Cliffe of *San Sebastian* in the Riuer of *Ianero*, the *Portugals* in the Canoes, made such a noyse, with Pipes and Drummes, that all the people of the Cliffe came to shoare to

to see vs, with that the Canoes going round, as if they were in fight, two *Portugals*ooke mee, and cast me towards the shoare, laying, here is our prize; the tyde being strong carried mee to the mayne, where I had bene drowned had it not bene for a woman, who seeing the tyde carry me away, sent two or three flaves, and they faued mee. When I came ashore, all the *Portugals* were at the Church of our Lady, and I would haue gone into the Church, but the *Portugals* would not let me, saying, that I was not a Christian. Then I was brought before the Governour, and he gaue me to the man that had faued mee, and I was very well contented, for hee vied mee very kindly as I came with him from the Hand of *San Sebastian*. For the space of three moneths els. I was with this man, I kept a house, and went to the Sea-side with his Hogs; and there I euenly brought him home a basket of great Crab that lie in the holes of the mud, as deepe as 10 you can thrust in your arme. This was a good life, my Master called me, sonne, and I dined and supped with him: also I had a hanging Net to lie in, and lay in the same roome which hee lay in.

It happened one day being by the Sea-side walking of little Dogs, there came a Canoe full of *Portugals*, and theyooke mee to the Towne with them, but as soone as I landed I remembered my Masters house and ran to it. As I went I met with *Henrie Barney*: the next day the Governour sent for mee and examined me what I was, I told him that I was a poore ship boy, with that *Henrie Barney* reproved me, asking what I meant to say to the Governour; I replied, that I was no other but what I had told him, then the Governour commanded mee to bee carried to the Sugar mill, where I was three moneths, till all the clothes that I had were torne in peeces, with working in a Barke going day and night vp and downe for Sugar canes and wood for the Mill; 20 the miserable life that I was in made me carelesse what I did. I had neither meat nor clothes, but blowes as many as Gilly flaves. Then I determined to run away into the Wildernesse, for I was ashamed to be seene naked of the *Portugals*. I made me a Cottage in a great Cae in the Wildernesse, where I was seuen moneths. In the day I fished for to live, and in the night I came to some *Indian* houses, and for fish they gaue me Caffeine meale, and many kindes of Rootes, that serued me for bread. In the end the Governour caused me to be sought out, and gaue mee a piece of blue clothes, and commanded me to worke in a Garden, where I carried earth, and digged the ground to plant Cabidges and Turneps.

After that I was commanded againe to take charge of the Sugar boat, where I was worke vnto 30 then euer I was before, for the Factor was a man that hated *English* men, and would vnto mee more like a Dogge then a Man. When I had continued foure moneths in the Barke, it happened that one of the Governours sonnes, called *Martin de Saa*, came from *Spirito Santo*. This man pitying my poore and miserable life, desired his father that he would gaue mee vnto him, which his father granted, and I was very well vied of my new Master, two yeeres after I had serued him. It happened that hee and his Mother in law fell out, whereupon the Governour his father sent him to a Towne, called *Wanambuth*, which were in peace with the *Portugals*, and for Knives and Hatchets, they sell their Wives and Children. This iourney I went with him, and we came to a Towne called *Lanarapipo* (that is to say) *Is this the Dogge?* He seeing me forward to doe him service, sent me from this Towne with eight of his flaves laden with Hatchets and Knives, to ano- 40 ther kinde of *Canibals*, called *Poros*, which had bene likewise friends with the *Portugals*, but it was long before any *Portugal* had bene there, I came to the Towne of *Poros*, where I was lusted in this fort.

As soone as I came into a great house, which I thought was their Kings, which they call *Mos- 50 rouchabaua*; presently, they had hangd vp a faire Net betwene two postes, in the which I was commanded to sit downe, and as soone as I was set, these came at the least seuerie women, and some laying their heads on my shoulders, and others on my knees, they began to crie out making such a pitious noise, that I was amazed; yet determined to sit still till they had done. As soone as the women were gone, an old man came in, all painted with red and blacke, and hee had three great holes in his face, one in the vnder lip, and one on either side of his mouth, and in euerly hole 50 a flood of fire Greene stone. This *Canibal* came through the house where I was, with a wooden sword in his hand, and as hee came hee spake very loud, and looked as though hee had bene mad, striking his hand on his breast, and on his thigh; still crying out, he walked vp and downe. After this *Sauage* had ended his speech, he strooke me on the head, and bad mee welcome; and commanded such things as were in his house to be set before me to cate. After I had bene there two or three houres, newes went through all the Towne of my being there, and from this Towne to others that were hard by.

While I continued in this Towne a *Sauage* called *Wanambuth*, who bare a great grudge to the *Portugals*, came where I was, with two women, and when hee came into the house where I was, hee laid his hands on their necks, and so came dancing before mee, thus after hee had danced 60 some quarter of an houre, he spake to mee, saying, *Desist thou from thy women, for my widow I get their loue, and now thou desire I am for to kill thee, as I have done many more.* I answered him that I came not as an enemy against him, nor any of his, but as a friend that brought him many things that I was assured hee wanted, and that if nothing would lettise him but my life,

life, I assured him, that hee and all his Countrey would pay for it. To this hee made no answer, but went to separate my things that lay by mee to his Concubines, which all I flurled out of my bed, andooke my sword in my hand, and thrust the *Canibal* from my things, that I had almost ouerturned him, and he durst not touch them nor me any more, but stood rayling, and threatening to kill mee, and with the noise that hee made, the old man came into the house, and seeing mee stand with my sword in my hand, asked mee what was the matter, and I told him all that had passed betwixt mee and the foresaid *Canibal*. After hee had heard mee, hee turned to the *Canibal* that had offered me abuse, and asked him what reason hee had to doe him so great a discredit, and to meddle with any friend of his in his Towne, and angrily commanded him to auoid his Towne, if not he would make him repent that euer hee came thither; with that, for feare of afterclaps, hee went away with his Concubines: the next morning newes came to the Towne, that *Wanambuth* was coming with three hundred *Canibals*, and that perforce hee would haue me to his Towne, and that there I should be killed according to the order of the Countrey; and how hee left order with his wifes to prepare wies through all the Townes in residence.

When the old man heard of this, hee presently commanded all his people to take their weapons, and desired them to goe with him into the field to meett them that were coming to wrong him; whereat they all gaue a great hoope, saying, that they would all die rather then they would bee disgraced. The old man embraced mee many times, and desired mee that I would tarry in his house. I thanked him for his loue, and told him that in any wiew I would not tarry behinde him; so I went with him to see the *Canibal* in the field; we being a great many more then they, they sent three or foure vnto vs as messengers, that they came to bee merry and to buy and sell such things as they had, then the old man gaue leave for them all to come into his Towne, except the *Canibal* that had mist-vied him the day before; that night I gaue all my merchandise to the old man, and desired him for it, that hee would cause mee to be conducted out of his Countrey: the next day following the old man gaue me ieuente flaves, and caused three hundred Bow men to goe with me till I was past the River of *Parayana*; from whence they returned to their Towne, and in foure dayes iourney with eale I came againe to *Ilha Grande*, where I found my Master, *Martin de Saa*, who was v. r. glad of my returne, and for recompence of my pines, he promised me one of them to bee my flave, but when hee came to the River of *Sanero*, hee sold 30 them, and gaue me nothing.

After wee had bene at home two moneths, hee would haue sent mee againe into the fuge countrey for more flaves, but I knew that thereby I should get nothing and refused to goe. Whereupon hee returned mee againe to his father, thinking I would rather chiose to goe then serue his father in the Sugar boat. But I was contented to goe againe to his father, hoping to bee better vied then I was before: then his father commanded mee to goe a fishing in a small boat, for to make oile for the Sugar mill. One night being vpon a Rocke fishing for Dog-fish, which the *Portugals* call *Tubarones*. Iooke my line, laid it vnder me and fill asleep: about mid-night with the beginning of the flood a Dog-fishooke my booke, and the line being vnder mee, I awaked,ooke the line in my hand, and running about the Rocke (I know not how) the line hangd about my legge, and the fish drew me into the Sea; and as soone as I fell into the water the Sharke swam at mee as if hee would haue deuoured me, but as soone as I saw him come nere mee, I caught hold on the hooke that was in his mouth, and striking downe with my hand the Sharke swam away againe. I now remembered a knife, that I had about my necke tied with a string, as the *Canibals* vse, and therewith cut the cord, or else there had I ended all my miseries: all my body was torne with the Craggs of the Rocke, so that for the space of a fortnight I was not able to stirre.

After I was healed the Governour commanded mee againe to goe a fishing: wee had newes in the River of *Sanero* that Master *Hawkins* was at Cape *Frio*, which made me the more desirous to be on the Coast in hope to get to him. It happened that one day being a fishing by an Island that lay two leagues from the shoare, Master *Hawkins* passed by the Sea as farre as well hee could bee deliued, but it was a very faire day: as soone as I saw the ships I let the *Indians* that were with me on shoare on the Island, commanding them to keepe prouision for vs. for that night I did assure my selfe that Master *Hawkins* would refresh his men at the Hand of *San Sebastian*, and seeing the winde faire, and all the *Indians* ashore, I boyed faile, andooke my coule towards the Hand of *San Sebastian*, but fortune was so croffe to me, that being in sight of the ships, a contrarie winde blew with such a storme, that perforce I was driuen vpon an Island full of Rocks, that my Boat was broken all in peeces, and my selfe all cut and bruised with the Rocks. Getting to the shoare vpon this Island I remained three dayes without meat, or meanes to gett away from the Island, the *Indians* that landed vpon the Island where we were a fishing, got to the Towne and told the 60 Governour how I had beguiled them. Presently vpon that newes the Governour sent two Canoes to deliue the ships, these Canoes came on shoare at the Island where I was, and there they found me almost flurled, and all my face hurt beaten vpon the Rocks.

From this place they went to the Island of *San Sebastian*, and Master *Hawkins* was gone; then they returned againe to the River of *Sanero*, and I was bound with my hands behinde me.

Hospitalitie
due in Sa-
uages.

River of Parayana.

He returneth
to his old Ma-
ster.Endangered by
a Sharke.Master Hawkins
at Cape
Frio.Another danger
by the differ-
ence and lesse.

His imprisonment.

Condemnation to be banished: Jesuits save him!

Imprisoned again.

Dissolution of his.

He fleeth again.

Danger of talking in a Caravel.

Solomon misinterprets his discourse.

His wandings.

I suppose by Leopards he meant that by the use of his staff he could kill a figure.

all the Towne rayled at me, calling me *Run-away*, then I was brought before the Gouverneur, and he looking very angrily upon me lent me to prison, where I was viled like a Dogge for the space of a fortnight: for I lay on the ground, and had no meat given me, but Caffau meale and water. After I had endured this miserie, I was condemned to be hanged for a Run-away and a *Liberian*, and as I was going by the College of *Jesuits*, all the Friars of the College came forth with a great Crucifix, and falling on their knees before the Gouverneur they craved pardon for me, and I was carried againe to prison, where I remayned three dayes longer, then I was brought forth on a Market day, with my hands and feet bound, and there in publicke heauen with cordes, that I had not a whole spot of skin on all my body. After they had punished mee, as you have heard, I was commanded to be put againe in prison, where I was for the space of a fortnight, with no meate but Caffau meale and water, my lodging was the earth, my body was all bruised and full of wormes with lying on the ground.

After this the Gouverneur commanded great hopes of Iron to be clinched to my legge, of thirtie pound weight, the which I carried nine months, continually working in the Sugar mill like a bond-slave. The Factor vied me more like a Dogge than a Man, for his hatred was so much to me, and so all strangers, that I neuer came by him but I was fure of blowes. Now was my life so intolerable, that I grew desperate and carelesse what I did to end my life. Many times I would tell the Gouverneur now like a Tyrant the Factor vied me, but for all that he law my body black, and bruised with blowes, he had no compassion on me. I had no means nor hope of any releafe of my miserable life, but to kill the Factor. Now occasion came fitly to execute my pretence, and it happened thus: I coming in the night with a Barke laden with Sugar canes, after the Barke was unladed, the night being cold, I lay upon the boards before the Furnaces, and had not reftt half an houre, when the Factor came into the Sugar house, fo finding me sleepe (as you have heard) hee strooke mee with a witche on the naked ribs, with such force, that I thought hee had broken all the bones of my body. I started up, and seeing him before me ready to second his malice with another blowe, I embraced him in mine armes, and with a great knife that I had, I hurt him in the side, the backe, and the arme; hee cryed out I had slaine him.

I thinking no lesse ran away into the chieft of the wood, and the favourable night being dawne, no man knew which way to follow mee. When day came I went wandering up and downe, praying to God to sende mee Leopard, or Lion, to deuoure mee, rather then to be taken againe by the *Portugals*, for I knew if the Gouverneur once got mee againe, I should endure the most extreme torture that ever was invented for man. Wandering in the Wilderness, I did heare a great noise of people, then I was amazed, knowing not what to doe to save my life, sometimes I run like a mad man, then would I sit downe and listen if I could heare any noise, and which way soever I went I heard still the noise of people neerer me. Thus seeing my selfe at the last callt, I espied a great Tree, in which grew a thing of thick long leaues, called by the *Indians*, *Caravaca*; as bigge as the nest of an Eagle, I got me into that, hauing not bene there a quarter of an houre, many *Indians* came to seeke mee, and shot many times with their arrowes at the thing where I was, when they saw that I did not stirre, they went their wayes, and I remayned all that day in the Tree, the night following, and the next day and night, I came downe very weak, for in two dayes I had eaten nothing, then the night being darke, I came to the Sea side, going along by the shore side, I espied a Canoas full of flowers, and hard by it on the ground lay three Sauges alrepe, by them lay bowes, arrows, and rootes, with hookes to fish with, of those things I tooke what I thought best, and went along the Sea side till I came to a Point of the land, where I found a Saugaleepe upon the lands, when I had vied him well I knew him to be one of my Masters slaves, who killed one of his fellows, wherefore hee durst not goe home, Iooke his bow and arrowes lying by him and awaked him, when he saw mee he began to lament, and desired that I would not carry him home to my Master, I answered him that my cause was ten times worse then his, and desired him to tell mee if he knew any place whither wee might goe to iue both our liues, and with that told him what had befallen mee.

This Saugaleepe was a great man in his Countrie, his name was *Quarapissinca*, that is, the *yellow Sunne*. Neuer man found truer friendship of any then I did of him. This *Camball* and I after many discourses determined to swim from the Iland to the mayne. When we had escaped the danger of passing the arme of the Sea, at least two miles in breadth, we both landed very freeble, with the long being of our naked carcasses in the water. Now we were at the foot of the Mountain called *Parapapacaco*, a desert, where many have bene deuoured with Leopards, Lions, Crocodiles, and Saracocous, and diuers other Serpents. Notwithstanding all these fearful inconueniences, we chose rather to fall into the pawes of a Lion, and the clawes of the Serpent, then to die to the bloodie hands of the *Portugall*. Seven and thirtie dayes we two trauelled through this desert, every day we were in danger of our liues, for we met many Leopards, Lions, and huge Serpents, but God deliuered vs from them. In this iourney we ate wale Hone and Palmets, and a kinde of Snakes, called by the *Cambals*, *Boayana*. After we had passed this desert, we came into a cham-

a champaigne Countrie, where we had great store of Pine trees. Wandering vp and downe in this Countrie, one morning we espied smoke in a wood not farre from vs. Then wee trauelled that wayes, and coming neerer, I knew where we were, and presently I told *Quarapissinca*, that the Towne was called *Pianita*, and that this was the place where *Tamaripio* had vied mee so well, when *Wanamabito* would have killed me. Now come we to the Towne, where we are very kindly receiued, especially of mine old friend *Tamaripio*.

Hee cometh to his old habit.

After we had rested a little while among the *Cambals*, I desired them that they would ioyne themselves together; for in publicke I would rehearse how much vnto them of my coming into their Countrie. Now when they were all together, I began to rehearse vnto them, how cruelly the *Portugals* did vfe their Nation, in making them bond-slaves, making them like Dogs, whipping and tormenting them, as if they were not of flesh and blood. I rehearsed vnto them the course of mine owne life, and desired them to remember how my Countreman had vied them in former times, encouraging them to be valiant, and to pull vp their spirits, and perswading to defend themselves against such Tyrants, who vnder the colour of friendship vied them most villainously. Then I told them that I had killed a *Portugall*, and that I was determined to end my life with them, if they would promise to defend mee and themselves from the *Portugals*. With that many of them embraced mee, all together giuing a great hoope, saying, as long as their liues lasted, and their Bowes brake not, that they would defend themselves and mee. Here I continued nine months, till it happened that *Martin de Saa* came againe to buy more slaves, He came to a Towne hard by the Iland of *San Sebastian*, called *Laguerquere*, where living the *Cambals* kindly, and giuing them Knives and Hatchets and Beades, he won their hearts so much vnto him that they gaue him their Sonnes and Daughters to bee his slaves; and moreover told him, that I and *Quarapissinca* was at a Towne hard by. Then *Martin de Saa* sent four *Portugals* and twentie Sauges for me to the Towne. When the Sauges of *Laguerquere* came to *Pianita*, they gaue such report in all the Towne of the liberalltie of *Martin de Saa*, that without any deliberation they bound my hands, and brought me backe againe to my Masters lonne.

Laguerquere.

Saugaleepe, Antonio Knives, a bond by the *Cambals* and brought to his Master.

When the *Portugals* brought mee before *Martin de Saa*, all those that protested before most friendship vnto mee, are now become my great and most mortall enemies, and with hooting and hollowing deride mee, striking mee on the head, and declaring to the *Portugals*, how I vied great perswasions to haue them become their enemies. *Martin de Saa* made no answer to all their exclamations, but commanded certaine *Portugals* and *Indians* to see that I sweene not away. Being brought the next morning before him, hee told mee that hee did pitty my hard fortune to come to so bad an end as I was like to come to, making mee beleue that the Factor was dead, and therefore hee thought that the Law would condempne mee. When hee had spoken, I desired him to bee fauourable vnto mee, and that hee would consider what seruice I had done him and his father, and to thinke how vnreasonably the Factor had vied mee a long time. Then hee promised mee, that wherein hee might hee would stand my friend; then I entreated him to giue mee leaue in that desert to end my life amongst the *Cambals*, where hee might well bee assured I could neuer hurt him nor any of his Nation: hee would not condescend thereunto, but promised hee would save my life, if I would but goe to a place in that Countrie, called *Parapapacaco*, and there to traffique with the *Cambals* for Women, Boyes, and Girles. Although the danger of going into the Countrie of wild Man-eaters where I neuer had bene, was so little then the value of my life, yet considering with my selfe that my offence deserued death among the *Portugals*, I chose once againe rather to stand to the Heathen merie of Iauage Man-eaters, then at the bloodie cruelty of *Christian Portugals*. And seeing my selfe in such extremity, I shewed my selfe very willing and diligent to doe the Captaine pleasure; but God knowes, my hope was neuer to haue seene him againe. Now goe I along in the Wilderness, with twelue Sauges, I know not whither, but as they guide mee ouer huge Mountaines, and many great Riues, passing many dangers of our liues by land of Lions, Leopards, diuers great Snakes: in the Riues, Crocodiles, *Larapagana*, and *Cupacana*, with many other Serpents that vfe the water. After wee had trauelled hie and twentie dayes in the Wilderness, wee came to a faire Riuer as broad as the *Thames*, and the *Cambals* that went with mee said that the Towne flood by that Riuer side, where wee were to traffique, but certaintie they knew not where about. Then wee made vs a Boat of the barke of a Cedar Tree, going downe the streame in it. Wee had not bene there long a going with the swiftnesse of the Current, before wee espied a Boate of the same fashion that ours was, with two *Cambals* in it, who as soon as they had espied vs would haue runne away, but wee being better manned than they ouertooke them before they got to the shoare. With mee there went one of their owne Nation, by name *Morofony*, who had bene taken by the *Portugals*, and they told him to the *Portugals*. This *Morofony* spake the language of the *Taymanay*, which I vnderstood very well. The two *Cambals* that wee tooke in the Boate, were amazed to see men apparelled, in much that they knew not their owne Countreman that was with mee, when they saw him apparelled like a *Portugall*; if they were amazed at vs, I was no lesse at them, for in their things all my trauell I neuer saw the like fashion of *Cambals*. For when I saw them first I thought haie.

A faire Riuer.

Two Sauges.

Apprell strange.

they

and then desire their friends to beat them with the cords, that they hang their beds wishall, but for their Ceremony, I saw not one of them escape after they came to chat estate. The molt of our *Indians* died with a kind of knife-cut, that is common in all hot Countreys, that is, with a sweate and wearineffe of the body; with Wormes in their tuncament, that consume their guts, and they do confume away, knowing no more. And thus we have hunted them, till the Indians are filces of Lemons, and green Pepper, and put it in their fundaments, likewise Salt-water is good for them. But our *Englismen* that died on the Coast of *Gwineea* and *Braff*, perished of this Disease: it breedeth with head-ache and burning Fevers, then were presently let blood, and thae killed vs.

Strange
diffract.

Hard Scrutiny

M. feral
mine.

180 men left.

Mountain of
black round
stone.

Sleep deficit

Ground Hon
Ans. beare.

M. of green
tones.

R. Lowry
which flows

Vomits and death:

The enemy
comp for the

After we had done telling up the afore said River, we came into a faire Champion Country
full, all full of Pine Trees, but the Apples were not ripe, and we could find nothing to eat, but
here and there a little wilde Honey, we traueilled at least a month; the *Portugals* beganne to
dispaire, and threw away their Peeeces, being not able to carrie their clothes. In all this misery,
the Captaine made me carrie two Muckets (as I hope to be faued) and I was faine to waite upon
him every day to helpe to make his loding, and my friend *Henry Barrow*, was foll, that I was
many times faine to carrie him on my backe, and continually to lead him by the hand. In
this march we were forced to eate all our Targets, which were made of raw Hides of Buffe;
likewise we did eate a Cowes kinde, which the Frier caried with him (as he went with vs) to
couer his things which he said Maile withall from the raine, I appie was here who could get
a Toad or Snake to eate. After we had pauffed thoe Champion Countries, where we had 180.
of our men, we came againe into the Mountaynes, and traueilled a great Hill called *Etiapacatch*
is to say, the *Mountain of long floues*, for there we found blacke floues of a yard long, as round
as if they were made of yong floues. When we came to the top of this Mountaine, we were not a-
ble to goe downe, but by the way of wood. When we came to the foot of this Mountaine, we
came into the *Lagumyne* Trees, there weooke of thoe wities, and making them
faine to great Tree, we were faine to lide by them at the least one hundred fathomes. In
thoe Mountaynes, we had great store of Palmitos and wilde Honey, and many kinde of
Fruit.

The *Canibals* that guided vs told vs, within four dayes we should bee with our enemies the *Tamoys*, but we were above twentie dayes, we came into a dry blacke Chamption Countrie, not hauing in it almost any graffe, there we found good flore or Honey that the Bees made in the ground, likewise we found a kind of great Beasts as bigge as a Beare, and like a Beare in the booke, it hath a nofe of a yale long, and a faire great taylor all blacke and gray, this Beast putte out his tongue through Ant-hill, and when the Antes are all vpon his tongue, hee swalloweth them vp. After we had passed this place, we came to a Mountayne called *Etiampo*, that is to say, the *Advantage of greeneflowes*; we were in as great misery as euer we were. Then the *Portugals* assembled together, and told the Captayne that they thought that the *Canibals* did lead them vp and downe of purpose to defroy them. The Captayne called the old *Canibal*, and told him how long we had followed him, and how he told vs before, that in twenty dayes we might easily goe from his Towne to the Towne of our enemies the *Tamoys*. The old man answered, that within two dayes he would bring vs to the Towne of our enemies, if not he would lofe his head, and that all his company should be our slaues.

and that it must be true.

Within two days according as the old man said, we came before the Towne by a River side, which River is called *Isavery*, it taketh the head from the Mountayne *Potowin* in *Perna*, the Towne was on thier farther side from vs, and on the side that we were on, they had good store of *Mandocoe* and *Peraden*. We came before the Towne in the Evening, and lay all night in ambush, thinking to take some of them the next morning coming for their meate. That night our men ate for much *Mandocoe*, that when we thought we should have had some skirmish, they lay all morning watching that they were not able to find, and thirtene of them died. The next morning, when we law no bodie stir, we maruelled, thinking that they were in ambush for vs, the *Potowin* galis durst not goe ouer the River, for feare thereof. Then the Captayne commanded me to passe ouer the River, the which I did vpon a wooden Target, when I came into the Towne, there was nothing but a few great pots that the *Cambals* had left full of Greene Wheate, great store of Pumpions, and two great Eftidges, I tooke: moole of the prouision that I found, and layed it altogether for the Captayne, then I called for the company that they might not feare, for there was no body. At this place we remained two months, here the Captayne repared the grounds, that the *Indians* had planted with *Mandocoe*, commanding euery man to make mee ready for his prouision homewards, for hee said that from thence hee would returne. Wee had nothing to cate at this place but Potatoes and *Cajani* Meale that wee made our selues, and of that very little.

By this Towne there was a bogge, and when it rained, there would bee great store of Frogs, of them wee would take in the night with Torch of Waxe to light vs, It fell out one night that I should have bene Sentinell at midnight, and about eleven of the clocke it rained, then I sayd to my friend *Henry Barrowell*, I would to God that one night you would goe and take

some Frogs, for you know presently I shall be called to watch, with that he went and presently returned again without any thing and told vs, that a great Snake was by the logs, and that it leaped up and downe after him. Then the *Indians* said, that it was a kinde of Snake that flyeth at the fire, I asked *Henry Bartray* where I might finde the Snake, he told me at such a place, then I tooke the handle of an Axe being of a heauie black wood, and a little *Waxe* Candle in a guard, because the Snake should not foyre mee, and made it very ready. When I came to the place that my friend had told mee, I lighted my Torch, and was to see the Snake, that if I would, I could not shunne her, this Snake had a great Froge in her mouth, and alsoone as hee saw the fire, hee put up his tongue out of her mouth, and rayeing vpon her skinne like the scales of a fish, shee spit out of her mouth, the fire, and the smoke of the torch, as heer mouth opened, I strooke at her, hit her on the head and the teeth, that I cruoshed her braine. When I opened, I found I had strooke her, I threw my Torch one way, and ranne halfe a mile, and when I came to the water, the Snake made a great noyse in the water, but I looked till it towards my Torch, to prouoif if it were true that they would flye in the fire, but when I saw I was such thing, I went and tooke my Torch againe, and very warily went to the place, where I had strooke the Snake, where I saw all her black bloudie, and her eyes broken, and so I killed her. When I had done, I tooke a fawle and bound it to her forequarters, and dragged her home to the house where I lay, when I came home I asked if I had beene called to watch, the *Portingalls* and *Henry Bartray* said that no man had asked for me, then I tooke a Knife, and beganne to cut a piece of the Snake for the Captaine, and would haue parted the rest among the rest. As I was cutting, the Ensigne of our company came to the doore, I went and opened the doore, and alsoone as hee came to mee, hee strooke mee with a cudgel, knowing why hee should vye mee to, came and clofed with me, for both of vs went to the ground, and I said to the *Portingalls* that were with me, that I would beate and parrel vs, and asked him whether hee strooke mee, he answered that the Captaine had riden and found no body in the watch, to that they all answered, that no man had called mee, then hee commanded mee to goe before the Captaine; hee without hearing mee speake, commanded two *Indians* to binde mee to a poffe, and commanded them to take the cords of their beds and whip mee, I desired that the Captaine would heare the truth, and if hee found any fault in mee, I would according to Marshall Law be hangd. Before the *Indians* had vnyred their beds, there came in an ancient old man, by name *Iohn de Soto*, Captaine of our Rere-guard, and with him some twentie *Portingalls*, that lay in the flame house where I lay. When they saw mee bound tie the Captaine that I was not in fault, for no man had called mee. Then the Captaine commanded mee to bee vnyted, and bade mee goe to my Watch, I went home and fetched my Sword, and presently came againe where I should haue watched, and when I came there, I found that hee had gone his way before, and said to the Captaine, that hee had fawled mee in the face, and I desired him to loose me, and to let me goe, where I saw him there, he asked him if hee was not bound to auouch that which was a Lye? with that hee beganne to abuse mee in vile words, calling mee *English* Dogge and Heretic, when I saw my selfe disgraced by a pauidy *Mefize*, I tooke my Sword with both my hands, and strooke him on the head with the Hilt, that I made a great wound.

Then the Captaine commanded mee to bee fet in the Stockes, and bound my hands, where I lay all that night, and the next day in the afternoon, there came two *Portugals* and read certaine Articles against mee, which the Captaine had caused to bee made, saying, that I had killed many *Gike Indians* when I had found them alone, and that I had deferred death by making a mutinie in the Court of Guard by friking, that was sufficient to make an vpror. After they had read all this, they bid mee prepare my selfe for death, and so went their wayes. Within halfe an houre after the Frier came to mee, and asked mee whether I would confesse or no, I told him that I had holde nothing from no man, and as for my finnes God knew the secrets of all hearts, wherefore I had nothing to confesse to him. With that after many Oracions that hee made to mee, hee went his way. All the *Portugals* went to the Captaine entreating him to pardon mee, but hee would not heare them, saying that he might neuer come into Chriitian Country if hee did not haue mee. I lay all day and night in the Stockes, and at the fourth of the clocke the next morning. Then the Frier came to me againe, and told mee that my sould was very neere, and desired mee to prepare my selfe to dye like a *Christian*. I told him I hoped the Lord would haue mercie vpon mee.

Between six and seven of the clock, there came the enigne, and a Scribeur, and two or three *Portugals* with them, and an *Indian* with a cord in his hand, and by the command of the *Portugals* put it about my necke, then I was carried to the place of execution : all the *Portugals* o being about me, I said, Gentlemen, the C-paine putteth me not to death for the offence that lately I have done, but a grudge he holdeth against me fairly rumbered by his Coffin, who is now present, because I would not follow him; and for that, and no other matter I am condemned to this death. As I was speaking, the *Indian* that should have been my executioner, came from the top of the house, where I should have been executed, and thrusting me on the side of the

Snake which
leaps at the
fire.

II The Snake killed

Worse Snakes
aligns.

**I He is set in the
Stocks.**

He is brought
to execution.

Honour'd Portu-
gals intercede.

head said, *What dost thou pray, knowest thou not that the Captaine's Father sent thee hither, that thou mightest when returne* ? with that the *Portugals* checkt the *Indians* and *Iohn de Soto* standing with *Granded del Galbo*, and *Pissimé d'Alamo*, yea, a great many *Portugals* said, what authoritie hath the Captaine to hang this man, we come not in the Kings service, but for our owne profits, and he is but the Gouernours bastard Sonne: so they commanded the execution to be shied, then *Iohn de Soto* went to the Captaine, and told him, Sir, we know not where we are, and many of our men are dead, wherefore it is not convenient at this time, that we should weaken our forces, for we know not if any of vs shall returne againe or not, wherefore we desire you to pardon this *Englishman*, for he is as good a Soldier as any of vs, and the man that is hurt is not in danger, The Captaine swore a great oath, that should dye; then *Iohn de Soto*, and the rest of the *Portugals*, bid him shew what authoritie he had to put me to death, and if he shew not authoritie from the King, I should not dye at that time, for they were to answer for me as well as he. The Captaine came out very angrily, and made great protestations against *Iohn de Soto*, that hee was an upholder of mutinies. *Iohn de Soto* said, that he would answer to all that hee alleaged, and so I was released from death.

After we had bene at this place, two moneths making our prouision, we went forward to another Towne, we found great store of *Gumme Wheate* newly planted; here we remained three moneths, till the Wheate was ripe, from thence all the Company returned home but myselfe, and twelue young men; we asked leave of the Captaine to goe to seeke our adventure, the Captaine gaue vs leave to doe what we would; for mine owne part, I asked leave only for feare to goe homewards, lest the Captaine should worke me some mischief; likewise we did all that we should hardly get home, for we knew not where we were, and the way that we did come, we durst not returne againe, for feare of the *Porties*, and *Lepos Tomineus*, and other Canibals, lest they seeing vs weake, should betray vs.

A new aduenture.

§. III.

His strange traualles with twelue Portugals, whom the Saages did eat. His life with the Canibals: and after that with the Portugals, from whom hee fleeth to Angola, is brought backe, and after manifold chancas, is shipped to Lisbonne.

And the twelue afore said, tooke our leave of the Captaine, determining to goe to the South Sea, rather then returne againe without any thing. The names of the *Portugals* were these, *Francisco Tamores*, *Lopes de Pina*, *Consta Fernandez*, *Thomas Deluare*, *Lewis Leello*, *Mathieu del Gale*, *Iohn de Silveira*, *Petro de Castro*, *Antonio de Gorgulho*, *Manuel Castilho*, and my selfe, *Anthony Kniuct*. After we had departed from our Captaine, we made a greete Canoe of a shalke of a tree, and went downe the River called *Lanary* for the space of a weeke, that we came where we found a little Village of fixe houles, and it seemed it had beene a long time sithence any inhabitants were there; when we came to this Village we left our Canoe, and determined to goe by land. In this Towne we found great store of earthen Potts, and in some of them peeces of Gold tied at lines that the *Indians* sell, whichall likewise we found Stones as greene as grass, and great store of white glittering Stones like Christall, but many of them were blew and greene, red and white wonderfull faire to behold: when we saw the peeces of Gold and those Stones, we made accompt that we were very neere *Potafin*, then we tooke our way South-west, and went up a greete Mountaine of Wildernesse. After that, we came to a place of dry Browne earth, full of hills, rocks, and many small Riuer at the head; by many of these Riuer we found little peeces of Gold, as bigge as an Hailell out, and great store in dust like sand. After which, we came into a faire Countrey, and we saw a great glittering Mountaine before vs, ten daies before we could come to it, for when we came into the plaine Countrey, and were out of the Mountaines, and the Sunne began to come to his height, we were not able to traueile againe in, by the reason of the glittering, that dazzled our eyes. At the last, by little and little we came to the foot of this Mountaine, where we found great store of *Tamandras*.

We went along by this Mountaine at the least twenty daies, before we could finde any way to passe ouer it; at last we came to a Riuer that passed vnder it, here we determined to make some shift to get through, some of our company said that they thought it best to goe still along by the foot of the Mountaine, rather then to venture to goe through; for they said, if this water goe not through, we are all cast away, for it is impossible to returne againe against this current. Then I answered, friends, we may as well adventure our liues now as we haue done heretofore in many places, if not, we must make accompt to lue here like wilde Beasts, where we shall haue life as long as please God, without credit, name, or Religion: wherefore I thinke that our best way is to goe through if we can, for no doubt but God that hath hitherto deliue-

Fishing with
golden hookes,
Fairston.

Golden Riuer

Glittering
Mountaine,
Tamandras are
the Ant-bees,

Hidious ad-
uenture.

red vs: from dangers infinite, at this time will not forsake vs, and questionle if it be our fortunes to passe on the other side, we shall finde either *Spaniards* or *Indians*, for I am sure, that each of you haue heard, that on a fairsday it is to be discerned from the top of *Potafin* to this Mountaine. After I had thus spoken, the *Portugals* determined to venture to goe through; we made a great thing of great Canoes, three vards and a halfe broad, and six yards long, that we might lye downe and sleepe vpon it: we killed good store of *Tamandras*, and roasted them very dry for our prouision, for we knew not how long we should be in the vauie.

After we had made all ready, taking good store of wood with vs, commanding our felues to God, we put our felues into the vauie, which made such a noise with the running of the water, that we thought it had bene some enchantment. We went in on munday morning, and we came out on a morning (whether we were two dayes or one in the vauie I know not, As soone as we perceived light we were very glad, but when we came out, we saw on euery side houles, then we tooke counsell what was the best for vsto doe, to hide our felues, and see if we could passe the Townes in the night, or to goe and submit ourselues to the *Indians*; we all agreed, that the best was to goe to them; then I said, well friends, sithence we haue agreed, let vs tully determine here what we shall doe and fay, for questionle, they will examine vs what we are, and from whence we came; then the *Portugals* said, we will tell them that we are *Portugals*, then I answered, I will tell them that I am a *French* man. We went towards their houles, who as soone as they had perceived vs came out hopping and hollowing with their Bowes and Arrows; and when they came vnto vs they bound our hands, and tied cords about our middles, and so led vs to their houles: precisely there came two or three old men, and asked what we were, then the *Portugals* answered, that they were *Portugals*, and I that I was a *French* man.

Within two hours after they had examined vs, theyooke one of the *Portugals*, and tied a new rope about his middle, and carried him into a yard, with three *Indians* holding a cord on the one side and three on the other side, and the *Portugall* in the middle, there came an old man, an *Indian* him looke on all things, that he liked, and told him that he should bid them farewell, for he should see them no more: then there came a lustie young man, with his armes and face died red, and said vnto him, dost thou see me, I am he that hath killed many of thy Nation, and will kill thee. After he had spake all this, he came behind the *Portugall*, and strooke him on the nape of the necke, that he felled him to the ground, and after hee was downe gaue him another that hee killed him; then theyooke the tooth of a Conie and opened all the vpper skinne, so theyooke him by the head and the fete, and held him in the flame of the fire: after that, rubbing him with their hands, all the vpper skin came off, and the flesh remained white, then they cut off his head, and gaue it to him: theyooke the guts, and gaue them to the women, after which they iointed him joint by joint, first his head, and all the women made great store of Wine, the next day they boyled euery ioint in a great pot of water, becaule their wiues and children might eat of the broth: for the space of three dayes they did nothing but dance and drinke day and night: after that they killed another in the like manner as you haue heard, and so serued all but myselfe.

When I saw all the *Portugals* dead, I looked for the same, but after the *Indians* had done with the *Brasts*, they came vnto me and said, *Fear not, for your ancestors, haue bene our friends, and wee thee, but the Portugals are our enemies, and make vs slaves, wherefore we haue done with them as you haue seene*. After I had heard what they said, I told them I had no reason to feare, for I knew they were my friends, and not mine enemies, and that I had bin a long time prisoner to the *Portugals*.

When I had bin two moneths with these *Indians* called the *Tamoyes*, they went to warre against *Tamominos*, and coming to fight, we had almost lost the life, for the *Tamominos* were a great many more, so that we were faine to take the Mountaine: when I saw the sufficient manner of their fight, that with any order they would set vpon their enemies like Bees, I taught them how to set themselves in the battle, and to lye in ambush, and how to retire and draw their enemies into a snare: by this means, we had alwayes the vpper hand of our enemies, and I was hold in great accompt amongst them, for they would neuer goe to the field, except I went with them in a short time we gaue so many battalies to the *Tamominos*, that we made them leaue their Countrey, and fye further from vs: no wee liued in peace. The *Tamoyes* offered mee many wiues, but I refused, saying it was not our custom to take wiues out of our Countrey. After wee had conquered the *Tamominos*, we liued in peace for the space of foure moneths, and then there came another kinde of *Canibals*, called *Tapiques*. These made their Towne very neere vs, at a Mountaine called by the *Indians* *Tamunus* (that is) the Mountaine of Gold.

When we heard of them, we prepared to make warre against them, we went five thousand strong, in five dayes journey we came before the Towne; but we being cspied, they left their Towne and fled, we followed them tenne daies, taking many old men and women, which as we tooke them we killed: we followed them till we came to a greete Riuer side, where we durst

Chorus Ferry.

The *Indians* kill the *Portugals* and after eat them.

Blueish Burches.

Harred of the *Tamominos* the *Portugals*.

Tamominos.

He searcheth them to fight.

Mountaine of Gold.

not posse for feare: till the enemy should ouercome vs at the landing, so we returned home againe, from the Riuer called *Amoyge*, where we remainyd still in peace, for the space of eight monthes till we remoued our houses.

His such apprehensions.

At this place I went all naked with out any thing, onely a few leaves I tied before me for shame. One day going all alone a fishing for pleasures sake, I sat downe remembering my selfe in what state I was, and thinking what I had bene, I began to curse the time that euer I heard the name of the Sea, and grieved to thinke how fond I was to forsake my naturall Countrey where I wanted nothing: then was I out of all hope either to see Countrey or Christian againe; sitting by the Riuer in these passionate thoughts, there came on old *Indian* one of the chieft of them, and beganne to talke with me saying. It was a good time with them when they dwelt at Cape *Fris*, for then they had trade with the *Frenchmen*, and wanted nothing, but now they had neither Kniues nor Hatchets, nor nothing else, but liued in great necessitie, with that I answered I did heartily wish, that he and his company would goe and dwell by the Sea-coast, without danger of *Portugals*. whereupon hee and I went home together, and the *Indian* reported in the Towne what I had said into him: the next morning there came (at the least) twenty of the chieft of them into the house where I lay, and asked me if I knew my Place certaine, where they might finde any *French Ships*: I told them that I was lie betwixt the Riuer of Plate, and a Riuer called by the *Portugals* *Das Patos*, where should finde *Frenchmen*, and if we did not, that here the *Portugals* could hurt vs. Moreover, it were better to dwell by the Sea side, where we should haue plenty of things, then where we did, where we had nothing to liue upon but roots. These old men went and told the people, which all desired to see the coast, so they refused, and making prouision, we departed from our abode, being thirty thousand of vs.

New discoveries of this wandering Nation.

After we had passed many a Hill, all wildeernes and Riuers, where we found many precious stones, we came to a faire lande Countrey, through which we travelled some twentie dayes, and we went Northward for feare of coming into the Countrey where there are great flocks of *Spaniards*, and this Countrey is it selfe very populous, and are friends with the *Spaniards*. Therefore we changed our course and travelled all Northward, till we came into the Countrey of the *Amazons*, which the *Indians* call *Manducuyam*, then we tooke our course Southward againe. I would haue perswaded the *Tamoyes* to haue warred against the *Amazons*, but they durst not, for they said, we know that their Countrey is very populous, and we shall be all killed. After wee came to the head of the Riuer, called *Patos*, there we found Canoas or barks of trees that came downe the Riuer some eight dayes, then we found the Riuer very broad, and many trees cut by the Riuer side, whereby we suspected that we were neere the Sea side, or some Towne of the *Wanassers*, for the *Wanassers* neuer inhabit far from the coast. When the *Indians* saw these tokens of abidance; they asked me what I thought was best to doe: I answered, I thought it best to hide our selves, and to send some nine or ten young men to see if they could spie any Towne, so we to circle them in their houses in the night: so that they all agreed, and ten of them were sent, they returned again at night without light of any Towne, but they said there went a great path by the Riuer side, and brought peeces of Cords that they found in the way with them. Hence we iudged that we should finde some Towne by the Riuer side, and determined to goe downe the Riuer in the night with our Canoas, to see if we could finde the Towne.

Battell of Spaniards.

About foure of the clocke we came to a faire Bay, and saw the Sea; and doubling a point of the shoare we espied a Towne, then as fast as we could we landed our men, and the day began to be cleare, and one of the Towne coming out to the Sea side, espied vs, whereupon all the Towne rose vp in armes, and we had a great skirmish. We were many more in number, and had faire better order, so we put them to flight killing a great many of them: we tooke three hundred prisoners men and women, which the *Tamoyes* killed and did eate afterwards. These *Indians* are called *Carijos*. After we had put them to flight they went to Saint *Vincents* by land, and craued succour of the *Portugals*. At this Towne of the *Carijos* we found great store of prouision, Cassia, *Ginnie* Wheate, Potatoes, Plantons, Pumpions, and all other fish like that the Countrey yeeldeth, and in great plenty: there likewise we found great flocks of *Ravals* of eight, for there had benea Caruill cut away in that place not long before, and the *Spaniards* were gone before by land to *Bomas Ayres* in the Riuer of Plate: with these *Indians* the *Portugals* had peace, but now they are in warre with them againe.

They were assisted by the *Portugals*.

Some of the *Carijos* went to the Riuer of Plate to craue succour, others, as I said before, came to the Towne of Saint *Vincents*: from Saint *Vincents*, newes was sent to the Riuer of *Lanero*, from thence the *Portugals* made a Naue of Canoas and Caruells, of the which the Gouvernours (nowe) *Marten de Sasa* (which was come home from the Riuer of *Lanero*, where I departed from him) was come againe as Capitaine of all the *Portugals*, and coming vpon vs in the night, they seized our Towne: about three of the clocke, an *Indian* that came with the *Portugals* beganne to speake very loud to the men of the Towne, that they should not flie, for if they flirred they should be all put to the sword. When the *Tamoyes* heard the *Indian* speake, they began to rusell with their Bowes and Arrowes, making a great noise, with that the *Portugals* (shot of a Peece, then they all lay downe in their beds, like men without liues or souls: when the day was cleare,

cleare, and my Masters Sonne saw me shure, he blest himselfe, and asked me what was become of my companions, I told him that the *Indians* had killed them, and eaten them. After that about ten of the clocke, all the *Indians* were brought out of their houses, and being examined, some of them said that I bid them kill them, & if many of them had not ben, I had died for it, but it was Gods will to discover the truth by their own mouths: then the *Portugals* killed all the old men and women, and all those that had bene particular actors of the *Portugals* deaths, which were in all 10000. and 20000, were parted amongst them for their slaues.

He returned to his Master. The *Portugals* with 10000. and 20000. *Indians*.

I came againe to my old Maister, and was sent with the *Tamoyes* to a Sugar Mill that my Maister had newly made. There I went (till to the woods with the slaues to draw out great peeces of 10 Timber for the space of three monthes: then was newes brought from Cape *Coida*, that the *Cambials*, called *Pajacassés*, were come to make their abidance a little Southward of the Cape, in certaine places, where before the *Tamoyes* had inhabited. The *Saluador Correa de Sasa* sent his Sonne *Gonsalo Correa de Sasa*, with whom I went against my will. We travelled eight dayes by the Sea side, where we had alwayes great flocks of Fish. After that we came to a place, called *Etaoca*, that is to say, the Stone house, as strong a thing as euer I saw, for it was a great huge rocke, and it hath an entrance like a great doore, vnder it, as my Maister in England the *Indians* lay there Saint *Thomas* did Preach to their forefathers: there had by standeth a Stone as bigges as four great Canons, and it standeth vpon the ground vpon foure stones little bigger then a mans finger, like thickets: the *Indians* say that was a miracle which the Saint shewed them, and that that Stone had bene Wood: likewise by the Sea side there are great Rockes, vpon them I saw great flocks of prints of the footing of bare feete: all which prints were of one bignesse. They say that the Saint called the Fishes of the Sea, and they heard him.

Voyages.

Tale of Saint Thomas, hisuoyaging like Saint *Tristram* Legend.

From thence we went through the Wildernes, foure dayes till we came to a great Mountain, called *Aboufanga* a rem; by the Sea side of that Mountain, we found a small Towne of *Tamoyes*, that had escaped in the time of the first conquest, that *Saluador Correa de Sasa* made against that kinde of people, and neuer were heard of till now that we found them by chance. The Capitaine of them was (as they shewed by signes) one hundred and twenty yeares old, and yet was very lustie: he had in his lippe a great hole, and on either side of his cheekes a great hole, and in either of them a faire Greene Stone. After we had taken this small Towne, wherein there were five hundred soules, we asked if they knew where the *Wanassers* were, they told us all that they knew very well, so in three dayes they guided vs into a low leggie Countrey, where the *Wanassers* were: when we came to their habitation, this *Aboufanga* came among the thickest of the *Portugals*, and said these words: He that neuer saw *Aboufanga* let him looke on me now, and they that dare follow me shall see my valour: and so with his Bowes and his Arrowes, he ran amongst the thickest of the enemy, where he was shot with one and twenty Arrowes. In that enterprise we all saw him kill three of the *Wanassers*. When we came to the fight, all the *Wanassers* ranne away, & we tooke but one of them: for all this *Aboufanga* was hurt, he liued foure houres: the *Portugals* asked him why he had bene so deperate: he told them that he had liued all his life a free man, and that he had bene a great warrior, and would rather dye then be their Captiue. Then he asked Baptisme, and desired them that they would tell him somewhat of God, for he said whosoer they told him he would beleue; the *Portugall* Frier told him that God was the fauer of soules and the giuer of life, and that if he truly repented and would be Baptised he should be faued; he answered, that all that was to be said he truly beleued, and desired that with speed he might be Baptised, and so died, calling to God for mercy till his last hour: from this place we returned home.

Old Captiue.

High spirit of a Savage.

After we came home againe his son *Gonsalo Correa de Sasa*, reported so well of me, that his father commanded me to waite on him whither soeuer he went: newes came at that time from *Portugall* of a Naue of Shippes out of England, that were come to *Brasil*, whereupon the Gouvernour commanded a Fort to be made of his owne coat vpon a rocke that standeth on the mouth of the Iauon, so neere the Riuer side, that three monthes after it was done, the Sea carried it away, with all the Ordnance in it. I haue told you before that three monthes after I was taken, the *Portugals* came from the Straits to a great Iland, where sixteen of her men were slain, and one taken, by name *Andrew Towers*: this man was a Philitian, and did many cures, the *Portugals* tooke him for a Sorcerer, for he would prognosticate many things: he had but one eye, and the *Portugals* said that in his eye which was out, he had a familer: this man tooke vpon him to make a deuile to take the peeces of Ordnance out of the Sea, which was this; he called to be made a suite of Leather all greased and pitched, that no water could enter into it; then he caused a great head to be made all pitched, with a great noie, & at the noie were three bladders, and at the mouth two; he intred me to vnder take to goe down into the Sea in that, laying it was very easie to be done, I told him, that if I might be well recompensed, I would venture my life to doe it; then he made it knowne to the Gouvernour that if I were well paid, I would venture my life, then the Gouvernour called me and said, I will giue you ten thousand Crownes, and a Passport to goe for your Countrey, or whether you will, if you put a Ring into the care of one of the Peeces. I told him, I would doe my best by Gods helpe.

What became of the 3. men (5 many M. Lane reckoned) left out of Can. Davis his Ship.

Andrew Towers deuile.

After

His mad ad-
venture.Maffungano a
Portugall Fort
in Africa, see
Don Brazill.
He escape to
Angola.He is taken &
sent back to
Brazil.Nill haies in-
felic paupers
duis in wife
Quam pite
ris-
dum
fuit.
Captain Cece.He is per-
dulle to his
Countrymen.

After the death of Leather was made, most of the *Portugalls* went to the place, where the pieces were lost with great calamity, praying to God to lend me good lucke. Putting on the fute of Leather, I was cast into the Sea in eighteen fathome deepe, with a mightie great stone tied about me. The lead was to bigge, all pitched and tarred, that the weight of the stone (for it was great) carried me downe, and it was a great paine unto me, for the weight of the stone carried me downeward, and the water by reason of the head bare mee upward, that I thought the cord I was tied withall, would have cut me in pieces. When I felt my selfe loe tormented, I took a Knife that was tyed in my hand, and cut the cord, and as soon as I came above water, I took the bladders from my face, and cut my fute before, for I was almost stifled, and for the space of a month, I knew not what I did.

Continually I desired my Master, to give me leave to get my living, intending to come into my Country, but the Gouvernour would not let me go from him. When I saw no means to get leave of my Master, I determined to runne away to *Angolas*, for to serve the King as a Souldier in *Maffungano*, till such time that I might passe my selfe to the King of *Anyesa*, which warrer against the *Portugalls*, and so he came through *Prester Iohns* Countrey into *Turkie*. On the seven and twentieth day of June 1597 I embarked my selfe in a small ship of one *Emanuel Andrea*, for to come for *Angola*. In this Voyage we were driven fonsere the Cape of *Good Hope*, that we thought all of vs should have bene call away, the Seas are there so great; and by reason of the current they brake in such sort, that no shipps is able to endure. There we brake both our myne maul and our Melen. I pleased God to lend vs the wind East-ward, which brought vs to our desired Harbour *Angola*. We had bene five monethes in this Voyage, and by that meanes other shipps that departed two monethes after vs were before vs, when I heard that there were ships of the River of *Levero*, I durst not goe ashore for feare of being knowne of some of the *Portugalls*, the next day after that we came into the Harbour, there came a great Boate aboard vs, to aske if we would sell any *Cassia* male, we told them we would, and asked them whether they went with their Boate, they answered, that they carried for the tyde to goe up to the River of *Guanfa* *Tomasjangan*, then I thought it a fit time for my purpose, and so embarked my selfe in the Barke, the *Portugalls* marvelled to see mee goe willingly to *Maffungano*; for there men dye like Chickens, and no man will goe thither if he can choise.

Nine dayes we were going up the River of *Guanfa*, in which time two *Portugall* Souldiers dyed, the Countrey is so hot that it pierceeth their hearts, three dayes after I had bene in *Maffungano*, *Don Francisco Mendosa* *Pereado*, the Gouvernour of the Citie of *Congo*, having received a Letter from *Salvador Cora de Sufa*, who was his great friend, sent a Pursuant for me, who brought meby Land through the King of *Congo* Countrey, and in six dayes we came to a Towne called *Saint Francis*, (where the Gouvernour was) hard by the Kingdome of *Mamongo*, when I came before the Gouvernour hee vied mee very kindly in wordes, and asked mee, what I meant to call my selfe away wilfully in *Maffungano*, then I told him, how long I had feared *Salvador Cora de Sufa*; and in how many dangers I had bene for him and his Sonne, without ever having any recompence of any of them, and therefore I thought it better to venture my life in the Kings service, then to live his Bond-slave. The Gouvernour commanded me to be carried to *Angola*, and charged a pair of bolts to be put upon my legges, because I should not runne away. About a fortnight after I was sent backe againe in a Canell of *Francis Levero*, and in two monethes we arrived in the River of *Levero*, and I was carried with my bolts on my legges before the Gouvernour; when he saw me, hee beganne to laugh and to teat with mee, saying, that I was welcome out of *England*. So after many iests hee 'pake, hee bad pull off my bolts from my legges, and gaue mee cloth, and vied mee very well.

After I had bene with the Gouvernour againe some two monethes, then came a small man of *Warre* to great *Iland*, the Captaine name was *Abram Cooke*, he lay waiter for the ships of the River of *Plate*, and had taken them if it had not bene for five of his men, that ranne away with his Boate, that discovered his boeing there, for within a fortnight after hee was gone, three Caruels came into the same Road where he was. These five men were taken by a Friar that came from *San Conserato*, and were brought to the River of *Levero*, being at this time in some account with the Gouvernour, fauoured them as well as I could, especially one of them, by name *Richard Flares*, because that they all said, that hee was a Gentleman, after that wee had bene in the Towne together about some three monethes, one of them called *Thomas Cooper*, being married, had his houle by the Sea side, where he vied his Trade, we were then nine *Englismen* and three *Dutchmen*, and were determined when the shipping came from the River of *Plate*, that wee would take one of them coming into the Harbour, this *Heixt* alwayes went with me to a *Portugall* houle where I was very well beloved. One night hee comes into the houle, and steales away a boxe; that had fixtie Rials of eight in it, and two or three pieces of Holland, I desired him to restore the same, but this *Heixt* being a swaggering companion vied me most vilely in wordes, and went and told the Gouvernour, what wee all had determined, and said that wee were Heixts.

and that he himselfe was a Catholicke, that day at night I should have stolne the Key of the Kings Store-houle to haue taken Muskets and Powder, and haue carried it to *Thomas Cooper* houle, but it was Gods will that he had accused vs before I had done it, or else we had bene all hanged for it. We being all before the Gouvernour, and denying that we had ever meant any such matter, *Heixt* said, Sir, send to *Thomas Cooper* houle, and say I shall find so. Muskets and powder, that *Andrew* hath stolne out of the Kings Store-houle for that purpose, if your Worship said it is not so, say that I am a liar, and a false dealer. Then the Gouvernour sent vs all to Prison, he himselfe and *Heixt*, went to *T. Cooper* houle, where they found no such matter. He went to the Kings Store-houle and saw that nothing was thiered: ere long hee was somewhat angry with

10 *Heixt*, because he had taken him with an varnise, and said, that he neuer saw men of so perverse and vile condition as we were to seeke the destruction of each other. Upon occasion of this *Heixt* his ill demerence not long after, the Gouvernour sent him to *Angola*, and from thence *Don Francisco* sent him to *Maffungano*, where hee dyed in a miserable estate. Presently after that *Andrew Towets*, was accused for eating flesh on the Friday, and for that was put in prison, and paid 1000 Rials of eight, and was set at libertie, within a moneth after he had bin out of prison, hee ran away to *Fernambucke*, the Gouvernour being informed of it sent two linall Caruels after him to bring him backe againe in one of the small Caruels went his sonne *Joan de Safo*, and the High Priests Nephew, and a great many more young Gentlemen. After they were out on the Mayne, and almost aboard of the ship that *Andrew Towets* was in, a sudden, there came a great Storme, that the small Caruell that the Gouvernours sonne was in, could not endure the Sea, but was faine to run on shore on the Coast, where three of their company were call away, one of them being the High Priests Nephew, and I thinke that they had bin all drowned, if it had not bin for *Andrew de Sufa*, that was at that place with 100. slaves making *Bravill* ready for a ship of his Fathers, the other Caruell followed him to *Fernambucke*, and brought him backe againe to the River of *Levero*, where hee was put in prison and should have bin hanged, but that all the Towne begged him, hee was sent to *Maffungano* where hee dyed.

10 *Anno Dom. 1598.* there came two Dutch ships being Captaine of them, *Isafer Fernandez* a *Dutchman*, and leave of the Gouvernour after hee had shewed his Licence out of *Portugall*, let all his goods on shore and had bought and sold for the space of three monethes in the Towne, and made great store of money. At the time of his going away, the Kings Officers said that his Licence was not good, and would have stopped his ships, when the Gouvernour said, why looked you not to that before, seeing I gaue them leave to come in upon your wordes, saying, that his dispatch was good, and were it how you can, for seeing hee came without leave and upon my word he shall goe out without any hearing, and so hee departed for *Angola*.

After that, the Gouvernour General of all the Coast of *Brazill*, *Don Francisco de Sufa*, came to the River of *Levero*, with two Halkes, and being informed that *Isafer Fernandez* was at *Angola*, hee sent a Caruell thither, that his ships should be kept for the King, hee hearing of it went aboard his ships, and went away in spite of the *Portugalls*; the tane yeere there came *Francisco de mondan* de *vescosales* for Gouvernour to my Masters place, that day the Halkes which the new Gouvernour was in, came to the mouth of the Haven, the Gouvernour *Salvador Cora de Sufa* was at a Sugar-mill that hee had newly finished. The afore said, when he came to the mouth of the Haven beganne to shoot off her Ordnance, the Gouvernour not knowing what it should bee, presently called a great Canoa to bee made ready, for immediately, hee would goe to the Towne to see what was the matter, within halfe an houre after we had run out at Sea, to come to the Towne, a great tempest rose and overthrewed the Canoa, where my Master had bin call away, if God wist, and I had not laid lands on my, for all his slaves swamme away to the shore, and *Henry Barra* way with them, only I, and *Domingos Gomez* a *Malato* laue that my Master carried with him in the Sea, and there we vs, we went in to the Canoa, where hee held fast, till wee drew neere the shore, where the Sea brake like Mountaynes, there we had like to haue bin all call away, for the Sea would call vs against the Hils of sand, and carrie vs backe againe to the Sea; after I had got my selfe ashore, I looked towards the Sea, and saw my Master come in a great wate, and as the wate brake, I and my deere friend *Domingos Gomez* took hold of him and dragged him out of the Sea; but we both thought that hee would have died, for hee could not speake, then we tooke him betweene vs by the legges vpon our shoulders, and made him vomit a great deale of water, and so recovered him, when I saw him well, I told him that the Sea knew no *Portugalls* better then other men, the next day the Gouvernour went home by land, and found the other Gouvernour in the Towne, for whole comming I did not a little reioyce, for then I thought the time was come that I long had desired, hoping shortly to come into my Countrey.

In the tane yeere there came foure *Hollanders*, and anchored before the Citie in the mouth of the Haven, and all the Towne rose up in Armes, my Master was at his Sugar-mill, and remained in the Towne to waite on my Masters. When hee saw the *Portugalls* turne up and downe with their Armes, hee commanded me to take a Musket, and bade mee goe to one of the Forts, the which I did according to her command: the new Gouvernour came to the Port where I was, and viewed the men that were in the Fort, and commanded one of his men to come vs

Heixts misde-
die dea h.Two Dutch
ships.He fourth his
Masters.Foure Holland
ships.

Powder and shot. After I had spoken with the new Gouverneur (who liked me very well, because he said I was ready with my Peace, and prayed the English Nation to be very good Soldiers.) One *Jahn de Selmer* told him, that he were best take heed of me, that I ranne not away to the *Hollanders*, for I had done greater matters then that, and that he knew I made no account to swim above of them in the night upon any piece of wood, and rehearsed many things that I had adventured in the time that my Master was Gouverneur. The new Gouverneur came and took me by the hand, and carried me to Prison, where I lay 27. dayes, till the *Hulkes* were departed from the mouth of the Haven, and went to *Great Island*, then I was let at libertie. After that the Gouverneur Generall had bene at *San Vincents* some two months, there came a great Hulke of *Amsterdame*, called the *Golden World*, and a Captaine that was called *Lawrence Bitter*, the Hulke had bene at *Saint Thomas Island*, and an Island called the *Prince*, and from thence to the Straits of *Magellan*, where many of her men dyed, and by contrary wind they were compelled to returne to the Coast of *Brazil*, this Hulke comming to *San Vincents*, sent her Boate to tell the Gouverneur that they were Merchants, and that if they would give them leave, they would traffique with them, the Gouverneur Generall made them a Certificate vnder his hand and Seale, that they should haue no wrong, but pay the Kings Customs and goe their wayes when they would, and whether they would with that the Captaine of the Hulke put into the Harbour, & commanded his goods to be set on shore. Every day he was visited by the Gouverneur Generall aboard his ship, and promised him great courtesy. After that the Captaine had landed all his goods, and most of all the *Hollanders* were a shore, a great many *Portugals* went aboard the Hulke with Gitternes singing and playing. When the *Flemings* saw them come in that sort they misliked nothing, the *Portugals* dived in the ship and drinke with the *Flemings*, and upon a sudden when the *Flemings* thought least of them, they drew their Swords and killed two of them, and possit themselves of the Hulke for the King.

Pettifoulness of Portugals.

Fleming taken treachously.

Mynes of gold.

Silver Myne.

The Organs.

Mortalitye. Divers frayses, dangers of the Author, which here follow, as in other places of the Historie, for brevities sake are omitted. Legge I wolue with the aire.

In the beginning of the yeere of the Lord 1599. there came nine Hulkes before the Citie of *Bacia*, but they could go no good. After the Gouverneur Generall had bene some foure months at *San Vincents*, my Master had some business thither, and I went with him, when we came to *San Vincents* the Gouverneur Generall was departed fiftie leagues within the land, at a place where he was enformed of some Mynes of Gold, but when he came thither, he found that they were not worth the working, then he determined to fend farther into the Land to a place called *Etapufky*, I being there, and knowing the place was commanded by the Gouverneur Generall to goe thither, when we came to the afore said place, we found very singular good Mynes, and wee brought of the foyle to the Gouverneur Generall, and many small peeces of Gold that we found in many places where the water walked away the Earth, the Gouverneur Generall took it, paying vs for it more then it was worth, and sent it to the King with a Sey, for to consider whether it should be wrought or not, the Gouverneur Generall sent likewise 40000. pounds worth of Plate, that he had wrought out of the Myne of *Saint Paul*, which is twelve leagues from *San Vincents*, in the time that I went to *Etapufky*, my Master was gone home, then I served as a Soldier for the space of three months, that shipping went to the River of *Ienero*, then the Gouverneur Generall requited my paines very honourably, and sent me backe againe to my Master. After that my Master sent to a place called the *Organs*, which Hill is to be seen from the River of *Ienero*, where we found a little Myne of Gold, and many good fountes. There came a Hulke out of *Spain* that brought a Bishop, and a *Spanish* Gouverneur to goe from thence in small shipping to the River of *Plate*, and from thence to *Summa*. A little after that, this Hulke arrived at the River of *Ienero*, where tell a dysafe in the Country like the meazles, but as bad as the plague, for in three months their dyed in the River of *Ienero*, above three thousand *Indians* and *Portugals*: this dysafe was generally in all parts of the Country. At this time going up and downe from the Sugar-mill to the ship, in the night with a Barke lading of *Brazil* for the Hulke, with the Ayre one of my legges swelled, that I could not stirre: it is common and very dangerous in those Countries when a man is hot, to come in the Ayre, especially in the night, for being a hot Country, it hath a piercing ayre, and suddenly kitcheth in any part of the bodie. I was very ill for the space of a month.

The fourteenth of August 1601. *Salvador Correa de Saia*: Gouverneur of the River of *Ienero*, embarked himselfe in the afore said Hulke with his Wife *Domenes de Saia*, determining to make his Voyage to *Fernamburgo*, we layed East to Seaward. The fiftenth day we kept till Eastward to the Sea. The sixteenth day we kept North-east, and about tenne of the clocke we had sight of the Cape

The sixteenth, eighteenth and nineteenth, having the wind North-west, we kept till Eastward for feare of the sands and cliffs called *Aboradas*, they lye betweene the Cape and *Spirito Santo*. The twentieth day having the winde South, we layed our course North-east. This course we kept till the five and twentieth of the month, then the winde turned Northward, we made East to Sea; this course we were faine to keepe till the last day of the month, the first of February, the winde being at South-west we layed North-east along the Coast, till the sixteenth day of the month. The eight day the Master and the Pilot took the height of the Sun, and

and were ten degrees and an halfe Southward of the Line. As the Master and the Pilot were talking together concerning the Voyage, there came a Sea-foule and sitting upon the becke it lay, caft out two or three little fishes, with that a *Spaniard* called *Jafer Conqwers*, who had some experience of the Coast, said to the Master take heed, for I am afraid you are nearer the Coast then you take your selfe to be, for you know not how the current drieth you Westward upon the Coast, the *Flemings* bade him meddle with his owne business, and that they knew what to do without his counsell, the Pilot made himselfe forty leagues from the shore, & directed his course North. The ninth day at midnight we defiered Land, the Pilot presently caft his Lead, and found but eight fathomes water, then he commanded the Sayers to caft about, the which they did, the wind being at North-east, and wee being neere the shore, could not beare vp to Sea; for wee saw Cliffs both on the Starboard and larboard side of vs, and before wee could get out our Anchor, we were driuen fo neere the Cliffs on the lee side of vs, that wee had no other remedie, but to runne upon the Rockes, where we had bene all caft away, but that it was the pleasure of God to deliuer vs, for wee lay with the Prow of our ship upon one of the Rockes for the space of halfe an houre, and we were faine to cutt off both our Masts, and to caft many chills out-board, thinking it had bene impossible to save any thing, but it was the will of God when we least thought of it, that a great Sea brake ouer the Rocke, and pur vs into eight fathomes water, betweene the Rockes and the Cliffs, so by the prouidence of God, wee were deliuered out of the afore said danger.

Danger at Sea.

The next day we saw *Cambals* along the shore, then the Gouverneur commanded me to be set on shore to talke with the wilde people, and to know of them upon what Coast wee were, or if we might goe to *Fernamburgo* by land, the Captaine commanded a *Mamaluque*, called *Antonio Fernandes* to goe with me ashore, but when we came to land, this *Mamaluque* durst not goe on shore, for feare of the wilde *Cambals*, so I went alone, and saluted them according to the fashion of the Country, then I enquired of them, how they called the place where they were, they told me that it was called *Ceroreysse*, which is the River of *Toades*, likewise they said that we were very neere the River of *Saint Francis*, and Northward, we had the River called *Saint Michell*, and that they were slaves to the *Portugals* of *Fernambucke*, having driven cattle to *Bays*; and now they returned home againe. One of these bond-slaves went aboard the shippe with me, and talked with the Gouverneur, the next day, the Gouverneur Wife entreated her husband, that hee would leave the Hulke, and goe by land, the which he did at his wifes request, fo commanding all his Treasure to be set on shore, we left our ship, the Gouverneur commanded the Master to take *Fernamburgo* if it were possible, if not that he should goe to *Bays*, and from thence into *Portugall*, with any ships that should depart from thence, this Hulke had nine runnes of Silver in her, the which was charged to *Diego de Quadra*, by the Gouverneur Generall *Don Francisco de Saia*, and at *Fernamburgo*, the charge of it was giuen to my Master *Salvador Correa de Saia*, from the place where we were driuen on shore to *Fernambucke*, is fortie leagues. In this journey from the River of *Toades*, or from the Cliffs called *Bajibus Deambrobrin* did I and *Domingo Gomes* alwaye carrie a Boxe of pure Gold of my Masters, some twelve leagues, from the afore said River of *Toades* to a place called by the *Indians*: *Pauasomate* three leagues, this *Pauasom*, is a very singular good place to take fresh water, from *Pauasom* to another River called *Cafajays*, is one league from the *Cafajays*, to the River of *Saint Michell* is foure leagues, at this River dwelleth a very rich *Mamaluque*, *Jahn de Recho*, at this River we relted three dayes. The Gouverneur Generall freighted a small shipe Boate at this place, and determined to goe to *Fernamburgo* in it.

Mamaluque, or Mexican.

River of toades.

Nine runnes of Silver.

Places on the Coast.

The same day that we made sayle in the small Barke from the River of *Saint Michell*, there arose a great storme from that North-east, and we were faine to take the River of *Saint Michell* againe with great hazard of our liues, for the winde being very great, we were driuen upon a Rocke that lyeth South-west from the mouth of the River very neere the shore, all those that could swimme leaped into the Sea; and so the Barke was lighter, and swamme off the Cliffe, then the Gouverneur and his Wife said that they would goe by Land, so the day after we departed from the River of *Saint Michell* to another great River called *Ysa*, this River is three leagues from *Saint Michell*, heere my small ship may enter and take fresh water, and kill great fowle of fresh fish, from thence we went to another River called *Aguaresike*, from this place the Gouverneur sent me and *Antonio Fernandes* before to a small Village to procure some prouision against his coming, there was in our company a *Portingall* called *Rafael Penra*, that perforce would go with vs, we told him that we had many great Rivers to passe, and that it were better for him to tarry with the Gouverneur and his Wife, he not regarding our words went with vs, so we departed all three of vs the next day after wee had departed from the Gouverneur, we came to a very faire River called *Saint Antonio*, that which we passed upon a *langara* made of Canes, from thence we went to a place called by the *Indians* *Amereuca Prifema*, this is the Harbour of *Frischemen*, from thence wee came to a great faire River called *Camaracuru*, we went on to the River of *Stones*. We departed from thence up the River on a *Mangaba*, made of three drye posts pinde together, the next morning we landed in a faire Champane Country, where we saw great flocks of Cattle, and a Sugar-mill grinding of Canes, to which wee went, the Owner of the Mill

A storme.

was a high *Dutchman*, to whom we delivered the Gouverneur Letter, the which as soone as hee had read, pretently he commanded two Beeves to be killed, and sent away wth tenne bullocks of *Cassim* meale, and many Hens and Turkeyes, and wee two were very honourably vied for the space of a weeke that we were there, from thence we departed to a place called *Porto de Culna*, three leagues from the *Arefreixo*, this is an excellent House for all weathers, and all the yeere long, there is at the least two thousand childis of Sugar. At this place *Mannell Masqueras* met us with two hundred Horle, and then after twodayes rest we came to *Fernambuco*. Twentie dayes after we had bene in the Towne *Leiseno Cuello*, sent word to *Mannell Masqueras*, how that he was beleached in *Rio Grande*, by the *Patenaras*, and that if he were not pretently ayded by him, he should be forced to leave the Kings Towne, and with the losse of all their lius, *Masqueras* pretently determined to goe himselfe, and left the Towne of *Fernambuco* in charge to my Maister *Salvador Corea de Saas* and thus we departed from *Fernambuco* with foure hundred *Portugals*, and three thousand *Indians*, and in foure dayes journey we came to *Rio Grande*, hauing many a braue skirmish, with diuers *Casibals* in the way. As soone as wee were come before the Towne our Capitaine made a long speech to all the *Portugals* and *Indians*, encouraging them against those *Infidels* whose Armie was at the least fortie thousand strong, and desired them all to confesse to their Ghostly Fathers and to take the Communion, for the next morning he was resolved to give the onler on his enemies, the which was very brauely performed, for the *Casibals* the day before in a skirmish that they had, did take two hundred prisoners, and hauing killed many of them to cate, not expecting our coming in the chieft of their fealt, and their drinking we lit upon them, the people of the Towne on the other side, hearing the rumour, issued for h, thus taking them on the sudden, we made such slaughter among them, that they were forced to remoue their fire, with the losse of three thousand prisoners, and five thousand that were slaine. The King of the *Casibals* was called *Pernambuth* that is to say, the stone of a fish, when this Heathen Prince saw himselfe ouerthrowne with so small a number as wee were, in comparison of his multitudes, he sent certayne of his men to *Mannell Masqueras* to treat of peace, vpon these conditions, that if he would release all those prisoners, and admit him and his Nation to live as free men, that then hee and all his would submit themselves as subiects vnto him and be baptized, which offer indeed was accepted of by *Masqueras*, and thus one of the greatest Prouinces of all the North part of *Brasilia*, became subiect to the King of *Spainie*. This conquest being ended, our Capitaine General *Masqueras* presently built two long Forts hard by the Towne, on the Riuer side, and sent to *Fernambuco* for forty cast Peeces of Iron, placing twentie in either Fort, many Souldiers, got at this conquest very rich stores, both Diamonds, Rubies, and great store of blue Saphires, in some small Villages that stood by the Sea side. We found great store of Ambergreice, which the *Indians* call *Pnapoun Areyrey*, here fortune was some what fauourable vnto me, for I got about five hundred Crownes in this iourney.

After this conquest was ended, *Mannell Masqueras* returned againe to *Fernambuco*, where I found my Maister *Salvador Corea de Saas*, ready to ship himselfe for *Portugal*, in the same ship that brought him from the Riuer *Lorea*, which by that time was come from *Beyra*, after we were let ashore at the place, called *Ous Bafides de San Rodrigo*, where we had all while to haue bene cast away, at my returne from *Rio Grande* to *Fernambuco*, I met with two *Englismen*, the one of them a Gentleman called *Thomas Turner*, the other *Masgrau*, Pilot of a Fly-boate of Maister *Nymious* a Merchant of *London*, Maister *Turner* by my aduice, went to the Riuer of *Lorea*, and from thence to *Angola*, where he made great profit of his Merchandize, for which hee thanked me after we met in *England*. Now to my storie. The thirteenth of August 1596. *Salvador Corea de Saas*, Lord Gouverneur of the Riuer of *Lorea*, Capitaine General of *Spiritu Santo*, *Porta Segura*, *Santos*, and *San Vincent*, departed from *Fernambuco*, with fiftene Hulkes of *Hamborough*, foure Fly-boates of *Omdan* and *Hamborough*, and at the least twentie Caruels, all of them being laden with Sugars. The old *Mary* of *Hamborough* wherein the Gouverneur came was Admirall, a ship of foure hundred tonnes, the Owner whereof was called *Hans Burgo*, the new *Mary* Vice-admirall a ship of five hundred tonnes, the Owner called *Adrian Cornelias*, Rere-admirall a ship of five hundred tonnes, the Owner called *Comrado*, likewise another great ship came with vs, called the *Georg* of one *Hans Dagle*, she the *David* and others, with this fleet we departed from *Fernambuco*, the fiftenth of August 1596, and in two monethes sayle we arrived at *Lisbone*, where I continued with the Gouverneur in his house for the space of nine moneths, after which time I fell very sicke, and by this time hauing spent all that I brought with me from *Brasilia*, my misery grew, and had bene a great deal greater, had it not bene for a vertuous *Englism* woman, which met withall in a Nunnery, and in that time that I was there, shee made her approbation. By God first, and by her meanes I was freed from dying a most miserable death.

After my coming to *Lisbone*, I fell very sicke in my Masters house, where I lay in a bucke room hauing only a peece of an old mat for my bed, thus I lay for the space of six weekes, in the greatest misery that could be, for first I was sicke of a burning Feuer, none came at mee but a poore slave of my Masters, for before this time my deare friend *Domingos Gamez* was dead, this

slave in loue to me, sometimes would bring me meate and water, sometimes I was two daies without either meate or drinke: in the end of this fixe weekes, *Thomas Masgrau* and Maister *Thomas Turner* came to me with some *Dutchmen*, and they amongst them gaue me twelue shillings: I had receiued for many bountifull gifts before of my vertuous friend *Milnes Foller*, that I would haue chosen rather to haue died, then the should haue knowne my want; but *Thomas Masgrau* of *Ratcliff*, knowing how much the fauoured me, did perwade me to write vnto her, the which (although vnwillingly) I did; pretently vpon the receipt of my letter, I receiued from her three Crownes, and every day was visited from her, yet for all this my sicknesse grew to be such, that choie that saw ne thought that I could not escape, except I had the helpe of some Doctor, then by her meanes, reporting that I was her kinsman, I was carried to the Kings Hospitall, where in two moneths I recovered, being one and twentie times let blood, and shortly after that I was past all danger, I was very kindly discharged out of the Hospitall, with ten shillings in my purse.

After I came forth of the Hospitall, I thought with my selfe, that the best way was to leaue my Masters house, and determine how to get my liuing by some other meanes: with this determination I went to the Kings Custome house, where I met with many men of all Countries, there I met with some *Scotchmen*, seeking of one that could speake the language; I hearing them, offered my seruice, & after that, I had as many customers as I could turne my hands vnto, and got by them for interpreting verie good maintenance: many *Dutch* Merchants would haue had me gone backe againe in their affaires for *Brasilia*, and the *Indies*, but I still had a desire first to come to *England*, thinking that there I should finde some meanes to fer forth my selfe in some good fashion, but alas I finde that want hath no preference: now for my coming into *England*, my determination was to haue taried somewhat longer then I did, but that my fortunes were and are euertie to be sought for liuing as I haue told you in verie good fashion, maintaining my selfe verie well by foraine Merchants, that could not speake the *Spanish* tongue: one day amongst the rest in the Kings Custome house I met with one who told me that my Maister *Salvador Corea de Saas*, did command me to come to him againe, if not, that he would make me be brought whither I would or no: in briefe, I made little account of his message, and held on my course with them by whom I liued, but now my old friend, imprisonment, and miserie comes againe, and I am as farre from my long desired home as euer I was, for *Salvador Corea de Saas*, seeing I would not come at him, incenit the Viceroy *Christopher de Monco* against me, telling him what harme I might doe if I got into my Countrey, I pretently vpon this was taken in the streete as if I had bene some notorious villaine, carried to prison, cast in a dungeon, where I lay (God be my witness) three daies without meate, or sight of light; in the end I espied a little glimpse of the light, and clambering vp the wall, in despaire and halfe mad, I broke downe a peece of a boord that stood before an Iron grate, there I cried out in such fort that a great many came to the window, where many pities me, but none could helpe me, &c.

§. IIII.

The diuers Nations of Saages in Brasilia, and the adioyning Regions: their diuersities of Conditions, States, Rites, Creatures, and other things remarkable, which the Author obserued in his many yeares manifold peregrinations.

SE The *Prinimes* are not of so wilde and barbarous conditions as many other Prouinces are in *Brasilia*; for if you come as a Merchant vnto them, they will traffike with you, if as desired. Warner, they will fight very valiantly. They are men of good stature, their bodies are all armed with very fine workes, and in their lips they make a hole with a Roe-bucks horn, and when they come to mans estate, they cut the hole of their lippes with a Canoe, and then the hole being bigger they wear a Greene Stone therein, and he that hath not this fashion is counted a peasant. These *Casibals* haue no religion, they may take as many wives as they will, or as they can get: the women can take no more husbands but one, except her husband giue her leave in publike before them all, then she may take whom she will. When these *Indians* goe to the wars, their wives carry all their provision in Baskets on their backs: these *Casibals* goe all naked, and inhabit on the Northern parts of *Brasilia* from *Bayas* to *Rio Grande*: they haue no certainty of meate but rootes, and if they kill any wilde Beast or Foule in the Mountaines, when he comes home, looke to which of his wives he giueth that which he bringeth, wth his her he will ly that night; then the presently goeth to the water, and witheth her selfe, and lying downe in a net, commandeth all the rest of her husbands wives to leaue her; which they doe very obediently for that day. When the time cometh that any woman is to be deliuered of Child birth, the

No set forms of Religion.

Wares, Region, Diet.

Rites of Child birth.

Army of Saages.

Ambergreice.

This *Thomas Turner* I was acquainted with, and remembred him some notes, wh. I follow after M. Kn. ac.

A. Kniet arrived at Lisbon.

His sicknesse.

Sharks de-
voured by
Sharks.
Crocodiles,
how and why
taken.

Crab-lice.

Abufangas
Tomb.

See the for-
mer §.

The Wayanasse.

Panthering.

Tabacco.

The Topina-
gari.

with any kinde of Nation, but doe eat all kinde of people, *Frenchmen, Portugals, and Blackmoors*. Many times whilst I was at the River of *Lamarie*, some ships were cast away at this Cape, and all the *Portugals* and *Blackmoors* were eaten. I have seen them take great dog-fishes by the tale, and drage them ashore. In this place I have seen very great water *Algates* (which we call in *English* Crocodiles) seven yards long. This Crocodile hath great fangs, and long claws very vgly to be seene. The *Portugals*, when they know where of these great ones doe fish for them with a cane, and a great Iron hook, and for bait they tie a Cock or a Hen to the hook, they take this paines to take him because his Coole is very great, and better then any mucke. At this place, the Mountaines are full of Crab-lice, that we knew not what to doe, they would stick in our skins that we could not get them off, but were faine to take drie straw 10 and finge our selues, as you would finge Hogs, and fo rid our selues of them. Here also we had great store of wilde Hogs, and a kinde of wilde Fowle as bigge as Turkeys, called *Motas*.

Abufanga, is the name of a valiant *Cambali*, that is aduoyning hard by the *Wayanasses*, these *Cambalis* are a kinde of the *Tamoyes*. Some twentie yeeres agoe there was a Gouverneur among them, called *Mendesca*, in the River of *Lamarie*, who made warre against the *Tamoyes*, and in the end ouer ruall their Countrey of Prouince; only this *Abufanga* remayned hidden in Dungeons and great Holes with some fortie or hitte of his Countrymen. It was our chance going to warre with the *Wayanasses* to come through this Towne, and there we had newes by *Abufanga* people, that he was at warre against the *Wayanasses*; whereupon we made Spies to see if we could take him, before that we would let vpon the *Wayanasses*. One evening, we heard a great 20 noise of *Cambalis*, then the Captaine sending our Spies, my self being one, we saw that it was *Abufanga*, and his companie, which had taken five *Wayanasses*, and with great fire were killing of them to eat. Altho we had eysied all that we could, we returned againe to the Captaine, and told him what we had seene, and that night circled *Abufanga*, andooke him prisoner, with fixtie young men of his companie; we asked of him our best counsell, to warre against the *Wayanasses*, he told vs, that he was thereto to take our aduice, then we to ask him, that he wold not pollicie, but to fight in open field, and if we would, we should see how he made warre 30 ag. it his enemies: the next day, we being hard by the Inhabitants of the *Wayanasses*; *Abufanga* came forth, and ioyned all his companie together with leave of our Captaine, and alfoone as they were all readie with their bowes and arrowes, hee ran into the thickest of his enemies, 30 with all his companie, where eighteen of his companie were prefently killed, and most of them sore hurt, he him self being shot in one and twentie parts. In our fight he killed three *Wayanasses* before hee fell; the *Portugals* kept fill by the woods side, and with their peeces killed one hundred and thirtie *Wayanasses*, the wilde people were so amazed when they heard our peeces goe off, that they thought the Deuill had bene amongst them, and eury one began to fle as fast as he could, the *Portugals* following them, found *Abufanga* in the field hurt, as you have heard. This *Abufanga* alfoone as hee perceived the *Portugals* to stand amazed at him, desired them to tell him somewhat of God, for he said, that *Frenchmen* had told him that there was a God, and that he which beleueed in him should be saved. The *Portugals* telling him of their faith, he said that hee beleueed in that God, and desired to be baptised, and had his name giuen him *Iohn*. For the 40 space of two houres that this *Indians* liued, hee did nothing but call vpon God, and so ended his life, being one hundred and twentie yeeres of age, as hee shewed vs by signes.

The *Wayanasse*, inhabit eighteen leagues Southward of the River of *Lamarie*, at a place called by the *Portugals*, *Uba Grande*, that is to say, The great land. These *Cambalis* are of low stature, great bellies, and broad feet, very Cowards, of a reasonable good complexion. They doe not carue their bodies, neither doe they glorie so much to eat mans flesh, as the *Tamoyes*, the *Tomymenos*, and other *Cambalis* doe. The Women are bigge in the body, and very vgly, but they have very good faces. The Women of this Countrey doe paint their bodies and faces with a thing called in their language *Urucus*; it groweth in a round Coole like a beane, and that maketh a red inke like Oker; which maketh them seeme most vgly. The haire both of men and women 50 groweth long by the sides, and on the crowne all shauen like *Franciscan Friars*. These *Cambalis* lye in Nets made of barks of trees, and likewise when they trauell through the Wildernesse, such prouision as they haue, they carrie in little Nets at their backs; they are neuer without Tabacco, they esteeme it more then any thing that they haue in their Countrey and wish it doe heale their wounds, when they are hurt. When the *Portugals* doe stand in need of slaves, they doe come to *Uba Grande*, and there they shall be sure to meet with some of the *Wayanasse*; a fishing, then they shew them Knives, Beades, and Glasse, telling them what they would haue for merchandise, and presently they will goe to such place called in their language *Lauapappa*, which is their chiefe 60 Towne, and from thence bring all the slaves as they meane to sell to the Sea side, and as good cheape as you can may buy or them.

The *Topinagari* inhabit at *Saint Vincent*, they are men of good stature, and of reasonable good complexion; their women are all painted with diuers colours, and on their heads, they wear a thin bark of a tree like a Ribband: the *Cambalis* eat mans flesh as other *Cambalis* doe, they adore no Idoll, neither haue they any kinde of Religion, only when they kill any man, they

they all paint their bodies with a kinde of fruit, called *Ianipau*, and all their heads are set with feathers, and great stones in their vnder-lips, with Rattles in their hands, and thus they will dance for three dayes together. I was amazed to see how they would drinke a filthy drinke without breaking of their bellies, and I asked them how they were able to stand so long and drinke so much of that filthy drinke: they answered me thus: *Tabacco* doe make them as fresh as if they had done nothing. Among these *Cambalis*, there is great store of gold in a w. Hills hard by the Sea side, and now the *Portugals* haue some of those places, I would haue told you the rest. Here I and to discouery any farther of the *Cambalis* that dwell by the Sea side, till I haue had the rest of five Nations as I met withall when I went through the Countrey, and how I came againe to the Sea: I 10 haue told you in the first booke of my trauell, how that five or sixe yeeres after I had bene taken by the *Portugals*, I went to warre against the *Cambalis* with the *Portugals*. Now by the grace of God, as neere as I can I haue told you of all the Nations, that I saw, and conuert with in nine months, that I trauelled through the Wildernesse with the *Portugals*, and a yeere and eleven months that I passed with the *Cambalis* themselves.

The *Cambalis* called *Pories*, inhabit at the least one hundred miles within the land, they are 20 most like vnto the *Wayanasses*, men of low stature, they lye only on Pine nuts, and small Cocos that are as bigge as Apples, but they haue sh. like Wall-nuts, somewhat harder, the *Indians* call them *Eyres*. They are of good complexion, and esteeme very much of clothes if they can get them: the women are all painted with diuers colours, as red, blue, and yellow; they are in peace with the *Portugals*, and warre with no Nation neither will they eat mans flesh, if they haue any other meate; that he in little Nets made of barks of trees, they haue no houses but two or three boughts tyed together, covered with Palme-leaves if it happen to raime. In this part of the Countrey I saw great store of Leopards, and Lions; the *Indians* call the Leopard, *Lamawili*, and the Lions, *Lamarofow*; and many great Cats of mountaine, which the *Indians* call *Morapayote*, here you may haue of the *Indians* for a Knife or a Comb, five or sixe Gallons of Bal- some oile.

After you haue passed the famous River of *Parayana*, you shall come into a Countrey of *Cambalis*, called *Molapagues*; in these are much like vnto *Dutchmen* in bigge, very faire of complexion, 30 they haue all beards like other men; so hath not any other kinde of *Cambalis*, except it bee here and there one. Most of them doe couer their priue parts, they are very ciuill in their behaviour: their Townes are very strong, all circled with walls made of earth and great logs, they haue houses seuerall eury man with his familie. They haue pin amongst them whom they call *Ploutis fencas*, *Morowhana*, which is their King, but we law no difference betwene him and the rest, but only the name, and hee had (as I remember) thirtie wives, and no other liad lo many. Amongst these *Cambalis* we found good store of gold, the which they doe not esteeme, neither doe they vie 40 for any thing, but to tie on their fishing lines, when they goe a fishing in the River of *Pura*, where they take great store of good fish. *Pura* is beyond *Parayana* eight leagues; these *Indians* doe not worke in the mynes for gold, as the *Spaniards* doe, but only take such peeces as they finde when the raime hath wash away the earth: for where the mynes of gold are there are no trees, but are drie Mountaines of black earth, which the *Indians* call *Tanquara*; and the Mountaine where the *Molapagues* doe finde this great store of gold, is called *Expararange*; if these *Cambalis* had the knowledge of God, I might boldly say, that there are no any in the world like them. The women are goodly of person, faire of complexion, as our *English* women are; they are very modeit and ciuill in their behaviour, you shall neuer fee them laugh, they are people very capable to conceiue any thing, they haue their haire long, that they tie it about their middles with the barks of a tree, wherewithall they couer their nakednesse, they esteeme very much of it. Their haire is of colours like our *English* women, some yellow, some white, some 50 browne: the women that haue no long haire, to couer their nakednesse, doe wear a kinde of Furze, which they call *Samuyahawon*. These *Cambalis* doe eat mans flesh, I was not past nine or ten dayes among them, therefore I cannot tel you further of their customs. In that time I was with them I law no manner of Religion among them, they doe keepe very good order, observing times to eat their meate, at noone, and at night, and that doth not any other Nation amongst them; they are very cleanly in whatsoever they doe.

Then we came to a faire champaigne Countrey, where we found a kinde of *Cambalis*, called *Motayai*. Altho as these *Cambalis* heard of our being in their Countrey, they all left their houses, and came to meet vs dancing and singing, telling vs that they were very glad of our coming into their Countrey; they brought *Gunny Wheat*, Pepper, and diuers kinde of rootes to present vs, and craued our friendship, desiring vs, that we would aide them against the *Tamoyes*. We de- 60 clining nothing more, told them that to that purpose we were come. Altho as we came to the houses of these *Cambalis*, all the women would sit about vs, and laying their hands on our bodies, they would weepe most bitterly. After that, eury one of them would bring such victuals as they had; some brought beyled Frogs, others brought Serpents, and Snakes, which we found very good, other some brought Muskeins, and a kinde of wilde Dogge that they kill in the Mount- 60

Cambalis called
Pories.
Small Cocos.

The *Molapagues*, bearded
Sauages, and
couer their
others.

Gold-
River *Pura*
Mynes.

Faire women.

The *Motayai*.

Weeping we-

Wilde Dog-

taines. The men brought vs mans flesh roasted, drie, as black as a coale, and told vs that it was of *Tamays* that they had killed, and desired vs that we would eate of it, thinking they had presented vs a great and daintie dish. When they saw that we refused to eate mans flesh, they fell to laughing, and some of them said that we knew not what was good meat. These *Cambals* are men of small stature, browne of complexion, they goe all naked, they wear their haire (as now we doe in England) below their eares, and so doe the women. As their haire groweth long, they burne it with fire, making it equal to artificially, that you cannot perceiue but that it was cut with Sissors. They will not haue any haire grow on their eye-browes, nor on their chin, but fill as it groweth they pull it away with a shell: their food is *Gumy* wheat, and Rootes, Frogs, Snakes, Serpents, Crocodiles, Monkeys, Dogs that they kill in the Wildernesse, Leopards, and Cats of Mountaine; all this is good meat amongst them, and we found them very good, and were very glad when we could get them to eate.

The Lepos.

Then we came to a kinde of *Cambal*, called *Lepos*, the *Portugals* call them *Biterus*, these *Cambals* are alwayes in the Mountaines of Pine trees, and haue not any other thing to lue on: I neuer saw any houses that they dwell in, but boughts tyed together with rines of trees, these *Cambals* would come to vs, and tell vs of many things, and would goe with vs two or three dayes, and then would run away from vs, and many times when they did meet with any of our *Indians*, or our *Portugals*, they would take away such things as they had about them, and send them away without any hurt to their persons. As we went through this Countrey we found many mynes of gold, and amongst these *Indians* our Captaine got good store of it, and many good stones. In *America*, there is not a richer part then this, but it is so farre within the Land, and that Countrey is so populous that as yet neither *Portugall* nor *Spaniard* can inhabit there. They are men of small stature, and very browne of complexion, their bodies are all painted as the other *Cambals* before named. The women are as browne of complexion as the men, and very rude and shamelesse, for in their behaviour they differ not from wilde beasts, but in all things lue like them.

The Wayanawans, simple Savage.

After we had passed this Prouince, we came into the Prouince of the *Wayanawans*, where we found them in small Townes built by a Riuer side, and found these the simplest Nation of all other: for these *Cambals* would stand and gaze vpon vs like herds of Deere, and neuer say any thing vnto vs. Here we found great store of *Gumy* wheat, and pompions that we did eate. In many Bogs hard by their Towne we killed good store of Crocodiles, and did eate of them, for in this iourney we were almost starved. These *Cambals* are of a good stature, bigge, and tall of bodie, and very cleane made of their lims, very sufficient to behold; but they are a kinde of laie people, that care not for any thing, but will lie all day lazing in their houses, and neuer goe abroad but for their vsshals. The women are of good stature, they are of a dunnet pale complexion, and they doe prouide Pompions and Rootes for their husbands. Here we were all, or most of vs very sicke with eating of a kinde of fruit, which the *Indians* call *Madagones*, this fruit is as bigge as a Horse plum, as yellow as gold, the kinell of it is as sweet as any Almond, of this fruit did most of our companie eate, and of them dyed fixteene, and many others sicke for a fortnight after.

Venomous plum.

Assoone as our companie had recovered we went on our way to seeke out the *Tamays*, hauing for our guides fixe of the *Mayas*, who carried vs at the least two monthes vp and downe the Wildernesse, euery day making vs beleue, that we should come vnto our enemies Countrey. They brought vs at last to the sight of two Townes along by a Riuer side. The *Portugals* after they had seene how great the Townes of the *Cambals* were, durst not adventure to passe ouer the Riuer, for feare lest the *Indians* had espied vs, and were layne in ambush. There was not any of all the companie, *Portugall* nor *Indian*, that durst to goe ouer the Riuer; the Captaine and the chieft of the *Portugals* agreed together and made me goe to the Towne, whether I would or no. When I saw that there was no remedie, I tooke my leue of them all: for I thought verily that I went to the laughter house, or at least to haue lured a *Cambal* with them during my life. With these two extremities in my thought, commending my soule and bodie to Almighty God: I went ouer the Riuer vpon a little Target made of Corke, and assoone as I had landed went straight to the Towne, where I found nothing but two tame Efridges: the people had espied vs, and were run away. When the *Portugals* had newes from me that there was no body, then they were to valiant as Lions, striving who should get first into the Towne, this was the Riuer of *Lauara*, the Towne is called *Meneere*. Here it was that I should haue beene hanged, for striking of *Antonio Martinez* in the Court of guard, after I had killed the great Serpent, called *Sarococa*. In this Towne we found great store of *Gumy* wheat, and Pompions dried in the smoke. In this Towne likewise we had great store of drie Tabacco, and Potato rootes: we found great store of gold in peeces, and also store of Cristall, and many other good stones; some found Diamonds, and a kinde of blue stones that the *Portugals* did esteeme of very much, and called them *Fedras de Sangra*, blood stones.

Many fruits.

Tame Efridges, Riuer Lauara, Meneere.

Gold, Cristall and Ironnes, The Serpent Sarococa described, his strange forme and qualities.

The Serpent that I killed was thirteene span long, it had foure and twentie teeth, as sharpe as any naile, about the necke it had greater shells then the other parts of her body: the shells were blacke

blacke and russet like a collar, and on her body they were russet and darke greene; vnder her belly all speckled with blacke and white. It had foure sharpe feet, no longer then a mans finger, it had a tongue like a harping Iron, her taile was like a straight Bull horne, all black and white listled. From one of these did the Lord defend me, and permitted me to kill one of them with the halbe of an axe in the night. The *Indians* dare not goe to kill one of them except they goe five or sixe of them with bowes and arrowes. All kinde of wilde beasts, Lions, or Leopards, all kinde of Snakes, but only this, doe feare the fire, and if they come where the *Indians* laye any fire trauelling through the Wildernesse, if any of these Serpents doe finde it, they neuer leaue beating themselves in it, till they either kill themselves or put out the fire. These Serpents when they seeke their prey will stand about a small tree or a bough, and when any wilde beaſt passeth, hee falleth vpon him, thrusting his taile into the fundament of whatsoever it seizeth on.

After we had remayned at this place a fortnight, or three weekes, the *Portugals* did refuse to come back againe without any purchase, then the Captaine gaue vp his authoritie, and ioynd himselfe with his friends to seeke the nearest way home, then did I and twelue young men of the *Portugals* determine to goe to the South Sea by land, for we knew by the Notes of the *Mayas*, that we were not farre from *Pern*, and *Cusco*, and we knowing how poore our estates were, and the great famine we had passed coming to the Towne of *Chimara*, made vs afraid to goe back againe, that way which we had come, and for mine owne part, I encouraged the twelue young *Portugals* all that I could to goe forward, for I had surely bene knocked on the head if I had gone back in my Captaines companie. With much ado, we thereon refused to seeke our fortunes in the Wildernesse. After we were departed from our companie, we came to many Mountaines, where we found good store of gold, and many precious stones; when we came into this Countrey, we thought we had bene in the Prouince of *Pern*, we had such plentie of mynes, and there was not one of vs but had store of stones, that those which we tooke as to day, we would throw away to morrow to take other better then them which we had before. Thus we trauelled some two monthes in the golden Countrey, till at the last we came to that great and most strange Mountaine of Cristall. This Mountaine is of a huge height, that it seemeth to be within the cloudes, and so steep that it is impossible to goe ouer the top. Here it was that wee passed through the Vault, and in truth it was one of the greatest dangers, and the most deperate that cuer I was in.

Two monthes travell in a golden Countrey. Cristall mountaine. Vault-fittes.

Assoone as we had passed this danger, it was the pleasure of God to deliuer vs into the hands of our mortall enemies the *Tamays*, where my twelue companions were killed and eaten, only my selfe remayned amongst these *Cambals* a yeare and eleuen monthes, in the which time I went many times to waite against other Prouinces that were ioyning vpon the Countrey of *Tamays*, and (I thank God) prospered so well that I was very much esteemed of them, and had a great commandment ouer them when they went to the field. These *Tamays* be as proper men as any bee in all Europe; they vie to make holes in their vpper-lips like the *Petamays*; most of them are of a very faire complexion. The men haue their heads alwayes fet with feathers of diuers colours which theweth very pretily, they goe stark naked. The women are as proper as any Nation can be, tall, comely, well legged, cleane made of body, very small in the waite, very faire of complexion, fine handed, and very comely faces. They vie a kinde of caruing ouer their breasts, which becometh them very well. Here the *Cambals* esteeme not any more of gold, or precious stones, then we doe of any stones in the streets; if the *Spaniards* had knowne of this Countrey, they needed not to haue gone to *Pern*, there is not like vnto this for all kinde of rich metals, and many kinde of precious stones. In this place I lured eighteene monthes, and went naked as the *Cambals* did. After I had lured with these *Cambals* the time that you haue heard, I was in great fauour and credit with them, in so much that they would not doe any thing before they had made me acquainted withall: I haue told them many times of the coming and going of our *English* ships to the Straits of *Magellan*, and how well we did vie all kinde of Nations, and what kinde of all things necessarie wee had for their vie. These wordes made the *Cambals* desire to come to the Sea coast, and asked of mee how it were possible for them to come to dwell by the Sea without being slues to the *Portugals*: I told them that I knew many places where *English* men and *French* men did vie to come, but that neither *Portugall*, nor *Spaniard* was neuer there. After I had told them what I thought best, we all agreed to come through the Prouince of *Tocoman*, and so to the Sea, betweene the Riuer of *Plate* and *Saint Vincens*. This Countrey of *Tocoman* is all sandie, and in it inhabit the *Pigmeyes*; I haue seene many of them amongst the *Spaniards* at the Riuer of *Plata*. They are not altogether so little as wee speake of them here in England; their inhabitation in *Tocoman* is in Caves of the ground. In this Countie the inhabitants in many places haue such Wheat as we kinde in England, and Cristall meale.

Tamays proper men.

Store of gold.

His iourney with the Sarses. Tocoman. Pigmey dwelling in Caves.

This *Tocoman* is iudged by the *Spaniard* to be the end of *Brasil*, and the entering into *Pern*; for in *Tocoman* there are all kinde of *Brasil* Rootes, and all kinde of Corne, as well as *Pern*; this Countrey yieldeth nothing to the *Spaniards*, but wilde Herbes, and the *Indians* of *Tocoman* are mortall enemies to all the inhabitants of *Pern*; therefore the *Spaniards* doe keepe this Countrey because they keepe the Prouinces of *Pern* in feare, or else they would rise vp against the *Spaniards*.

After we had passed this danger, it was the pleasure of God to deliuer vs into the hands of our mortall enemies the *Tamays*, where my twelue companions were killed and eaten, only my selfe remayned amongst these *Cambals* a yeare and eleuen monthes, in the which time I went many times to waite against other Prouinces that were ioyning vpon the Countrey of *Tamays*, and (I thank God) prospered so well that I was very much esteemed of them, and had a great commandment ouer them when they went to the field. These *Tamays* be as proper men as any bee in all Europe; they vie to make holes in their vpper-lips like the *Petamays*; most of them are of a very faire complexion. The men haue their heads alwayes fet with feathers of diuers colours which theweth very pretily, they goe stark naked. The women are as proper as any Nation can be, tall, comely, well legged, cleane made of body, very small in the waite, very faire of complexion, fine handed, and very comely faces. They vie a kinde of caruing ouer their breasts, which becometh them very well. Here the *Cambals* esteeme not any more of gold, or precious stones, then we doe of any stones in the streets; if the *Spaniards* had knowne of this Countrey, they needed not to haue gone to *Pern*, there is not like vnto this for all kinde of rich metals, and many kinde of precious stones. In this place I lured eighteene monthes, and went naked as the *Cambals* did. After I had lured with these *Cambals* the time that you haue heard, I was in great fauour and credit with them, in so much that they would not doe any thing before they had made me acquainted withall: I haue told them many times of the coming and going of our *English* ships to the Straits of *Magellan*, and how well we did vie all kinde of Nations, and what kinde of all things necessarie wee had for their vie. These wordes made the *Cambals* desire to come to the Sea coast, and asked of mee how it were possible for them to come to dwell by the Sea without being slues to the *Portugals*: I told them that I knew many places where *English* men and *French* men did vie to come, but that neither *Portugall*, nor *Spaniard* was neuer there. After I had told them what I thought best, we all agreed to come through the Prouince of *Tocoman*, and so to the Sea, betweene the Riuer of *Plate* and *Saint Vincens*. This Countrey of *Tocoman* is all sandie, and in it inhabit the *Pigmeyes*; I haue seene many of them amongst the *Spaniards* at the Riuer of *Plata*. They are not altogether so little as wee speake of them here in England; their inhabitation in *Tocoman* is in Caves of the ground. In this Countie the inhabitants in many places haue such Wheat as we kinde in England, and Cristall meale.

Riuer running
to the Sea.
Mountaines
of all Metals.

nards. After we had passed this Countrey, we came to a Riuer that runneth from *Tecoman* to *Chile*, where we tarried foure daies making Canoes to passe the Riuer, for there were so many Crocodiles, that we durst not passe it for feare of them: after we had passed this Riuer, we came to the Mountaine *Detoda* Metals, that is, of all Metals. At this place diuers *Spaniards* and *Portugals* haue bene, and certain lawlesse men were let on shoare on this coast by one *Pedro de Charamento* which came to this place, and let vp a great Crosse, and on it writ, that the Countrey was the King of *Spaines*; the which I put out, and wnt that it was the *Queene of England*. This hill is of diuers kinde of Metals, Copper and Iron, some Gold, and great store of Quicke-silver. It is verie high, and all bare wth any Trees. Here likewise was a little Church made, where we found two Images, one of our Lady, and another of Christ crucified. When the *Tamoyes* saw these signes, they thought that I had betrayed them, and (indeede) I was amazed, thinking that we had bene in some part of the Riuer of *Plata*, and because the *Indians* should not be discouraged, I shewed my selfe to be very glad, and told them that I knew their were signes that my Countrey men vied to make when they came into strange Countreys: with these persuasions I made the *Tamoyes* to come on their journey to the Sea; where otherwise if I had told them it had biner vpy by the *Spaniards*, the feare that the poore *Canibals* stood in of them had bin enough to haue made them all returne againe from whence they came. At the last we came to the Sea, as I haue told you, to the Towne of the *Carijohs*: this Towne standeth in a fine pleasant place, hard by the coast in a faire Bay, where one hundred Ships may anker without any danger. And in this place you shall alwaies haue great store of fish. In this Countrey, for a Knife or a hilt hooke, you may buy a dozen of skinned of very good Furre; and if you will, these *Indians* will goe (for any trifle) and fetch two or three baskets of Metals, and some haue had such good lucke, that for two or three Glazes, and a Combe or two, with some Knives, they haue got the value of foure or five thousand Crownes in Gold and Stones. The Towne stood vpon a hill, but we wuld it down. But when we were taken by the *Portugals*, and that the *Carijohs* were retored againe to their Countrey, they did fighte againe with in the same place where they were when we draue them out of their Countrey. Here the *Portugals* did binde me, and would haue hanged mee for the twelue *Portugals* that the *Canibals* had killed and eaten.

The *Carijohs*.

The *Carijohs* are men of good stature, and very valiant: they make holes in their finger lippe as the other *Canibals* doe. These *Canibals* likewise eat mans flesh, and speake the same language that the *Tamoyes* doe; the women are very comely, the mozt of them are of a faire complexion; they weare their haire loose about their eares, and all their bodies are dyed with blacke, and their faces wichered, and yellow, their breits are all couered with diuers colours, which becometh verie well. Here is the end of my trauell through *America*; with the *Canibals*, from whence I returned againe to my Master *Saluador Correa de Saia*; where I was worsted then euer I was before.

The Giants of Port Desire, and inhabitants of Port Famine: also Angola, Congo, and Mallangana, and Angica, Countreys of Africa.

AT Port Desire, which is the next hauen to the Straits of *Magellan*, inhabited Giants of fiftene or sixtene spans of height. I affirme, that at Port Desire I saw the footing of a Giant, by the thore fish; that was about foure footes of one of our mens length; and I saw two of them, that were buried newly, the one of them was fourteen spans long. After I was taken with the *Spaniards*, the Desire, one of our Shippes that had bene all alone at Port Desire, lost nine men and a boy, and two or three of them that had bene taken on the coast of *Brasil*, said that these Giants did throw floures of bigge fishnet at them out of strings, that they were faine to weigh anker, and to lye further from the shoare. I saw another of these in *Brasil*, that was taken by *Alonso Dias* a *Spaniard*, that with foule weather was driuen out of Saint *Indians*; this was but a young man, yett about thirteene spans long. This Port Desire is a faire pleasant Countrey, it hath many fine Riuers, and the *Spaniards* doe affirme, that from this place it is easie to goe to the *Indians* *Chile*, which is a very rich Countrey. In Port Desire, in many small Riuers there is great store of Pearle, and Curall. Here you may haue great store of Penguins and Seales at an Island that lieth a mile Southward of the mouth of the haue. These Giants whereof I haue spoken, goe all naked, they weare their haire long to the shoulders. He whom I saw at *Brasil*, was a man of faire complexion, and very well proportioned according to his long stature: and this is all that I can report of them, for I know not their behaviour, but as the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* iudge, they are no better then the Man-eaters of *Brasil*.

A youth 15
spans high.

Chile.

Giants habi-
telle habi-

Port Famine in
the Straits of
Magellan.
Wilde mou-
sted men.

At Port Famine the Generall would haue lett mee. Here inhabit a kinde of strange *Canibals*, short of body, not above five or six spans high, and very strong and thicke made; their mouthes are verie bigge, and reache full to their eares; they eat their meat in a manner raw, for they doe nothing but scorch it a little in the fire, and fogaie it, and with the bloud that runneth from their mouthes, they smeare all their faces, and their breasts, and lay yong feathers on their bodies to the bloud that clingeth to their skinned like Glue. When we were at the Straits in this

place, there came about foure or five thousand vnto vs of them, but they neuer brought vnto vs any thing but Feathers and Pearle as much as we would (for there is great fire in this Port Famine) all the while that we were at it. These *Canibals* would neuer let vs come to neere them, as to touch any of them, for feare we should take them; when they would giue vs any thing, they would tie it at the end of a long staffe, and so likewise we did to them. Here our Generall lett fouen thicke men alhoze: the Snow lyeth all the yeare on the Mountaines, and it is so cold in Iune, and Iuly, that our men did freeze, and many of them lost their toes, as I my selfe for one, for in one night that I lay mozt of my feete. I lost three of my toes on one of my feete, and four of the toppes of the other footes; some had their feete frozen, some their noses, as *Harna* a Goldsmith, who was taken with me, lost his haire from his head, and was all bald for a yeare or two in *Brasil*, yet for all this cold, all the Inhabitants goe naked, excepte one and there one weare feale skinned, or the skins of some wilde Beasts, of the which there are many, as Leopards, Lions, and a kinde of Beasts bigger then Horses; they haue great eares about a faine long, and their tailed are like the tailed of a Cowe; these are very good, the *Indians* of *Brasil* call them *Tapejapoa* of these Beasts I saw in *Ethiopia*, in the Kingdome of *Manicongo*; the *Portugals* call them *Gombe*; farther within the Straits at *Tolishay*, we found many barks of trees, that the *Indians* of the Straits doe fill in, these *Indians* would not come neere vs, but still as they spied our Boates they would runne away, but we plainly saw that they were men of good stature, and of white skinned; they goe all naked both men and women. And thus I end my trauell

20 of *America*.

Angola is a Kingdome of it selfe in *Ethiopia*, where first the *Portugals* did begin to inhabit: the Countrey of *Angola* commeth along the coast, as *Portugal* doth vpon *Spaines*, so doth *Angola* runne vpon the Kingdome of *Longa* and *Manicongo*. In *Angola* the *Portugals* haue a Citie, called the *Holy Goble*, where they haue great store of Merchandise, and the *Moore* doe come thither with all kinde of such things as the Countrey yeldeth, some they sell, some they barter, and some they giue to sell, that they take from other Kingdomes which theye hard by them: thus doe they vnto one weeke, as we keepe Marke, so doe all the *Blackemoors* bring Lions and Hogs, which they call *Gala*, and Hennes they call *Senge*, and a kinde of Beast that they take in the Wildernesse like a Dogge, which they call *Ambror*; then they take that Beast which before I haue told you of, called *Gumbe*, which is bigger then a Horse. The *Blackemoors* doe keepe good Lawes, and feare their King verie much: the King is alwaies attended with the Nobles of his Realme, and whensoever he goeth abroad, he hath alwaies at the least two hundred archers in his guard, and ten or twelue more going before him lugging and playing with Pipes made of great Canes, and foure or five yong *Moors* coming after him as his Pages, after them follow all his Noblemen. When there falleth out any controuersie among them, they craue battell of the King, and then they fight it out before him. They come before the King and fall flat to their breasts, then they rise vp and kneele on their knees stretching out their armes, crying *Mabobaque benge, benge*; then the King striketh them on the shoulders with a Horse-taile, then they goe to the Campe, and with their Bowes they fight it out, till they kill one another. After the battell is done, if any liueth, he that liueth falleth downe before the King in the same manner as he did when he went to the field, and after a long oration made, he taketh the Horse-taile from the Kings shoulder, and waueth it about the Kings head, and then leueth it on his shoulder againe, and goeth away with great honour, being accompanied with all the Nobles of the Court: the *Moors* of *Angola* doe know that there is a God, and doe call God *Cari pongo*, but they worship the Sunne and the Moone.

The Countrey is Champain plaine, and drie blacke earth, and yeldeth verie little Corne, the mozt of any thing that it yeldeth is Plantain, which the *Portugals* call *Bayonua*; and the *Moors* call them *Mabonge*, and their Wheate they call *Tumba*, and the Bread *Mucus*; and if you will buy any Bread of them, you must say *Tala Cuna anen sambola gimbo*, that is, giue me some bread, here is money. Their money is called *Gull gimbo*, a shell of a fish that they find by the shoare side, and from *Brasil* the *Portugals* doe carrie great store of them to *Angola*. These *Moors* doe esteeme verie much of red, blew, and yellow clothes, they will giue a floue for a span of cloath in breadth I meane, and the length of it of the breadth of the peece, a foute peece of cloth they weare about their middles, and vnder it they hang the skin of a great Weasell before them, and another be- hind them, and this is all the garments that they weare. A Weasell in their language is called *Pucca*. You can doe a *Blackemoore* no greater dilgrace, then to take away his skinned from before him, for he will dye with griefe if he cannot be euenged: the *Portugals* doe make them as we doe Sheepe with a hot Iron, which the *Moors* call *Crimbo*, the poore floues hand all in a row one by another, and sing *Mundelo go sambola*; the *Carijohs* be *Belelele*, and thus the poore rogues are beguled, for the *Portugals* make them beleue that they that haue not the make is not accounted a man of any account in *Brasil* or in *Portugal*, and thus they bring the poore *Moors* to be in a mozt damnable bondage vnder the colour of loue. The Countrey of *Angola* yeldeth no stone, and very little wood: the *Moors* doe make their houes all couered with earth; these houes are no bigger then a reasonable Chamber, and within are many partitions,

Extrem cold
and naked
people.

Harna the
Gold smith.
H. Barnack.

Beasts bigger
then Horses
as the *Horles* at
the *Magellan*
Strait, called
Tapejapoa, in
Ethiopia; when
they be mea-
sured *Zebra* or
Danices; see
Tom. 1. p. 100.

Of *Angola* to
which the
Curi of *Brasil*,
is before de-
liuered.

The Kings
pompe.

Rites of the
people.

The Countrey.

Weasels skin
affixed.

Branded be-
guled floues,

K k k k k

l k g

like the Cabbins of a ship, in such sort that a man cannot stand upright in them. There beds are made of great Bulrushes fowed together with the rindes of a Tree. They doe make cloth like Sparks of Velvet (but it is thinner) of the bark of a Tree, and that cloth they doe call *Molleses*. The Elephants do feed in the Evening and in the Morning in low marshes as there be many. The *Moores* doe watch which way they come, and as soon as the Elephants are at near, they digge great holes in the ground, and cover them with sticks, and then they cover the pits with earth, and when they haue made all ready they goe to the Elephants, and shoote at them with their Arrows, and as soon as the Elephants feele themselves hurt, they runne at whatsoeuer they see before them, following after the *Blackmoors* that chase them, then they fall into the deepe pits where after they are once in, they cannot get out. The *Moores of Angola* are as blacke as let; they are men of good stature, they neuer take but one Wife, whom they call *Mocalla*. These *Moores* doe cut long drakes in their faces, that reach from the top of their eares to their chinnies. The women doe wear shels of fishes on their armes, and on the small of their legges. The Law amongst them, is, that if any *More* doe lie with an others wife, hee shall lose his eares for his offence. These *Moores* doe circumcise their children, and give them their names, as wee doe when we baptize, *Angola* may very easily be taken: for the *Portugals* haue no Forts to defend it of any strength.

The King of *Congo* is the greatest King in all *Ethiopia*; and doth keepe in the field continually fixtie thousand Souldiers, that doe warre against the King of *Fangala* and the King of *Angola*; this King is a *Christian*, and in brother in Law of Armes with the King of *Spain*, his seruants of his house are most of them all *Portugals*, and hee doth fauour them very much. The King is of a verie liberrall condition, and verie fauourable to all Trauellers, and doth deliuer King's much to heare of foreigne Countries. He was in a manner amazed to heare how it was possible her Maestie had liued a Maiden Queene so long, and alwaies reigned in peace with her husband. When I was brought before the King, and told him of my Countrey what plentie of things we had, if the *Portugals* had not liked of it, they would interrupt my speech, and the King would haue himselfe. Verie agreeable, and tell them that euerie man was best able to speake of his Countrey, and that I had no reason but to tell him that which was true. The King of *Congo*, when hee goeth to the Campe to see his Arnie, rideth vpon an Elephant in great pompe and maiestie, on either side of the Elephant he hath six slaues two of them were Kings, that he himselfe had taken in the field; all the rest were of noble birth; some of them were brothers to the King of *Angola*, and some of them were of the chiefest blood of the great King of *Bengala*. These noble slaues at euerie command of the King of *Congo*; doe fall flat on the ground on their brests. When the King doth ride as you haue heard, they carrie a Canopie as it were a cloth of State ouer his head. His two Secretaries, the one a Nobleman of *Spain*, the other a *More*, doe ride next after him. Before him goeth at the least fise hundred Archers, which are his Guard, then there followeth a *More*, which doth nothing but talke aloud in praise of the King, telling what a great Warriour he hath bene, and praising his deed for all things that hee hath accomplished verie honourably to his great fame of such as knew him. When this King of *Congo* cometh to his Host, all the Souldiers as hee passeth, fall flat on their faces to the ground. He neuer cometh into his Host after any battell, but hee dubbeth at the least twentie Knights *Portugals*, and as many *Moores*, giuing them verie great liuing according to their callings, and the seruice that they haue done. The brother of this King was in *Spain*, at my coming from thence for Ambassadour from his brother.

Here the *Portugall* Captaine would haue taken mee perforce, to haue bene a common Souldier, but the King commanded that they should let mee goe whether I would, and my determination at that time was to haue gone for the Countrey of *Prattin* land, for I had a great desire to see the River of *Nijlo* and *Larufalm* (for I accounted my selfe as a lost man, not caring into what Countrey or Kingdome I came) but it was not the will of God, that I should at that time obtaine my desire. For traourelling through the Kingdome of *Congo*, to haue gone to the King's dome of *Angola*. It was my fortune to meete a companie of *Portugall* Souldiers that went to Conquest, that the King of *Spain* had newly taken, called *Mafangana*, which place is on the borders of *Angola*. Here they made me serue like a Drudge, for both day and night I carried home some and time to make a Fort. It lieth right vnder the Line, and standeth in a bottom in the middle of foure hills, and about are many fogges, but not one River. It is the vnfruitfull Countrey vnder the Sunne. Here the *Portugals* doe like Chickens; you shall see men in the morning verie lustie, and within two houres dead. Others, that if they but wear their legges, presently they swell bigger then their middle, others brake in the sides with a draught of water. O, if you did know the intollerable heat of the Countrey, you would thinke your selfe better a thousand times dead, then to liue thera weeke. There you shall see poore Souldiers lie in troups, gazing like Camellians for a puffe of winde. Here liued I three months, not as the *Portugals* did, taking of Physicke, and euerie weeke letting of blood and keeping close in their houses when they had any raine, observing houres, and times to goe abroad morning and Evening, and neuer to

Mafangana. See Tom. 1. l. 63. And Battell liued here six yeeres.

Sickly disposed of the place.

to eate but at such and such times. I was glad when I had got any thing at morning, noone or night, I thanke God I did worke all day, from morning till night, had it bene raine or neuer to great heate. I had alwaies my health as well as I haue in *England*. This Countrey is verie rich the King had great store of Gold sent him from this place: the time that I was there, the King of *Angola* had a great Citie at *Mafangana*; which Citie *Paulus Dias*, gouernour of *Angola*, tooke and fortified there, and finding hard by it great store of Gold, fortified it with foure Forts, and build a Citie and from this Citie euerie day they doe warre against the King of *Angola*, and haue burnt a great part of his Kingdome.

The *Angicans* are men of goodly stature, they file their teeth before on their vpper Iawe and on their vnder Iawe, making a difference betweene them like the teeth of a Dogge; they doe eate man flesh, they are the Subbond Nation that liues vnder the Sunne, and the resolute in the field that euer man faw; for they will rather kill themselves then yeelde to the *Portugals*; they inhabite right vnder the line, and of all kinde of *Moores* these are the blackest; they doe liue in the Law of the *Turkes*, and honour *Mahomet*, they keepe manie Concubines as the *Turkes* doe, they walk themselves euerie morning upwards, falling flat on their faces towards the East. They wear their haire all made in plaits on their heads, as well men as women: they haue good store of Wheate, and a kinde of graine like Fetches, of the which they make Bread: they haue great store of Hennes like Partridges, and Turkeys, and all their feathers curle on their backs: their houses are like the other houses of the Kingdomes aforesaid. And thus I end, shewing you as briefe as I can, all the Nations and Kingdomes that with great danger of my life I traueled through in twelve yeeres of my best age getting no more then my travel for my paine. From this Kingdome *Angola*, was I brought in Irons againe to my Master *Saluador Correa de sa*, to the Citie of *Saint Sebastian* in Brazil, as you haue heard. Now you haue seene the discourse of my trauels, and the fashions of all the Countries and Nations where I haue bene, I will by the helpe of God, make you a short discourse in the language of the *Petewares*, which language all the Inhabitants of *Brazil* doe vnderstand, especially all the coust from *Fernambour* to the River of Plate, the which I hope will be profitable to all traouellers, and of them I trust my paines shall be well accepted of.

First, you must tell them of what Nation you are, and that you come not as the *Portugals* doe, for their wiues and children to make them bond slaues.

We are *Englishmen*, as you all know that in times past had peace with you.

Now knowing the neede and want that you haue of all such things as before your Fathers had, for the loue that both your ancestors and ours did beare one to another, and for the loue and pittie that we haue of your want, we are come to renew our ancient amity.

Ore aguerima que se neering peramoya werico Cadador warery oreymbi betefoy. Coen petecote Cowanere pippe penfuna barofy opacatubase berua emeyco coen petecote fou se. Coen mandore peramoya wayfuna, ore ranaya wayfounarefey eteguna refey petecote paranaua, ore in ibowib ore ranaya perri focatamyn go pacm.

¶ V.

The description of diuers Rivers, Ports, Harbours, islands of Brazil: for instruction of Nauigators.

Rio Grande. *Lo Grande* is called by vs the great River, lately was conquered by a *Portugall*, called *Mannell Mafguarenba*. It is about two leagues broad in the mouth, and on the South-east side handeth a great Fort made by the foresaid *Mannell Mafguarenba*; that Countrey is plaine and landy in many places, especially neere the Sea, and yeeldeth Sugar Canes in abundance. On the coast are many great Bayes, where the *Indians* doe oftentimes finde great store of Ambergeete: within this place, there is also fore of Wood, Pepper, Ginger, and Waxe. Here inhabite a kinde of *Cambals*, called *Petewares*; these *Cambals* haue had traffike a long time with *France*, and amongst them there are many that can speake *French*, which are *Battards*, begotten of *Frenchmen*.

On the coast of *Brazil* there are three Rivers of *Parayana*: one is this that lieth next to *Rio Parayana*; the other is a great River that runneth through the Countrey almost as farr as *Lyma*, and cometh out betwene Cape *Fris* and *Spirito Sancto*; the third is a faire River that lieth betwene the River of Plate and *Saint Vincent*. This *Parayana* whereof we speake, is a faire great Bay, where shipping being neuer so great may enter, within this Bay vpon a hill, you shall see a faire Citie, and on the Sea side handeth two small Forts. You may anker neere the shore, at the entrie of this Bay, you shall see three hills of red earth on either side of the harbour, which the *Portugals* call *Barras Mermithos*.

Gold.

Paul Dias.

Angica.

Angicans valiant.

Of *Mahometans* Religion is the Author were not decreed by occasion of their circumcision, which in office is common to *Christians* and *Ethiops*, with *Mahometans*.

Rio Grande.

Ambergeete.

goe into this Harbour, you must passe betweene these Rockes which are called *Bayes de don Rodrigo*, when you are entred you may anchor hard by the Rockes, and found the Channell, which will lye North-east from you. Here you may have fish, water vpon the River, but it will be hard for you to find, therefore your best is to goe a quarter of a mile by the Sea side, and you shall see a faire River, where you may take water at pleasure, and kill good store of fish. At this place comming from the River of *Lenora*, in the night we were driven vpon the Rockes for want of a Pilot, who knew the Coast.

I doe not know the places betweene this and the Cape *Frio*, because I know them not, but by report of other Travellers, and therefore I leave it to them, for I will write no more but what I have seen, and am able to prove when time shall serve, and thus I end shewing you all that I have seen on the Coast Northward of Cape *Frio*, which is in our Language Cape *Cold*.

Cape *Frio* is a point of the Land that runneth into the Sea at least twelve mile, it lieth vnder 22. degrees. At this Cape you may have sight of a great Mountaine, that you may see over it called *Abusango Retambura*, here you may anchor on the East-side of this Cape in a Harbour called *Abaya formoso*. Here you may have great store of Brasill-wood, and in this Bay you shall find oftentimes good store of Amber-greece, and on the North side of this Bay you shall see a great River called *Yapafuso*, where you may kill good store of many kinds of fishes, and in the mouth of this River you shall have great store of Corall, if you will drudge for it.

Saguarema is a River, where the *Frenchmen* did traffique with the *Cambals* called *Tamoyes*; it floweth foure leagues Southward from the Cape. This River is narrow at the comming, you shall find twelve foote water, till you be three or foure leagues vpon the River. You shall find fresh water on either side of the River, and great store of Brasill-wood, all along the River side. On the South side of this River you shall see a great hill which the *Indians* call *Beyona*, that is, *The rotten Whale*, for you shall see the top of it like a dead Whale. If you want refreshing, you may have good store of Potatoes Roots there, Plantions, Lemons, Orengeas, and many other good Roots as bigge as great Turnips, which the *Indians* call *Catanafon*.

Etnoca is a league Southward of the River of *Saguarema*. It is (as I have said in the description of my travel) a great and huge Rocks, hollow within, where the *Indians* say that the servant of God did preach vnto them, which they call *Tzupayapara*, before the mouth of this Rocks towards the Sea standeth another flat Rocks, that reacheth somewhat into the Sea; vpon it you shall see the prints of bare feet, here if you fish with Lines, you may quickly lade your shippes. A little behind this stone booke, you shall see a fine River of water, where you shall finde many pretie greene stones that *Indians* doe vie to weare in their lips. You may anchor within a Musket shot of the shore, but it is verie dangerous if the wind be in the East.

Piratinga is five leagues to the Southward of *Etnoca*, right before it standeth a small Island, it is inhabited by the *Portugals*. It is a Bay that dinnech betweene two Mountaines a mile and more within the Land. There I have seen a *Maidmaid* and many other strange fishes. You may see your shipping at the Hand, and send your Boates ashore, where you shall find great store of Cattle; and you may take good store of all kind of fishes if you will, either with Hooks or Nets. Here you may have Oranges, Lemmons, and Cassia Meale, and all other such things that the Country yeeldeth, but you must be alwaies fere to keepe good watch, for feare of the *Portugals* of the River of *Lenora*, which are hard by you.

The River of *Lenora*, and City of Saint Sebastian. The River of *Lenora* lieth three leagues from *Piratinga*, it is a great Arme of the Sea, that runneth into the Land at the least foureteen miles; on the mouth of this place, stande foure Islands, and now the best marke that it hath to be knowne, is a Fort that standeth on the North side of the comming in of the Harbour, vpon a Rock. On the South side standeth a Hill that reacheth into the Sea, which the *Portugals* call *Camo*, that is, *The top of a ship*, for it seemeth like the maine top-saile of a ship from Sea. Hard by the Sea side on the foote of this Hill on the North side of the Hill as you faile into the Harbour; standeth a Rocks of great height made like a Sugar-loafe, and is called by the *Portugals* the *Sugar-loafe*. In the midst of the going in, in the mouth of this River lieth a Rocks plainly to be seen, to goe in you must keepe betweene the Rocks and the Port, that standeth on the North side of you. When you are entred the mouth of the River and are past the Fort, you shall see an Island lie right before you, and runn with a Church called *Santa Lucia*, this Island is called the Island of *Bragalon*. You must be fere to passe on the North side of this Island, and as soon as you have passed it, you shall see all the Citie both on the Hill, and on the Sea side. Then you must take heed that you goe not right to the Towne, for you shall run vpon certaine ridges of sand, that lie right before the Towne all along to a small Island called the Island of *Saint Bent*, this Island lieth a quarter of a mile from the Island of *Bragalon*, and Eastward of this Island of *Saint Bent*, standeth a great Rocks, you may faile betweene the Rocks and the Island, and as soon as you have entred, betweene them you may anchor hard by the Island, and then you shall see a Church standing vpon a Hill which is called *Saint Bent*, then you need not feare to goe right before the Towne, within a Calceuer shot of the shore from the Towne, you shall see on the North-east there a towne of *Cambals*, called *Saint Lorenzo*, which is in peace with the *Portugals*, and within the Bay you shall finde many Rivers and Sugar-mills, where there is great profit to be made.

Waratona lieth three leagues from the River of *Lenora*, you may know it by two Islands that lie right before the mouth of the aforesaid River. At the mouth of the River likewise standeth a high Hill, and on either side both on the South-west and North-east is low Land, in this place you cannot enter with any ship, but you may anchor betwene the Islands, and send your Boats ashore. If you goe vpon, you shall find good store of Potatoes Roots, Plantions, great store of Oranges and Lemmons, and many other kind of fruits, which are very good to relieve sick men. If you will fish with your Nets, here you shall kill all kinde of good fishes, but alwaies be fere to keepe good watch, for the *Portugals* are very nere you.

From the River of *Waratona* for the space of foure leagues is all feebly low Land, you shall see a high Hill which the *Indians* call *Maranbapayam*, that is in our Language, the end of *Warre*; right over against this point you shall see a great Land at the comming in of this Harbour, you need not feare, for hard by the shore, you shall have two sweete fountains of water. When you are in the mouth of this Harbour right before, you shall see a white Rocks, which will lie all West from you; you must leave the Land Southward from you, then shall you descie another great Land called *Epeya*; at a point of this Land that lieth full West, towards the firme Land, you shall see two small Islands, and when you are right against those two Islands you shall see a faire Bay, where you may anchor at pleasure to come into this Bay, you must enter betweene those two Lands that I have spoken of. I doe describe this Harbour vnto you about many good Harbours that you may find, because you may depart from hence with any wind, for the mouth of *Maranbapayam* lieth South-east from you, when you are in this Harbour, then you have another going out that lieth North-east from you, from this Port where you shall anchor called *Epeya*. If you want victuals for your ships, you may take your Boat or your Pinnace, and goe out betweene the two Islands that are betweene them, and when you are betweene these Islands you shall see a flat broad Land, which will lye flat South-west from you, this Land the *Indians* call *Saguarima*; that is, the morning, and this is the Land that I was driven vpon, when I ranne away to *Muiter Henrique*, as I have told you in the discourse of my troubles, you must come with your Boat to this Island, and you must be fere to passe betweene the West shore and the land; and as soon as you have passed the point of this Island, you shall see three Hills of red Earth one hard by another. You must leave one of them West from you, then may you land your men at pleasure, when you have landed, you must goe through a little Coppes, for the space of a Harquebute shot, then shall you come into a faire Lawne, where you shall find great store of Cattle, and a house or two that standeth vpon a Hill where you shall have alwaies good store of *Cassia* meale, if you will have. Roots and Plantions vpon the Land where you anchor there are good store, but there is an Island called the *Long Land*, where you shall have of all these things in abundance. To know this Island, you with your Boate to the Island of *Epeya* that lieth full South from your ship, and then you shall see a long Land hard by the firme Land, which is this whereof wee speake, and because you shall see a quarter of a mile from the shore, vpon which Rocks standeth a Croffe, this is the place where a *Portugall* called *Manuel Antonio* dwelleth, but now there is no bodie, but a kinde of *Cambals* that come and goe, therefore be fere alwaies in those parts to keepe good watch and be careful; if you can speake their language you may have many things from this Land Southwards you shall see two small Islands half a league from you, these Islands are called *Almadas*, right against them lieth a faire River, where you shall have alwaies great store of fish, and by the River side you shall see the *Manduca* plainly, and many other Roots very good to refresh your company. Southward from this place some two leagues you shall see a Bay called *Piratinga* there dwelleth a kinde of *Cambals* called *Yamasseis*, of them you may buy skins of diuers wild beasts, and sometimes they have good store of Amber, which they call *Pira pania ergaty*.

Saint Sebastian lieth three leagues from *Great Land*. It is a long and a faire land, you may anchor betweene it and the shore. After you have entred at the North point of this Island, you shall see a great white Rocks, right over against this Rocks, you shall see a point of the firme Land runne into the Sea, and right before this point lie three Rockes, where commonly you shall see *Indians* shooting filbes with their Bowes and Arrows, if you goe with your Boate to that point, you shall see a great Bay called by the *Indians* *Isqueguera*. There likewise standeth a great Towne of *Cambals*, such as those that dwell at *Great Land*, half a league from Saint Sebastian standeth a small Island right into the Sea, called by the *Indians* *Oratana*, and by the *Portugals* *Alguarrafes*, here you shall finde great store of Sea-fowles and Seales, *Aligators* that live on the Land called by the *Indians* *Pisfufufo*. Right over against the South point of the Land of Saint Sebastian standeth a great white Rocks called by the *Portugals* *Pandemio*, that is, the life of *Gimme* Wheat; then shall you see an Island hard by the shore called by the *Indians* *Bosfomega*, that is, the Whales head, this Island standeth in the mouth of *Piratinga*, which is, the River that goeth to Saint *Pedro*, as you goe to this place after you have passed the Land, you shall see North-east from you certaine houses where there dwell a kinde of *Cambals* called *Cajofes*, there you may have good store of Cattle, Orengeas, Lemmons, and many kinds of Roots and Fruits.

The River called *Waratona*.

Certaine Islands called by the *Indians* *Great Land*.

Portugall called *Manuel Antonio*.

The Island of *Saint Sebastian*.

The description
of the
River of Plate,
S. Vincent, Santos,
and the
Indian People.

Right against this Towne of *Caribbs* called *Cayhor*, standeth the Towne of *Saint Vincent* called by the *Indians Warapinnama*; as you goe farther vp the River you shall see a small Island Southward, where you shall see a Sugar-mill of the Captaines of *Santos* called *Ieromus Thomas*, where our Gentlemen were laine, Farther vp the River, you shall see a Castle stand at the foote of the Hill; then you come to the Towne of *Santos*, which standeth hard by the water side. Right behind the Towne of *Santos* standeth a Hill w^{ch} *Brasfaw* had a house, from the top of this Hill *John Davies* makes a Plate of the Country. Now the *Portugals* have found Mynes of silver in this place.

The description
of the third
River, called by the
Portugals *Opa*,
the, and by the
Indian People.
The description
of the River
of Plate.

The third *Portugals* is a good Harbour for ships, and here are great store of *Caribbs* and *Cayhor*, which very lately are in league with the *Portugals*, you may buy of them great store of Pepper and Ginger, very rich Fumies, and Cotton-wooll, and Waxe, this is the place that I came vnto to after I had-beene taken by the *Tamoyes* within the Land. Here the *Tamoyes* were taken by the *Portugals*, and I was given againe to be my Masters slave, when 10000. of the *Tamoyes* were laine, and 30000. of them parted among the *Portugals* for slaves.

The mouth of the River of *Plate* is wide, and within it there are many Downes of land, you must be care to keepe very neere the North shoare, till you shall see a high Mountayne white at the top; then must you faile Southward at least foure leagues, and shall you see another small Hill on the Northside, you must faile right with it; then shall you come into a faire Bay, where you must be sure to keepe fill along the shoare, and after you have passed the Westerne till you 20 come before the Towne of *Bonos Ayres*. There the River runneth full Southward, and along the River side from *Bonos Ayres* is a small Village built by the *Spaniards* of Lime and stone that they brought from *Brasfil*, for all the Country is lande: the *Indians* doe make their houses all covered with earth. Here are great store of wilde Horses and Cattle, sheepe and Goats, but likewise silver and gold, there is none but that which cometh from *Cordona* and *Potosin*. Here likewise the *Indians* have great store of Wheate, twentie leagues within Land lyeth a Prouince called *Tocoman*, now it is a Bishopricke, this Country is the diuision of *Brasfil*, and all the Prouinces of *Nova Hispania*. Here the *Indians* have Wheate and *Cassia*, Apples, Peares, Nuets, and all other fruites of *Spain*, likewise they have all the fruites of *Brasfil*. But after you trauell Southward of this Country, you shall not find any thing that groweth in *Brasfil*, nor any wilde beasts, as *Leopards*, or *Capinazas*, *Lewafmings*, *Cat* of *Mountaines*, *Aqueques*, *Warinas*, *Mouquejes*, *Iobayas*, *Saracunas*, *Laurucas*, *Boyenas*, *Boysingins*, *Boyenas*. *Brasfil* is full of all these wilde and dangerous beasts, and diuers others; But the Prouinces of *Parr* are cleere of them, except it bee some chance. From *Tocoman* to *Saint Lago* is eightie leagues, and you shall trauell it as you doe by Sea with a *Compass*, for the Country is all land, and as the wing bloweth, so shall you have the Mountaynes of land, to day on one side of you, to morrow on the other, in this passage you shall passe through many Rivers, which to your thinking are not about a foote deepe, but if you have not good guides and great experience, your waggons and hories will quickly be cait away in them, and at an instant be covered with quicke sand. After you have passed this Country, you shall come to *Saint Lago*, then till you come to *Potosin*, you shall trauell 40 through great Mountaines and Valleys, and all the way as you goe, you shall haue great Townes of *Indians*, who are all in peace with the *Spaniards*; you shall haue five hundred of these *Indians* by the way as you trauell readie with Nets to catch you, they one a Cane from Towne to Towne, for a fish-hook or a few beads of silver, or a little of the *Spaniards* Gold, they will take you in the World to ease as this, for you may buy, or sell, or play on a Gitterne all the way if you will, for so the *Spaniards* doe; you shall passe many Mynes of Gold and traffique with the *Indians* for Gold, and diuers kinds of precious Stones, but not in that plenty as you shall at *Potosin*, by reason that there the Mynes are open and wrought on, and those betwene *Santiago* and *Potosin* are not. At *Potosin* there is no want of any thing, although the Countrey of it selfe bee very barren, but by reason of the great traffique that they haue from *Lima*, and all the Townes of the South Sea; they haue alwayes prouision enough, for from those Townes, they bring Oyle and Wine in great larrs of earth vpon great sheepe, which are called sheepe of five quarters, for their taires haue almost as much as a quarter. To tell the particulars of the Mynes, would bee a new Storie, only this: they find the Oare like blacke Lead, then they grinde it in Ingines, then they wash it through fine Sieues in pauid Cisternes that are made for the purpose; the *Moors* are all naked as long as they worke, because he shall not hide any precious Rore. The *Spaniards* here are all very rich, and in truth as gallant fellows as can be. The *Francisco* Friars carrie a great way in this Country, by reason that they were the first that preached in this part of *India*.

Note.
Beasts of *Brasfil*.

Trouell
Compass on
lands.

CHAP. VIII.

Relations of Master THOMAS TURNER who liued the best part of two yeeres in Brasfil, &c. which I receiued of him in conference teaching his Trauels.



IN *Saint Michael* one of the *Acores*, they ascend vp in a forenoones journey vnto a hill into a Chappell, wherein they need a fire in Summer for the cold: there being a little off three Springs, the one whereof catcheth vp waters in a continual boyling with a terrible noise, and of great heate, the second of heate intolerable, which in short time scaldeth any lungg thing to death, the ground also here to stand on: but the water calme. The third is warme, and a fit Bath. In these Islands in *Cauas* bee found before the Conquest, whole, &c. *Brasfil* *Indians* are *Caribbs*, and not for reuenge only, but for food also deuoure mans flesh. The *Portugals* make not slaves of them, nor can enioyne them worke, by reason of a commission to the contrary obtained by the Iesuites: neither doe they winne of them ought but by faire meanes. They are most excellent Archers, goe stark naked, the womens haire long and blacke, barth as a Horle-taile. He did see vp the River of *Plate*, one twelue foot high, and report was of higher in that Country. Their Weapons are two malle bowles at the two ends of a string cast, &c. He saw also men there with the hinder parts of their heads, not round but flat, (and a little before this Relation, about Anno 1560, he said that at *London* he had scene carried to the Court a thigh bone of a man a yard and halfe in length.)

Their beasts in *Brasfil* are great Apes with beards and Mustaches. Kine like vnto ours of both sexes, but lying in the waters and resorting to land to feede. Hating no Ydders, nor hornes, long legs, harmelesse, lesse somewhat then ours, their flesh like beefe, but eaten in the name of fish.

Tigres like Grey-hounds spotted like Ounces exceeding swift, the force of whose paw at a blow killeth his prey. Their beast by some called *Hay*, which yet he saith, eateth leaues of trees and not Aire only: the lovely prettie *Sagwa*. The Serpent *Cobra*: whereof he saw one almost as bigge as himselfe, twentie foot long, killed by their *Indian* boy, of colour like an Adder. Of whom they report (and a Father gaue him instance of the proofe) that watching his prey, that is whatsoeuer cometh by, it windeth about and getteth the taile into the fundament drawing the goss after it: and so preyeth on the same, deuouring all, till that it be not able for subtiltie to stirre, but roareth as it lyeth, the flesh quite away, the head and bones remaining, in which the life continuing recouereth at last his former state. One was thus found in the rottennesse and being bound for prooffe by the *Portugals*, with a withe tied tye, at their returne was found repaired. The beast that bagged vp her young ones, &c. (as in others Relations, heere therefore omitted.)

The *Indian* vsa fish in the Sea, and a Foxe in the Woods, and without them a *Christian* is neither for pleasure or profit fit for life or liuing.

Out of *Angola* is said to be yearly shipped eight and twentie thousand ^{of} slaves and there was a Rebellion of slaves against their Masters, tenne thousand making a head and barricading themselves, but by the *Portugals* and *Indians* chafed, and one or two thousand reduced. One thousand belonged to one man, who is said to haue tenne thousand slaves, Eighteen *Ingens*, &c. his name is *John de Pais*, exiled out of *Portugall*, and heere prospering to this incredibillitie of wealth.

There are Apples called *Ananas*, pleasant in colour and exceedingly in taste, and wholesome, but eating from *Agua forte*. *Brasfil* is full of Mines, if the King would suffer the digging them.

CHAP. IX.

The taking of Saint Vincent and Puerto Bello, by Captaine WILLIAM PARKER of Plimmouth, the seventh of February 1601.



IN the beginning of November 1601. I departed from *Plimmouth* with two ships, one *Pinnace* and two shallops in quarters toward the *West Indies*. My chiefe ship wherein I went my selfe as Admirall was named the *Prudence*, of an hundred tonnes, wherein I had an hundred and thirtie well men, the second was the *Perle*, a small ship of fixtie tonnes, wherein went as my Vice-admirall Master *Robert Rawlin*, accompanied with sixtie lustie fellows, my *Pinnace* of twentie tonnes was manned with eighteen men. In this *Consort* were Master *Edward Giler*, and *Philip Ward* Gent.

Saint Michael.

Brasfil.
Iesuis Saues
trie ch.

Giantes.

Flat heads.

Strange Kine.

See before in *Quinto*.

Strange Serpent.

This number may be perceived by the report of the *Portugals*, which in some one yeere after from great brutie, may also be probable by the general report of diuers thousand shipped thence yearly: the *Portugals* mine their gaine by the *Negros* soules and fishkill was vpon each other.

His Excellency
in the Town.

His Excellency
in the Town.

His Excellency
in the Town.

His Excellency
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His Excellency
in the Town.

Gentlemen Captains by Land, with Captain *Antonio Fagari*, Captain *Lerman*, Captain *Alejo*, and divers other Gentlemen of much Towardness and valour as they made good proofe in the success of this Voyage. In our pulling by the Cape of Saint Vincent in *Spain*, commonly called the South Cape, I was encountered with a terrible Terrible or gulf of wind that my Pinniss with fifteen of our men, to our great griefe was utterly call away, wee being not able with the vttermost of our endurances to saue above three of the rest. From thence I shipped my comf to the Ile of Cape Verde, and immediately vpon my arrival there, I set vpon one of them called Saint Vincent, with a hundred men, and took the Island and the Towne thereof, which was a prettie place, the people whereof I gave to my Soldiers, which after they had pillaged it, set the same on fire.

Hence we hailed our to the Coast of *Terra firma*, and arrived first at the Ile of *Margenita*, and coming to the *Rancheria* or fishing of Pearles in the small Island of *Cubagua*, we found the Gouvernour of *Cumana*, there with a company of Soldiers: nevertheless we made bold to land, and in our landing we received a great fight wherein diuers of our men on both sides were wounded; but in the end I took the place with diuers of the stoutest of our Enemies Prisoners, and thirtene Peraguas and Canoes, which are Barks and Boats of the Countrey: for ranfome of all which I receivede hue hundred pounds in Pearle. This done I proceeded on my journey, flying directly for Cape *de la Vela*, and there meeting with a *Portugall* flipp of two hundred and fiftie tons laden with three hundred and fcuttie *Negros*, brought from *Congo* or *Angola*, and going to *Cartagena* with little resistance I took the same. And laying along with my prize toward, not able to drubbe the Ile, called *Las Indias*, I was driven farre downe to the South and into the Gulfe of *de la*, in *Spanish* called *Escondido de la*, where we landed all our *Portugals* and *Negros*, keeping only the Captaine when after ward paid hee hue hundred pounds for his owne and thirtie ranfomes. Within a while after we stood Westward with our shippes, and went into the Ilees called the *Cabezas*, where I embarked an hundred and fiftie of my men in two small Pinnalles and two fine shallops, and went for the Ilees de *Bastimentos*, and landing there vpon the fild Islands which are peopled and very fruitful, I tooke fixe or euen *Negros* for guides, and to presently with our Pinnalles and Boates entered the mouth of the River of *Porto bello*, the fcutth of February about two of the clocke after midnigh, the Moone shining very brightly.

At our first entrance into the Haue, which is aboute twelve score ouer, and very deepe at the mouth and farre vpward, we were halloied by the strong and stately Castle of Saint Philip, hauing thirtie fye great pieces of Brazen Ordnance and fiftie Soldiers in the same, to know whence we were: wee hauing aboard vs such as could speake *Spanish* excellent well, answered that we were of *Cartagena*: then they commanded vs to anchor, which we did accordingly. About one houre afterwards with my two shallops which lay close by my Pinnalles, and some thirtie of my principall men, I went vp the River hauing some of the smaller Fort, called the Fort of Saint Iago, which is directly ouer against the great Castle of Saint Philip, running still on the shoare, and crying out on me to lay: but neglecting their out-cries, I landed at the first Towne called *Trinidad*, where the Ileay was presently gien: which neuerthelesse I set on fire, and marched vpon a little Brooke into the great rich Towne of *Porto bello*; and coming directly vp to the Kings Treasurie house, which is very faire and large, we found a Squadron of Soldiers (whereof there are two hundred, and fiftie alwayes belonging to the Towne and another company of the Inhabitants) with two brasse Pieces of field Ordnance well mounted on their carriages, which we presently possessed, and fiercely fet vpon the Soldiers.

At which alarme Captaine *Antonio Fagari*, and Captaine *George Lawrman* of *Ratcliffe*, came vp with my two Pinnalles with an hundred and twentie men to my rescue, which was very hardly laid vnto. At this house at our first coming into the Towne, my Lieutenant *Sammuel Barnes* was shot on the side of his head, and through his eare, and Captaine *Giles* coming to second him, was likewise shot ouer the brest and through his arme. In this meane space *Pedro Melendes* the Gouvernour of the Towne, had gathered thirtie Soldiers together, and was coming toward a certaine bridge to encounter me, I hauing not then above eight or nine men with mee to withstand them; but God did prosper our proceedings mightily. For the first two that went from vs, then *Melendes* through his Target, and went through both his armes: and the other shot ouer the Corporall of the field. Whereupon they all retired to the house, which they made good until it was all of day. Against whom I sent Captaine *Ward* with some Soldiers, who entered the house, killing diuers of them, and wounded *Melendes* in eight places more: himselfe being shot through both his thighs in entering, and some of his men hurt: but in the end hee took *Melendes* Prisoner, and became Master of the house.

My selfe with others went to the Kings house, wherein were many of the Soldiers, who would not come to any composition, but stoutly defended the same against Captaine *Giles* and so our Lieutenant *Sammuel Barnes*: who in the end flue diuers of them and hurt many others, taking the Kings *Servant* a prisoner. This fight endured for the space of foure or fye houres. The fight being ended, and we being Masters of the Kings Treasurie house and all the Towne, and hauing the Gouvernour *Melendes*, and the *Servant* with many others of the chiefe of my Prisoners,

except the *Alcald* which fled out of the Towne with a chain of Gold about his necke. Such Treasurie was found in the Kings house to the value of some nine or ten thousand Duckets, I referred to my selfe, which was nothing to that which wee did expect (that being the receipte at one time of the yeere of all the Treasurie that cometh from *Pera* and *Chile*, amounting at least to fife or fixe Millions of Duckets) and had I come but fcutten dayes sooner, I had taken heere an hundred and twentie thousand Duckets which were newly laden in two Frigates for *Cartagena*. The rest of the spoile of the Towne, which came to no small value in Money, Plate, and Merchandize, I gave wholly to my Soldiers: which being done, I disposed my *Coyssages* in diuers places, for keeping the Towne all that day: and at the end of the fcutte landing toward

10 *Panama* on the South Sea, being full of all Artificers, we made a barricado where Captaine *Giles* stood with another *Corps de guard* being diuers times assaulted by the enemy: whom still hee vanquished and repulped and put to the worke.

Pedro Melendes the chiefe Gouvernour of the Towne being my Prisoner, in regard that hee had valiantly carried himselfe in making resistance vntill hee had tenne or eleuen wounds vpon him, I did not only at length dimitt him without any peny for his ranfome, but also caused my Chirurgion very carefully to ordre and trimme his wounds: vifing him and his fute otherwile, then *Pedro Parker*, *Melendes* his great Vncle vied *Iohn Ribault*, *Landoniere*, and the French Nation in *Florida*, whom they most cruelly murdered and massacred as many as they could lay any hands vpon.

Thus being Master for one whole day of the lately and new builded Towne of *Porto bello*, which I had two goodly Churches in it fully finished, and fixe or fcutten faile towers, whereof two were full of all necessary Artificers, and of Merchants, with three small Forts on the Townes sides, besides the great Fort of Saint Philip on the other, when I might haue speedily haue consumed it all with fire, I willingly abstained from the same: knowing that though I could haue done the King of *Spain* exceeding great hurt, and haue vndone a number of the Inhabitants, yet the good that I should haue done my selfe, and mine thereof should haue bene very small in comparison of their damage. Only certaine out houses wherein their *Negros* dwelt, I caused to be burned to amaze and put them in feare: I also took two Frigates of theirs which rode far vp within the River, the one of them hauing in her three pieces of Ordnance, the which I likewise took and brought away from thence with mee, with the which Ordnance we beate vpon the enemy marching vnto vs from the Wester Fort.

The day being spent, at the beginning of the night I embarked my men, enriched with the chiefe spoile of the Towne, and set saile to depart with my owne two Pinnalles and two shallops and the foresaid two *Spanish* Frigates which I had wonne: but in going out I was shot in at the elbow, and out at the wrist with a Musket shot which came from the Wester shoare, whereof there were many shot ouer vs: besides eight and twentie great shot from the chiefe and Easter Fort, which did endanger vs often. But God so wrought for vs, that we safely got forth againe contrarie to all our enemies expectation, who made full account to sinke vs in going forth. Being safely come forth we rode with our Pinnalles, and shallops behind a small island which lay betwixt and the Wester most Fort of Saint Iago, and vpon a Vice-admirall Captaine *Ranvins* brought two ships thither, which rode some what to the Eastward of the Castle of Saint Philip, vnder the Rocks where Sir *Francis Drake* his Coffin was throwne ouer-board all the while that we were buised in gaining, lacking, and possessing the Towne. Our whole fleet being assembled together in the place aforesaid, I set the Kings *Servant*, and the rest of my prisoners on shore, suffering them to depart without paying any kind of ranfome.

And the next day being the ninth of February, I set saile and stood off to Sea, leaving the goodly Haue and beautiful Towne of *Porto bello*, which standeth in ten degrees of Northerly latitude: and directed my course backe againe toward *Cartagena*, and about twelue leagues to the Eastward thereof, I came into a good Bay called *Samba*, where I watered and staid some twelue or thirtene daies, and riding there took certain Frigates which were bound for *Cartagena*, with some two or three Frigates, with a purpose to assault vs: but being better aduised they would neuer come neere vs. When he heard that I had taken *Porto bello*, one of the chiefe places of the West Indies, with so small forces, he pulled his beards, and Iware that hee would gine his Mulesia a flouber, but to haue a sight of mee and my company. From this Bay of *Samba* wee stood ouer for the Island of *Lanica*, and doubted the Cape of Saint Antonio, being the most Wetterly part of *Cuba*, and dimboked through the Gulfe of *Bahama*, the last of March: and came with good weather to the Ilees of the *Azores*, where vidualling my Vice-admirall and two Pinnisses out of mine owne ship for two months, and leaving them at Sea to take home farther purchase, with mine owne ship I took my course for *Limmonth*, and arrived there in fcutte the fix of May 1602.

CHAP. X.

Certain Notes of a Voyage made by mee DAVID MIDDLETON
into the West Indies with Captain MICHAEL
GARREY, *An. Dom. 1601.*

- Grand Canarie.** The five and twentieth day of May, wee fell saile from the *Lizard*, and the tenth day of June we fell with the *Grand Canarie*: the Towne lieth on the North-east point of the land, and the Road is one league to the Northward of it. That night we flood of South South-west. And the five and twentieth day of June we were in the latitude of twentie two degrees thirtie minutes.
- Punta delorja.** The five and twentieth day of June wee came in company of seven faile of *Hollanders*, that were bound for the West Indies, to *Punta delorja* to lodge Salt, and the seven and twentieth day we lost sight of them.
- S. Vincent.** The second day of Iulie we fell with *Saint Vincent*. When you came from *Saint Vincent* to the *Teffagos*, you must make the way South-west by West, or else you shall not fetch it, for the Current sets North and by West from them.
- Beisura.** Being to leeward from *Caracas*, two leagues we flood ouer North North-west, the wind being at East North-east, we fell twelve leagues to the Eastward of *Bonara*, being the twelfth of Iulie. If you stand ouer from *Bonara* to *Quesas*, minded to goe to the Southward of the land, you must stand South and by West, or else you cannot get about, because there is a Current that sets North-west, and may let you vpon the land.
- Aruba.** The three and twentieth day of Iulie we anchored to the Westward of *Quesas*, and there the Land lieth North and South.
- Suen men killed.** The nine and twentieth of Iulie we landed vpon *Aruba*, for to get fresh water, and there we had seven men slaine by the *Indians* of the land: and we rid with our ship in five fathomes water, halfe a mile from the shoare. One point of the Land bare North, the other South-east and by South, and there is an high Hill in the midle of the land, and that bare East and by South. Betwixt *Cogue* and the Maine the courie is East and West.
- Puntal.** The shoale of *Puntal* lieth two leagues off: the best of the Channell betwixt that Point, and *Cogue* is in eight, nine and ten fathomes.
- Brache.** From *Brache* to the *Parretes* is five leagues course West and by South.
- Cape Caldera.** From the *Parretes* to *Cape Caldera* is twentie five leagues course North-west and by West, and betwixt the *Parretes* and the Maine, you shall haue foure, five, six and seven fathomes water. The Road of *Morocapana* lieth betwixt the Maine and *Brache*, within the land.
- Morocapana.** The eight day of August we fell saile from *Aruba*, and we flood ouer South for the Maine, the wind being at East and by South, we fell with *Mecia*, being nine leagues from *Aruba*. *Saint Adam* is an high Hill vpon the Maine nere vnto *Mecia*.
- M. S. Ann.** The seven and twentieth day of August we came to anchor at *Portete*, that is to the Eastward of *Cape La uela*, foure leagues. The Cape bare West a little to the Southwards, at the going to *Portete*. And on your Larbord side going into *Portete*, there is a round Hill: being in the offing it sheweth verie blacke. The going into this Harbour is verie narrow, but within it is a verie broad sound, and two thousand faile of ships may ride there in verie good ground, and you may ride from five fathomes to twentie, but wee nide in three, a little within the point, on our Larbord side going in.
- Cape S. Anthony.** The eighteenth of *January* wee parted from our Man of Warre at Cape *Saint Anthony*, and set saile for *England*, in a Prize, a ship of some one hundred and fortie tunnes, laden with *Compeche* Wood and Hides, the Master of the Prize, was *William Goodrich*: and from Cape *Saint Anthony* we flood off North-west and by North.
- Organs.** The nine and twentieth day at noon, we had sight of the Westermost Land of the *Organs*, being East South-east from vs, and then we flood North-east and the twentieth day we were in latitude 23. degrees 15. minutes, the wind being at East North-east, we flood off North, and from the twentieth day to the one and twentieth day wee made our way West and by North, and this day we were in latitude 23. degrees 20. minutes, then we flood to the Eastward.
- Cuba.** The two and twentieth day, we were North-west and by North, from the Crowne in *Cuba*, fourteen leagues, then we flood to the Northward: these fourteen leagues we turned vp and downe with the wind Easterly. The three and twentieth day, wee were in latitude of 24. degrees no minutes, the wind being at East North-east, and we lay North with the fllemme, and this night we came in twelue fathomes, being then in latitude of 24. degrees 25. minutes, the wind being at East and by South we flood to the Southward. The five and twentieth day, wee fell with *Cebey* twelue leagues to the Eastward of the *Hanana*, and this day about foure of the clocke in the afternoon, we had the *Pam* of the *Matanzas* South-east, and by South from vs some fixe leagues, the wind being at East, and we flood North North-east three watches, and brought

brought the Pan vpon the *Matanzas* South of vs: the wind being at East North-east, we flood to the Northward, for so we made the ships way. The seven and twentieth day at foure of the clocke in the afternoon, wee fell with the South-east part of the *Martyrs*: then we flood off South-east and by South three watches with a low faile, and so cast about, and flood North-east and by North three watches, and then obserued, and found the ship to bee in the latitude of 24. degrees and 55. minutes, being then South-west and by South of the Cape of *Florida* about three leagues: the wind being at South-east and by East, we flood off South and by West three watches, and then cast about, and flood North-east two watches, and then obserued, and found the ship to be in 25. degrees 36. minutes being the nine and twentieth day of *January*, 1602. and then two watches North and by East, and foure North North-east: and the thirtieth day at noon wee had the Cape *Canaueral* West and by North from vs fixe and twentie leagues: by supposition being now in latitude 28. degrees 14. minutes, the wind being at South, we flood North-east and by East into the Sea. The eighteenth day of March at noon (being Thursday) wee fell with *Silley*, and wee were South of it three leagues or ten miles, the *Silley*, the wind being at West South-west, wee flood for the Lizzard, and the twentieth day of this month we came to wind being at anchor in *Dartmouth*, this was my first voyage which I haue to the West Indies.

CHAP. XI.

The description of the Ile of Trinidad, the rich Countrie of Guiana, and the mightie River of Orenoco, written by FRANCIS SPARKY left there by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, 1595. and in the end taken by the Spaniards and sent prisoner into Spaine, and after long captiuitie got into England by great suite. 1602.

The description of the Ile of Trinidad.

POrta la Spaniards lyeth North-east. The Spaniards name themselves *Conquerabians*. *Angaripa* is the name of the River, which goeth to *Corona* the Spanish Towne. The North part is very mountainous. The *Indians* of *Trinidad* haue foure names. 1. Those of *Parico* are called *Jaisi*. 2. Those of *Punta*, *Caras* *Arucac*. 3. Those of *Curupuan* are called *Saluages*. 4. Those betweene *Punta Caras*, and *Punta de la Galera*, *Nepois*. But those which are seruants to the Spaniards, name themselves *Carimaguas*. The chiefeest of the *Indians*, I meane the Kings and Lords of the Ilands in times past, named themselves *Acaracunas*, but now *Captaines*.

The description of Guiana, and of the great River Orenoco.

Guiana beareth directly East from *Pern*, and lyeth almost vnder the Equinoctiall Line. The River of entrance to the River *Orenoco* through the River *Capari* at the mouth at a full Sea hath nine foot water: and at the ebbe but six foot. The water floweth but a small time, but increaseth much: and the ebbe goeth but flowly: for it continueth fixe houres. In the bottomme of the Gulfe of *Guiana* there is the River of *Amana*, which leadeth into *Orenoco* also. In the River, which we named the River of the Red Croffe, we tooke an old *Tuissian* our Pilot to *Orenoco*.

The River of *Orenoco* or *Barbiquan* hath nine mouthes, which lyeth on the North-side of the mayne land: but I could heare but of seven mouthes vpon the South-side. So that betwene Ilands and broken Lands it hath some sixteene mouthes in all. The Ilands are somewhat bigger, so I can hardly ghesse how many leagues it is from the North-side to the South-side. At the entrance of this River are two great Lordes *Tuissians*, which hold warre op with the other continually: The one Nation are called the *Tuissians* of *Tallamos*, and the other of *Horrotomaco*. He that entrench the River of *Amana* from *Curupuan*, cannot possibly reuente the same way hee came, by reason of the Easterly windes and the great Currents, but must of force goe in a River within the Land, which is called *Macuro*.

To goe from the Ile of *Trinidad* to the great River *Orenoco* the River of *Amana* beareth South: But parting from that River by a branch which beareth to the West we entred *Orenoco*, *Tepemaca* is the chiefe Gouverneur vnder *Topawars*, of the entrance of the Eastermost part of the River *Orenoco*. The Towne of this Gouverneur is called *Arucan*. These are friends to the *Carapamans*, *Tuissians*, and all Nations, the *Caribes* excepted. *Carapama* lyeth in the Province of *Emura*: and the Eastermost part of *Dorado* is called *Emoria*.

Assapan is the first land in *Orenoco*: it is but small. The second land is called *Isana*. There is another entrance into *Orenoco*, which I discovered not: but the *Indians* name it *Araracapan*. *Europas* is a River which cometh into *Orenoco*; but the head of it I know not. In the middle of *Orenoco* there is a pretie big land, which is somewhat mountainous, and the name of it is *Ocauita*. One *Putima* commandeth vnder *Tapianari*, in the Confines of *Marquetique*, which lieth in the Province of *Arromasia*. The land of *Putipama* is sette up within the River of *Orenoco*, and standeth right against the high Mountain, called *Ocepe*. Over this Mountain lieth the Playnes of *Samia*. Through these Playnes you may go to *Cumana*, or to the *Caracas*; which are at least one hundred and twentie leagues iust North. In these Playnes are four Nations, which are held for great men. The *Samias*, the *Ajanais*, the *Wigeries*, and the *Atreras*. 10 These Nations are something blacke.

On the left side of this River *Orenoco* are two small Islands, a small distance the one from the other. The one is called *Aroami*, the other *Aiu*. In the morning before the Sunne bee high the winde is still Eatherly in this place. *Manaripana* lieth in the middle of *Orenoco*. *Aroami* is the name of *Marquetique*. *Orenoco* reacheth to the Mountaines of *Wacrimoco*, which is to the East in the Province of *Eneria*, or *Carapana*. The Vallies are called *Amaricacapan*, and the people by that name also. Upon this River *Orenoco* there is a pleasant River for many kinds of fish, which is called *Caroli*, and the people *Calipagatos*.

This Countie of *Marquetique* lieth some five or six degrees to the North of the Equinoctiall Line. At the Point of the River *Caroli* is the small land called *Canama*. The Inhabitants of this land *Canama* are enemies to the *Eperemis*. Here is a very great fall of Land water. *Canari* lieth in the Province of *Marquetique*. The Gouverneur is called *Wanurtona*.

The *Eperemians* are richest in gold onely. These people called *Eperemis* have many enemies, but three especially which are very strong; which are these; the *Calipagatos*, *Eperigatos*, and *Araragatos*. Hee that will passe the Mountaines of *Curua* shall finde store of gold; which is rare to the West.

The River *Arri* runneth continually North, and so to the River *Calissa*, and from thence into *Orenoco*: neere unto the River *Arri* are two Rivers, the one is called *Atica*, the other *Caera*; and also one branch which is called *Carua*. To the Westward of *Carua* is a fourth River, which is called *Calissa*; it falleth into *Orenoco* on the side of *Amapias*.

The first River that falleth into *Orenoco* from the North, is called *Carri*. Beyond it on the same side is the River *Limo*: to the West of it is the River *Paso*; and beyond that are the Rivers *Catari*, and *Uuari*; and another called *Capari*, which is dangerous to enter. To the Westward of *Capari* in the Province of *Amapias*, is most vile, yewildsome, and bad water to drinke: it is of a bad tawny colour; it hath killed many a man, both *Indians* and others. They say this water cometh from *Amba*.

On the North part of *Peru* is a way to enter into *Orenoco*, as I have heard by the *Indians*. The first place whereby they are to passe, is called *Guaica*: the second *Guaica*; and so to the River of *Papemena*; which is the River that runneth toward the land of the *Amazones*. Neere 40 unto the land of the *Amazones* is the famous land of *Aibul*.

The River *Ubra*, beaig to the West of *Caribegana*, beareth to the Southward of the land of the *Amazones*. This River *Ubra*, if you land to the South-west, leadeth to a part of *Arumay*, which is called *Eregodawa*. This Countie of *Eregodawa* is very Mountainous, and nothing fruitful: it is inhabited by the *Coman* Ithi. They have *Gumy* wheat but no floure, and very little Coffee: *Yenifio*, Hogs, and Conies they have in great abundance. The King or chiefe Gouverneur of this Province or part of *Arumay*, which is called *Eregodawa*, is one which beareth great sway in these parts, whose name is *Orenema*. But all are chiefly commanded by *Tapianary* King of *Marquetique*.

In mine undertaking the discovery of the North part of *Orenoco*, I was aduertised by certaine *Indian* Pilots, that I should finde a perfect and ready way to go to *Peru*. In which my travell, I fell, by reason of a great storme, into a River, which is called by the *Indians* *Salma*. This River is not great: in three dayes I passed through this River, and entered into the River of *Papemena*. This River of *Papemena* is more in my judgement then five or six Leagues broad.

North North-west of this River is the land of the *Amazones*. But leaving that course, I came to the most sweete, pleasant, and temperate land which is called *Aibul*. It had had companie to my liking. I could have found in mine heart to have stayed there and spent my life. *Aibul* is not rich in mettals: but some stones I found in the fresh-water Rivers: for there are great foulds of fresh-water Rivers; and no want neither of Fish, Tortoyles (which the *Indians* name *Calipapan*) Fowles, nor other good things. It hath Wood great store, Fruits all the year in abundance, many good places to make a Towne if you will, Corcon, and Ballamum, Brail, Lignum vitae, Cyperus, and many other sweete trees. The earth of this land doth promise to the eye to be good, it is very fat, and much like to Oure, which I found in diuers places,

ces. I cannot report of the goodnesse of the stones, because my knowledge in them is nothing. *Aibul* is not inhabited by any. The land is small, and for feare of the *Caribis*, there is no body.

I returned from this good land *Aibul* toward the River of *Orenoco*, because I found my labour was lost: For to finde the way to *Peru* that way was impossible. And to make my journey the shorter, I returned by the River *Papemena*, but left the River of *Salma* cleare, and came my direct way to *Orenoco*: which mine *Indian* Pilots held to bee through the River of *Limo*; and so I came into the River of *Orenoco*. Then I went from *Orenoco*, and held my course altogether Westerly: because I found the West most rich; although it was most dangerous to 10 trouble thither, I meant farre into the Countie, by reason of the *Eperemis*, which liue continually in armes, and hold warres against many Nations, but against three Nations especially. These are, as I wrote before, the *Calipagatos*, the *Eperigatos*, and the *Araragatos*. My desire was to go to *Curaa*; and from *Orenoco* I first entered into the River of *Cofnera*, and so coasted to *Amapias*, where is the bad tawny water, which before I mentioned: from thence I went to the River *Paso*; and within fixe weekes after I departed out of the River of *Orenoco*. I came to the rich Countie of *Curaa*.

The Countie of *Curaa* is in the Province of *Guiana*, or *Manoa*, where are the mynes of white floure; in which mynes is much naturall and fine gold, which the *Indians* call *Callicury*. The gold in this place, I lay in *Manoa*, or *Guana*, runneth between the stones like veins; 20 of which gold I had some store: but now the *Spaniards* is the better for it. In *Curaa* is also gold in small graines, which liye in the sands in the little Rivers or Brooks. I alwayes tooke those graines for the finest gold. In these Rivers where gold lieth, are many *Aligators* or Crocodiles, I heard by the Nation of the *Timinians*, that a place called *Tubabe*, had many good things in it; but I found it nothing so. Some bad fresh-water pearles I found there: which were nothing round, Orient, nor very great. I brought of them with me to the *Spaniards*; and they said they were no Pearles, but Topaffes.

Camalaha is a place where they sell Women at certaine times, in the manner of a Faire. And there you shall buy colours, such as the *Saluages* paint themselves with. In this Faire, which is called *Camalaha*, which is to the South of *Orenoco*, I bought eight young Women, the eldest whereof I thinke neuer full eighteen yeeres; for one red-hafted knife 30 which in *England* cost mee one halfe-peny. I gave these Women away to certaine *Saluages* which were my friends, at the request of *Waricna* the Kings Daughter of *Marquetique*. *Tar or Tarso* is an land, which is to the South South-west of *Orenoco*. To which place I went, because they said there was neuer any that inhabited in this land, but that it was in the manner of a buying place for the *Caribis*, when they had follen people, which they meant to eate. One Captaine *Caramatojo* was my guide to this place: whither we went somewhat frong, with intent, if wee could finde any *Caribis* on this land, to kill them; but wee found none. Many houses were found there covered with straw, which were fet on fire, 40 And there I found close by the water side, going about the land, which was but small, many stones of diuers colours.

To the West of this River and land, which is called *Tar or Tarso*, is a River; which is called *Habuc*: There are about this River in most places eight, ten, fouteente, and thirte fathomes water. This River of *Habuc* cometh from the Sea. The entrance of this River at the mouth is barred; but at a full Sea you shall have fouteente and fiftene foot water; but in the Channell in which the Canoes enter, which is but narrow; there is more then six fathoms; but I doubt that ships cannot enter there. This River *Habuc* is the best and surest harbour that I could finde for our ships, and freeest from the danger of the enemy; and is not full eight dayes journey from *Orenoco*.

The River *Europa* lieth to the East of *Orenoco* as you come from *Trinidad*: you may, as I 50 certainly know, going some twentie leagues in the River of great *Amama*, discover the great Downes of *Samia*; through which Playnes you may fairly march over the Land within ten or twelue leagues of *Cumana*, or to the *Caracas*.

From *Orenoco* also it is very ealie to go to the Towne of *Santo Domingo*, which beareth North North-west directly: but you must passe of force the River *Amapias*, leaving the land called *Amazones* South: and beare your course as neere as you can North-west, or North North-west. By this course you shall passe and escape the force and danger of the Towne, and land some fixe dayes journey from *Santo Domingo*.

The River *Wauumi* is to the North of *Orenoco*. To goe into this River, which is little worth, you may goe in the Land till you come to another small River, which is called *Mascabi*: directing your course South, you shall within two dayes, if your Canoe bee good, enter the River of *Habuc*. The Land taketh the name of the River. The Gouvernours name is *Waripar*. *Waripar* *Habuc*, *Carabonaca* is in the firme Land of the great land, called *Marquetique*: it is the common trade to goe to the rich *Guiana* or *Manoa*.

He returned from *Aibul*, *Papemena*.

Limo, *Orenoco*.

Cofnera River, *Amapias*.

Paso River, The rich countie

tis of *Curaa* fix weekes travel from *Curaa*.

Manoa, Gold in abundance.

Gold in graine found in Rivers.

Crocodiles in the River and worke on land, keepers of gold.

Tubabe, Bad pearles, Topaffes.

Camalaha, Women Faire and yet no fair women.

Eight women for a halfe-peny knife.

Tar or Tarso, an island.

Habuc a River; *Habuc* scarce eight dayes journey from *Orenoco*.

Europa River, *Ocepea* Mountain.

Santo Domingo, *Amapias* River, *Amapias* land.

Wauumi River, *Mascabi* River, *Waripar*, *Carabonaca*, *Amapias* or *Manoa*.

Drano River.

Abras Moeres.

Vnhealthfull dewes.

Emeria.

Capurifol River.

Drano is a faire River, but it is dangerous to goe farre in it, by reason it lyeth due South-east from *Orenco*: and the Southermost part of the *Moeres* of *Ancha* is very low, so that the tane waters issue in great abundance into this River of *Drano*. The danger for entring this River is nothing, but the doubt is onely of the bad water, and most terrible dewes which fall from the *Moeres*, which are vnhealthfull, and kill the *Indians* daily: for that continually when they trauell they lie in the open aire.

The Eastermost part of *Dorado* is called *Emeria*. There is a small River, which lyeth farre East in *Emeria*, and beareth North North-west. Through this River called *Capurifol* is a sure, a perfect, and most safe way to goe to *Pera*: but the journey will aske eight or ten weekes to finish it. Through these Rivers of force we must passe with Canoes or Ship-boats, or such like: for there is alway very little water.

The River of *Capurifol* lyeth in eight degrees and two tenths to the North of the Equinoctiall Line. But the North fide keepeth his degree and altitude 11. degrees and two tenths. In this River is still a fine small brise of winde, which lightly bloweth at West: but at noone you shall hardly finde any winde.

CHAP. XII.

Captaine CHARLES LEIGH his voyage to Guiana and plantation there.



Canoe of water.

River of Amazonas.

He one and twentieth of March, 1604, Captaine Charles Leigh in the *Oline Plant*, a proper Barke of some fiftie Tunnes accompanied with six and fortie men and boyes, departed from *Wichib* with intention to discouer and inhabit some part of the Countrey of *Guiana*, where he had beene in a former voyage, they stayed in the *Domes* vntill the eight and twentieth of the said moneth, and passing thence they touched in the Ile of *Mogador* on the coast of *Barbaria* in the moneth of April, where we stayed about some faye dayes, and watered on the mayne land in despite of the rebell *Adorer*, which would haue had money for our watering. Silence with prosperous winde coasting the Iles of *Cape Verde*, we passed ouer to the *West Indies*, and vpon the tenth of May comming in change of water, which flowed thicke and white, by the next day we were in fresh water, and the next day following about fye in the morning we saw two Ilands in the mouth of the River of *Amazonas*, making account that we were fortie leagues vp the River, and came to an anchor in three fathoms vnder them, which we found low land couered with high Trees. Then the Captaine with some eight of the best men of the ship went toward the shoare, and finding many *Indians* comming toward them they returned aboard, and found the ship almost aground, but founding the Bay brought their ship into the Channell which they found very narrow.

Within awhile after foure *Indians* in a small Canoe shewed themselves vnto vs, to whom we sent our Boat with some of our commodities, as Hatchets, Knives, Glasses, Beades, they had nothing but Maiz and small blue-headed Parrots, for which we gaue them some of our trifles. Not long after another Canoe comming out, our Boat clapt betweene them and the shoare to take some of them, to leane the fate of the River by them, but they freed themselves all faye one youth, which was brought aboard, which next day after eddying leaping into the Sea twelue leagues as we iudged from land. Thus we took our leaue of the River of *Amazonas*, and hauing vncertaine shoaldings all the way in our way, about ten a clocke in the night wee strooke vpon a sand before we could let fall our anchor, where wee beat off a piece of our false hope, before wee could get off. Being gotten off, wee came to an anchor in foure fathom and a halfe water, and rode there vntill the next morning, where wee deseryed the land fixe leagues from vs with the entrance of a River:

River Wiapaga.

The two and twentieth of May, we arriued in the River of *Wiapaga*, in the latitude of three degrees and a halfe to the North of the Line, where wee found the people readie to giue vs the best entertainment they could, bringing vs Honey, Pines, Plantons, Potatoes, Cassau (whereof they make their bread and wine) Fish of many sorts, Hennes, Conies, Hogs, and such like. This day he took an oath of all his people to be true to him as long as he abode in the Countrey. Then after diuers conferences with the chiefe *Indians*, and namely with two of their Countrey, which had beene before in *England*, and could speake some *English*, he found them very willing to haue him and his people abode in their Countrey: who pretending want of many necessities, whereof indeed he stood in need, and especially of victuals, he went vp the River in his Boat with some fourteen men to take perfect view of a fit place to inhabit in, and to found the depth of the River as they went. At his returne he caused his ship to be brought vp hard vnto the falls of the River: but after they had stayed there one day, finding sundrie inconueniences, they came backe againe to their first road, with a determination to plant and feare themselves vpon the first

The Falls.

Mount

Mount or high ground, at the entrance of the North fide of the River. But the *Iayers* and *Sapayes* seeing him and his company come downe the River againe, entreated him earnestly to stay among them, offering him their owne dwelling Houses and Gardens already planted to their hands, whereof he accepted: to wit, of two Houses and of as many Gardens as they thought conuenient to serue his turne, with condition that he should ayde and defend them against their enemies the *Caribes* and others. Hereupon they made a great Feast, desiring our Captaine to bee as it, and they demand of their generallitie of the staying of our men in the Countrey or no. Whereunto they gaue their free consent, and desired him withall to send into *England*, for men They desired to teach them to pray. This done, the next day he brought all his furniture on shoare, and be- leane religion

10 Bowel it in the aforesaid houses. And for the better assurance of the performance of the *Saluages* promise, he demanded pledges of them to be sent into *England*: whereunto they willingly consented: which were in number fye, whereof two were of good account. Hee retained thirtie fye *Englishmen* and Boyes with him, sending the rest home in June, with the fye *Saluages* which were plentifully furnished with their Comm. ry victual, with Letters to the right Worshipfull Sir *Olave Leigh* his brother, of his success and desire to supply his wants, which he moit kindly twice supplied to his great charge, within short time to supply.

The *Caribes* in eight warlike Canowes came to surprize them as farre as the Mount *Caribos*. whereof the *Indians* being aduertised by our filbers, desired Captaine Leigh to aide them: which he did with some foure and twentie of his men in eight Canowes. But the battell being begun after they had heard the found of our Trumpe and Musket, they fled to Sea-ward, our Canowes chasing them: but the enemy being twifiter elapced with calling of one of their Canowes which are able to carry twentie men and victuals for ten dayes, which Canowe they brought home. Within a feignight after our Captaines returne, hee made a Voyage in an *Indian* Canowe ha- A Canowe taken by R. Adams.

ing *Indians* to rowe him, accompanied only with *Thomas Richardson*, his Refiner of Metals, and *Iohn Part* his Chirurgon so, miserly water vp the River of *Aracama*, to a Nation called the *Marranos*, which were tried for Tobacco and Cotton yarne, and Cotton-wooll. There he left his Chirurgian being sicke, and with his Refiner and three *Indians* (whereof one *William* was his Interpreter) went vp to a Nation called *Marranos* the space of thirtie miles, where they passed through a goodly Plaine foure miles broad of much stonie ground, wherein they saw Deer. At length meeting with the people, they were kindly entertained and fed with such as they had: as dried Tygers flesh, dried Hogges flesh, and small fish. Then after some discourse, they enquired for Gold shewing a Ring. An old man spake vnto him and pointed vp into the Countrey, and the Captaine asking the Interpreter what he said, he told him that he said there was no such that way. The Captaine perceiving the fallshood of his Interpreter would goe no further, and so returned home, where he found vs for the most part sicke, and the *Indians* not so kind vnto vs as they had promised: which he much marvelled and grieved at.

Within three dayes after his returne, his shipwright *Richard Howard* died before hee could make an end of his shallop. And in September our Captaine himselfe began to droope, partly of griefe to see the weake estate of his people, and the ill performance of the *Indians* promises: yet 40 notwithstanding he ceased not to take order for the *Indians* bringing in of victuals and fish Mer- chandise as could be gotten, as Waxe, fine white long Feathers, Flaxe, Tobacco, Parrots, Mon- keys, greene and blacke Cotton-yarne and Cotton-wooll, Iweet Gummes, red Pepper, *Prap*, and *Arrippe* woods, Spices, singes, matarie stones, Roosts and berries, which we thought to be medicinale, *Anate* a Berrie or God, such as the *Indians* paint themselves red withall mingled with Oyle, *Yapoo* which is the beaue wood whereof they make their Swords and Bowes, *Arrippe*, a wood that the *Frenchmen* and *Hollanders* fetch away, a wood which they call *Ayad*, which they kill fish withall.

The filbers beate this wood with another piece of wood, till it shiner into flakes, which smel- leth exceeding strong like Garlicke, wherewith in sundry places of the creekes going in according to the depth of the water, they beate it vp and downe often in the River, which the fish, falling are intoxicated, and so dis tempered with all, that they stote and tumble vpon the vpper part of the water, and then with Bats and Poles they knocke them on the heads. Their brad they make of *Cassia*, a white Robe commonly a span long, and almost fo thicke, which the women grate in an earthen panne against certaine grates of stone, and grate three or foure bus- sels in a day: The iuyce thereof they cruell out most carefully being ranke poyson raw, in a hole of wrie, which they hang vp vpon an hooke, and afterward with a weightie logge which they hang at the other end they liqeeze out the water into an earthen pan or piece of a Gourd, and then leethe the same iuyce with their red Pepper whereby it becometh holefome, and if they will haue it sweete, they will leethe it but ordinary, if they will haue it fower, they will 60 leethe it extraordinarily, and vse it in manner of iawce, and when they be sicke they eat the same and bread only. The women also make drinke of iawce, and when they be sicke they eat the same they call *Arreppe*, by baying of it blacke, dry, and thyme, then chwing it in their mouthes, they put it into earthen pots narrow in the bottome and broad above, containing some a Fir- kin, some a Kilderkin, some a Barrell, let in a small hole in the ground, with fire about them.

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- Being well fed, they put it out into great farrs of Earth with narrow neckes, and there it will
 weake a day and a night, and keepe it foure or five dayes till it be stale, and then gathering toge-
 ther an hundred and more, they guse themselves to piping, dancing and drinking. They make
 drinke also of *Cajana* unchewed, which is small and ordinary in their houses. They vse also
 to make drinke of Potatos which they paire and lampe in a Morter being lod, then putting water
 to it, drinke it.
- Sicknesse. Before and after the sicknesse of our Captaine, many of our men fell sicke, some of Agues, some
 of Fluxes, some of giddinell in their heads, whereby they would often fall downe: which grew
 chiefly of the excessive heate of the Sunne in the day, and of the extreme dampes of the earth,
 which would so moyten our Hamacks, or Cotton beds, wherein we lay a yard from the
 ground, that we were faine to intreate the *Indians* in making fire on both sides vnder them. And
 for all that we could doe, some nine of our company were dead before our ships arrivall. Besides
 we were mightily vexed with a kinde of Worme, which at first was like to a Flea, and would
 creepe into the feet especially, and vnder the nayles, and would exceedingly torment vs, the
 time it was in, and more in the pulling out with a Pinne or needlle, if they were few. But one
 of our men hating his feete ouer-grown with them, for want of hope and thoes, was faine to
 submit himselfe to the *Indian* cure, who tying one of his legges first with his feete vpward,
 powdered melted Waxe which is blacke vpon it, and letting it lye vpon it till it was thorough-
 ly cold, they forcibly pulled it off, and therewithall the Wormes came out flicking in the same,
 fouen or eight hundred in number. This man was named *John Nettleson* a Dier of London, which
 afterward d was drowned.
- The remedie. In the middell of all these extremities our Captaines Interpreter which hee had threatened for
 his false demeanour in his Voyage to the *Marras* before mentioned, gaue counsell to his Master
 named *Anacauri*, an ancient Captaine among them, to make a motion among the *Indians* at their
 next meeting to say, it is the best way for vs now to make an end of them while they are sicke
 either by starving or otherwise. For when the ship cometh, hee will kill vs for keeping him
 without victuals now. This motion being made at their meeting, which was in *Carisawa* his
 house, and among his and *Marras* kinred, (which then remayned pledges for our mens safetie in
England) their woules hearing the Interpreters Master *Anacauri* broaching this matter ranne fur-
 riously vpon him and tare his clothes such as he wore from him, and mightily beate him, the
 other of their kindred, keeping those *Indians* off from the women, which would haue taken
 his part.
- Treacherie of
 Savage. Some of our owne men lying at the next house where this was done, inquired of an *Indian*
 which owed this *Anacauri* a grudge, what the cause was of the said tumult: to who imparted the
 whole truth vnto them. Our men comming suddenly to the Captaine, acquainted him with
 the whole matter: who suddenly bethought himselfe and sent for all his men that were neere
 him; and for *Eperago* and *Pluaima* an *Indian* that had beene in *England*: which were two of
 the chiefeit, and caused him to send for his trayterous Interpreter, which came bringing Hens,
 drinke and bread: Assoone as he came, shewing what hee had heard, requiring them to declare
 what wrong he had done them. Who answered, none. Then said he, this fellow, meaning the
 Interpreter hath fought my life and therewith commanded his men to bind him hand and foot,
 which done, he dismissed them, desiring them to returne the next morning. In the meane time
 he caused his Prisoner to send for a Canowe to fetch three of his men, which were vp in the Ri-
 uers, who immediately did so. Now hauing all his men together, hee caused them to haue all
 their Furniture readie: appointing one *William Blide* to see the same diligently fulfilled,
 the watch carefully to be kept in the night, and two to ward at the doores all day with their Fur-
 niture, to take the *Indians* weapons out of their hands at their coming in at the doore.
- Some of our owne men lying at the next house where this was done, inquired of an *Indian*
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 niture, to take the *Indians* weapons out of their hands at their coming in at the doore.
- This being ordaind, the *Indians* came the next day, to whom the Captaine said, In regard
 that I haue beene so careful to punish the wrongs done vnto you, I would haue you readie to re-
 nounce the wrongs done vnto mee, who seemed very vnwilling to doe any farther iustice, efte-
 ming his binding a sufficient punishment. At the which the Captaine being very much vexed,
 commanded the two foresaid *Indian* Captaines to depart, charging them to send him in, fifth
 and other victuals for his company. In the meane time he and the chiefe of his men, consulting what
 coure to take with the Malefactor, they thought it best that hee should lye to bound vntill the
 next day being the third of his bondage; and to send for the chiefe of the *Indians*, and vpon con-
 fession of his fault, and craving pardon thereof, to be dismissed before them.

Captaine Charles Leighs Letter to Sir Olane Leigh
 his Brother.

60

MOil loving Brother, I did write vnto you from Muggador, where I layed until the nineteenth of
 April, and on the fourteenth of May I had first sight of Guiana, in the mouth of the River A-
 mazones,

amazones. The two and twentieth, I arrived (praised be God) in safetie in the River Caroleigh, hereto-
 fore called Wyapoco, and the same day, I took possession of the Countrey in sight of the Indians. The
 Indians which doe inhabit this River are about one thousand five hundred men, women, and children,
 and they are of three Nations, viz. Yacoras, Arwarkas, and Sapavacos, which being chased from other
 Rivers, by the Caribes haue combined themselves together in this place for their better defence, and are
 now at deadly warres with the Caribes. After that I had stored my selfe with Bread and Root sufficient
 until the Earth with Gods providence might yeild me supply, I did then send for the chiefe Captaine
 of the Yacoras aboard, whom with gifts and good visage, I easily entreated to lye aboard my ship until such
 time as by his meanes I was provided with all kinde of Plants, which their Gardens doe afford, yet all
 this while he knew not my purpose. The day before I purposed to make my intent knowne, their came another
 chiefe Captaine of the Yacoras aboard to dine with me, who together with the former after Dinner
 desired to speake with me, whereupon I sent for an Indian who had beene in England, to bee Interpreter,
 and tooke them into my Cabin. The two Captaines told a long storie of the wrongs the Caribes had
 done them, how they had driven them from their ancient dwellings in other Rivers, killed many of their
 friends, carried their women and children away Captiues, and hurt many of their men, and thereupon
 they asked one of their men to shew me how hee was lately hurt in three places with their Arrows, to con-
 clude, they told me, how they purposed the next Mornie to goe against the Caribes, with twenty Ancas,
 and earnestly entreated me if I layed so long to goe with them to their warren. Vpon this good occasion,
 I told them that I purposed to stay in the Countrey, seven or eight monthes, to seeke out and make trial of
 Mynes. And in the meane time that I purposed to build Houses apace at the head of the River, and
 there to plant Gardens, that my men might haue victuals of their owne labours, which done, I would
 build a shallop, and send twenty men in her with them to fight against the Caribes, withall this they
 heard wonderfull well content, and thereupon they promised Indians to helpe me to build and to plant,
 and the chiefe Captaine promised himselfe to goe vp with me. The next day being the third of May, I set
 sayle from the mouth of Caroleigh, and cast Anchor in a Bay vnder Mount Olimpie, where I purposed
 to plant, and make my habitation: but my men discontented with the sight of the Woods, which they
 were to sell, grew generally discontented, and omitted no practices to overthrow the Voyage, being sub-
 orned under hand, by my vnfaithfull Seruant, the Master, his lewd consort he brought with him, being
 the only publicke maintainers of the mutinie, how I haue bene troubled with him and his consorts, (who
 intending spoyle and purchase in the West Indies) haue from the beginning sought the overthrow of this
 Voyage, this Reader can certifie you as large. And undoubtedly hee made full account with his head-
 strong companions to such a time to haue commanded the ship at his pleasure. To conclude, amongst
 their practices, they consumed the victuals which I had bene maintained vntill the earth had
 yeilded supply as that in six dayes, our Potatoes which should haue lasted vs two monthes, were wholly
 spent betweene being farre distant from the Indians, who inhabit at the mouth of the River, forsooke
 miles from the falls, and it being very doubtful, how we should bee furnished with victuals from them in
 our extremitie, I gave consent that the ship should returne to the mouth of the River with this condition:
 that after I had reformed them with victuals and other things sufficient that then they should plant vpon
 Mount Huntly, two leagues to the West of Caroleigh: which being neere the Indians, and betwixt
 them and their enemies they would be readie and willing to furnish vs with victuals, vpon any extremitie,
 to which condition they generally consented, that place being first motioned by some of them. The ship
 being reformed, they had then brought mutinie to such a head, as that to my face, they stood in defiance
 of the Voyage, and told me plainly they would not stay doe what I would or could, I urged them with their
 promise to plant on Mount Huntly, one of them who seemed most forward of all men to yeeld to that
 promise: answered that hee promised in policie, to draw me from Mount Olimpie. But in the end it plac-
 ed God, what by faire meanes and what by force, I brought them all to consent to stay one whole yeere,
 thorow all extremities, if it were possible to make full trial both of people and Countrey, and to plant
 vpon Mount Huntly, according to their promise. This agreed vpon, I went ashore to the Indians, to
 provide victuals, and other necessaries for our Plantation, who being exceedingly glad of my returne; of-
 fered me to choose the best of their houses and gardens, to dwell amongst them. For they were very con-
 uincing that I should goe to any other place, to conclude, judging their offers by many likelihoods, to be with-
 out deceit, I refused to abide with them vpon this condition: that they should send foure principall In-
 dians for England as pledges, for our safetie with them whereunto they willingly consented, and if I
 would, I might haue twenty. For they make daily suite to me to goe for England, Being in conference
 with an assembly of two or three hundred, purposely met to craue my abode amongst them, and demanding
 of them votes and protestations, according to the custome of all people, for the more security of our peace
 and amity: their answer was that they knew not how to make votes and protestations, and therefore ge-
 nerally they desired (sundry of their Captaines speaking it together, with a low and humble voice) that I
 would bring them men to teach them to pray, which motion of theirs, proceeding from themselves and in
 that humble manner, strooke me into an admiration of they, to thinke that it hath pleased Al-
 mighty God after so many dangers heretofore, and troubles in the Voyage, to preferre me to a meane
 of this simple-hearted people of the knowledge of Christ. Vndoubtedly, it was the wonderfull workes
 Gods Spirit in them, whereat all Christian hearts ought to reioyce. And I am persuaded, the like in-
 stance hath neuer bene before by any people in the world: I beseech Almighty God to giue a blessed end
 to this happfull beginning.

The

The fourteenth of June, concluding with the Indians upon sundry conditions, I purchased of them the same day for a few Hatchets, Hoes, and Gardners plowed with Calcas, and Potatoes sufficient for all my company: the situation of four Houses is in the pleasantest and most fruitful place of all their habitations. And because it is a small Village of five or seven houses; and the first place of our settlement I have named it Principium: the Hill on which it standeth being part of the Mountains on the West side of the entrance of the River, I have named Mount Howard, to honour the remembrance of my Lord Admiral, of whom heretofore I have received many favours: on the East side of the entrance of Caro Leigh, lies the River Oluoleighe heretofore called Arrikowayre: and on the West side of Mount Howard runneth the River Iotramelghe, by the Indians called Wanatie. The commodities which this Countrie doth yield, and through industrie will abound in, are these: Sugar Canes, Cotton and fine Flaxe; also it will yeelde great store of long Pepper, if there might be for it in England: here is sundry sort of Gummes, of Woods, and of Dies, which I hope will prove good commodities, of which I have sent you samples by Master Huntlie, especially one sort of Gumme, which I am persuaded will prove very rich. Also I have sent unto you a peece of a Stone taken out of a Mannate or Sea Cowe. I am given to understand that a little thereof beaten into powder, and drunke in Wine or Ale, will in few houres cure any man that is troubled with the Stone, they say it dissolveth it instantly. I doubt not but to get a dozen of them before this time twelvemonth; my refiner hath made triall of sundry Minerals, but cannot yet finde any Minerals, and my arrival here I found a Dutch Shippe, and thence here hath arrived another, they buy up all the Flaxe they can get, and pay so deere that I can get none; they have not gotten so little I think as ten tonnes of Flaxe within this twelvemonth.

I doubt not but I shall be able to returne a Shippe laden with Flaxe and other commodities the next year; the Flaxe yeeldeth a wonderful increase, and will grow any where, but especially in low marshy grounds: the Indians report that the Rooze yeeldeth increase every month, and euerie yeeld may be some foure ounces; by this account an acre of ground planted with the Rooze, and distant three foute a funder will yeelde 17280 li. euerie year, which amounteth at six pence the pound to 432 li. I doubt this will not prove answerable to their reports, but I verily beleue it will yeelde halfe the increase they speake of; the Dutch men have reported that it is worth in Holland but six pence the pound, but they confesse that Holland will vent 5000000 thereof. Some of the Dutch men have reported that it is worth in Holland sixtene pence the pound, which I rather beleue, for my Wener tell me that they will warrant it to drie exceeding well, and that it must needs be excellent fine grounds for Cotton here it is little, not worth the speaking of, yet the Countrie will yeelde abundance, and in six weekes the seeds will yeelde Cotton, and it beareth continually and plentifully. I pray you for send me more Weaters, for I know not how to get any thing I desire for them, for the women here are put to that extreme labour, that they have no time to spinne, for they onely fetch water out wood to burne, and bring it home upon their backes, they gather all their roots and bring them out of their Gardens, they make all their Bread which is vnder labour, they dreffe all the victuals, make all the drinke, attend upon the men while they are at meate, and besides, they dreffe up their houses in their kinde, and nurse their owne children: so as they are alwayes toiled with labour, and have little or no time to spinne. For Sugar Canes the world hath not yeelde better soil for their increase, and whereas in Barbary it is fiftene or sixtene monthes before they come to perfection, here they grow up in ten monthes. And in Barbary they are planted only in two Vallies, where they are watered every week, but here they grow upon the Mountains, and neuer watered but with raine only. As few years I doubt not will afford plenty of Sugars, if wee shall haue meanes to make them. My loose commodities, as Hatchets, Beades, Knives, Looking-glasses, &c. are almost all gone: a great part in buying of victuals, but the most part to steepe the mouths of my Mutinies and misfouled Sailours: to whom also I have promised two third parts of my Iron.

Now for the prosecuting of this voyage, in such sort as that we be not prevented by the Spaniard nor any other Nation: I would extort you with as much speede as possibly you can to send me a supply of one hundred men at least, to abide here, all labouring men and Gardners, for such are the fittest here for a time with a few Carpenters; and with them three or foure good peeces of Ordnance with shot and powder: also fiftie Calivers for the men that stay here: if you can send the men in two Shippes, I doubt not but to lade one of them backe in three monthes after arrival, and the other which I wish may be the Olippe plant, I would keepe here and sit her for a Frigate to keepe and command the River. I have written to my brother John Leigh to deliver unto you such monies as he hath received of Clifford, who I hope hath ere this time paid his debts. I hope you shall get store of voluntarie men to ease the charge of the Voyage, and look what you shall distribute in my behalfe for the accomplishment of the Voyage, I will, God willing, see you benefit paid with advantage; or else if it please you to put it in aduance, it shall be accomplished in any sort to your owne desire. At I doubt not of your love and forwardnesse, especially in so good an action so also I make no question, but this Countrie will in few years yeelde you satisfaction beyond your expectation. If my wife haue not already attained her suite of the Kings Maiestie, I hope she will the sooner proceede in this matter, which she doe, my desire is, that it shall be employed upon their proceedings; and to that effect I have written to her. I have written a Letter to the Kings Maiestie; another to the Lords of the Council, and one to my Lord Admirall.

The bearer herof, Captaine Huntlie is the worthiest young Gentleman in that ever went to Sea, upon any dangerous enterprise, he was neuer dismayd, neither with extreme dangers at Sea, nor with all the Mis-

times

tries aboard, which had bene able to haue discouraged an old experienced Souldier; besides, I found him alwayes a most true, faithfull, and loyal friend, and therefore I pray accept him for a right honest man. I have made him my Lieutenant general of the Countrey during life, and therefore I pray let him remaine chiefe commander in the first Supply. I would pray you also to procure to come with him some honest and discrete men whom I might relye upon as true friends, and if as companions both for aduise and societie, for I am now very uncomfortably matched, having no worldly strength to trust upon but my selfe only. I have sent unto you foure Indians, principal men in their Countrie which were delivered unto me as pledges of our societie here, and they are to returne againe the first; but I thinke some of them will be more willing to stay longer. The English man which was left here by Captaine Lea, is dead. I pray you procure Sir Walter Raleighs Indian or my Lord Admirals for I want an Interpreter exceedingly here in but one, he be understandeth but little to any purpose, I pray forget not to send Preachers, sober and discrete men, and such as are well persuaded of the Church government in England, &c. From Principium, or Mount Howard this second of July 1604.

Captaine Lea

CHAP. XIII.

A true Relation of the traitorous massacre of the most part of three score and seven English men, set on land out of a Ship of Sir Oliph Leigh, bound for Guiana, in Santa Lucia an Island of the West Indie, the three and twentieth of August, written by JOHN NICOL.

SIR Oliph Leigh, a worshipfull Knight of Kew, sending a supply of good numbers of men in a Ship called the Olippe huffme 30 his brother Master Charles Leigh, which was planted in the Bay of Wapogo, within three degrees and an halfe Northward of the Equinoctiall line in the West Indies, which departed from Wapogo the fourteenth of April 1604, vnder the conduct of Captaine Cretan, and Captaine Nicholas Saint John, being desirous to see the world, com-
forted my selfe with that company. But by contrary winds and unknowne currents of the Sea, and the vnskillfulness of our Master Richard Chambers, we were faine to touch first at the Isle of Barbadoe, and then at Santa Lucia in the West Indies. Where fearing to perish at Sea for hunger before we should be able being so many aboard to reach England; Captaine Nicholas Saint John, with the rest of the passengers, which purposed to haue staid with Master Charles Leigh at Wapogo in Guiana, refused to stay and take their fortune in the aforesaid fruitful land.

Saint Barbadoe,
Santa Lucia,
Captaine Nic-
th. Saint John
Richard Saint
John with 87
men.

This fixtie seuen of vs at our owne seeking were left on shore in the aforesaid land of Santa Lucia the three and twentieth of August 1604, with our Swords, Muskets, and Powder, and one Falcon, and one barrell of Biscuit onely for all our food. The next day our Ship departed from vs with some discontentment, because we had staid vpon her Boate so erue our turnes. After our Shippe was departed from vs, we lived very peaceably daily trading with the Indians for victuals; which were Calcas, Potatoes, Plantains, Pinis, Popoyes, Pompiens, Calasifus, Tobacco, Pappies, Mammeyes, all very pleasant to eat. Also they brought vnto vs Hens and Gulls, and some Pelicanses, Woodcocks, and Snipes: we our selves did kill with our Peeces many of them likewise. And euerie night we lent out sixe upon the sands to seeke for Tortoyes, whereof we neuer missed night without one or two, and many times three, which was the greatest sustenance we found; for they are very large and great. I haue often taken out of one of them to the number of seuen hundred eggs. Also the Indians had great store of Roan linnen cloathes, Serges, and other Stuffs, and Spanish wollen cloth: and iarres of Oyle which they tooke and laded at Sea with their Periaguas. For three Spanish Shippes had bene there with away a little before our arrival, if we had had a Pinnette there we could haue laden her with many good commodities, which they had hid in their houses in the woods. All which we could haue bought for Hatchets, Knives, Beades, Thimbles, Fishhookes, and other such trifles.

Tortoyes,

Thus for the space of five or sixe weekes we went not much abroad; till our Captaine feeling certaine foure li. are Plates, which the Indians were wote on the Inmail of their armes, asked Browne, a Gold sinner, his opinion, what he thought of them? who told him, that three parts thereof was Gold. And asking the Indians where they got them, they pointed vnto an high Mountaine on the North-west part of the land. This called Captaine Nicholas Saint John and John Rogers, who was our interpreter for the Spanish tongue, with as many of our chiefe men as could well goe in the Boate vpon a Monday to goe thither, promising his Brother Alexander Saint John, Master Garret, and Master Tench, whom he left to gouerne the rest at home, to returne the next Saturday.

Shew of Gold.

The

The Cap-
taine and his men
flure.
Indian trea-
cherie.

The Indians for three dayes after did not come vnto vs with victuals, for they perceived when the Boate went, and as we thinkinge they were then at the slaughter of our men at the Mountayne. Vpon Thursday morninge we killed two Tortoyles on the sands: where wee found a great company of the Indians gathered together, for what purpose we knew not: And lest wee should suspect them of any bad intent towards vs, they willingly offered themselves to bring home our Tortoyles, which they tooke into their Periaguas, and brought them to our Houses.

All that forenoone wee kept good watch: for there were very many that came both by Sea and Land to the number of two or three hundred; and diuers of them were very merrie with vs, drinking of Tobacco and *acquama*, vntill ten of the clocke, and then they departed all save one which was a Capitaine of the Ile of Saint Vincent, called *Augmenter*, and an old man which was his father, who promised vs, if wee would goe to their houses, that wee should haue any thing that they had. For the day before I had bene at their houses with other two of my fellows to haue bought victuals: yet they would not part with any, nor for any commodity that wee had: and yet they had more store of victuals then euer I saw them haue before. But wee perceived afterward, that it was provided for them, that came to take their parts against vs, whom they kept secret in the Woods. So we three returned, and trauelled farre into the land, and passed through fixe or seuen Gardens very full of Cassabe, Potatoes, and many other rootes and fruits, and by the way I saw many tall trees of huge bignesse, that wee three could not at twice fathome one of them about; and they were so hard, that wee could not cut them with our Knives, and the Barke of them was white like Albe. Then we returned to our Sconce againe.

Faire garden.
Great Trees
of hard wood.

Hemise beds.

Tracherous
ambush.

Vpon Thursday after dinner, Master *Alexander Saint Iohn*, Master *Francis Kettleby* the elder, Master *William Tench*, my selfe, and diuers others, to the number of eighteen, went with *Augmenter* and his father, hauing neither Bowe nor Arrow, onely his father had a Brail sword. They went thus meely armed: lest they should suspect them. *Augmenter* also promised Master *Alexander Saint Iohn*, that he should be for his wife, and we should haue *acquama*, which are Indian beds of net-work made of cotton yarne to lye in. So we travelled along the Sands very securely, young *Saint Iohn* going a little before playing and jesting with the Indian Capitaine, till they came within sight of their houses, where in the woods they had placed an ambush of three hundred Caribbes: when suddenly *Augmenter* tooke hold of his Rapier with the one hand and of his Poniard with the other, and the old man his father with his Brail sword brooke him downe to the ground. Then out of the woods came the Arrowes so thicke about our eares, that wee had not the time to put our matches in our cookes. And many of our companie had their match to light, which gaue a great encouragement vnto the enemy: inso much that we discharged not fixe peeces against them, which caused diuers of our companie to flie into the Sea vpon their necks, and some along the sands as amazed, seeing such a huge companie against so small a number; vntill young *Saint Iohn* recouering againe, encouraged vs to make a stand at a point of Land which went corner wise into the Sea.

But all was in vaine: for before wee could make our peeces readie, there came another companie on the back of vs, and filled our bodies full with arrowes: and then wee betooke vs to our swords and to runne through them: but fill they encreased out of the woods, shooting their arrowes in great abundance, nor daring to come neere vs vntill they saw vs fall; and then with their great Brail swords they brooke out our men brimmes. I my selfe being all this time running with young *Saint Iohn* and Master *Kettleby*, who behaved themselves most gallantly, in the next part whereof we made as fast as we could, came at the last into the entrance of a narrow path, where five of my fellows were gotten before I came, and thinking to haue passed through, there was another ambush who killed them all. I onely with three arrowes in me, by running into the wood and swimming over a standing Lake escaped home, giuing them warning before they came to assault them: and vpon my coming they all came in sight vpon the Sands, whom we soon sent away by shooting off our great Peeces, so they came not in three dayes after.

Vpon Monday there came to the number of thirtene or fourteene hundred both by Sea and Land, and there belet vs round, wee hauing nothing but our Chifts to defend vs from their arrowes: thus for the space of foue or eight dayes we fought with them, and of nineteene men which were left of all our companie, twelue were fore wounded with their arrowes. And the first day at twelue a clocke they shot fire in their arrowes and burned our houses, thinking then to haue entred in vpon vs, but with our Falcon we drove them backe with most horrible cries. After that our houses were burned, and all our Chifts which before were our Fort, were fortified our selves with the remnants of the stakes and thatch which we had saved from burning, letting them in the ground floppewile, couering it with sand and earth, which saved vs euer after from their arrowes.

The next day after they all departed in their Periaguas. And the Lord seeing what need wee had of food, contrary to our expectation, moued the hearts of our very enemies to bring vs food. For when all the rest were out of sight, one returned very well provided of victuals, and three

three or foure coming out of their Periaguas with almshus as they were able to carry of Cassau, Potatoes, and Plantans, cryed vnto vs to exchange with them, first holding vp their bowes and arrowes, and after laying them on the ground againe in signe of peace. Which wee perceiving, sent out three likewise to bargain without weapons, with Knives and Beades, and other trinkets; which traffick being done, they departed and we returned, giuing praise to God, for this miraculous feeding of vs. For we had no means of our felues to get any food: for they had benefitted vs of our Net, with which we had wont to catch as much fish as many fotes as would suffice vs for a whole day. Thus they continued daily for the space of foue dayes; and then our victuals began to faile againe, which caused vs to hold out a flagge of truce: which they perceiving, came in peaceable manner vnto vs.

Then one *Francis Brace*, which could speake French, made them vnderstand that our desire was to giue them all that we had, if they would let vs haue a Periaguas to carry vs away. Which one Capitaine *Antonie* willingly consented vnto (contrarie to the will of his brother *Augmenter*, Capitaine of Saint Vincent) and the next day brought it, drawing it on shore within the compass of our Fort; for which we gaue them Hatches, Knives, and Beades, vntill they were contented: and to please them the more, we gaue them euerly one a Shouell or a Spade, wherewith they were fully contented, and so departed. Then with all speede we went all to worke, some vpon the Saile, which we made of very good *Raan-cloth*, and some to make the Mast; and euerly one did labour all he could to bereade againe night. For Capitaine *Antonie*, which was Capitaine of *Santa Lucia*, told vs, that his brother *Augmenter* would come the next day with Saint Vincent with twelue Periaguas all laden with arrowes; whose words we alwayes found true.

Thus on a thursday, the fixe and twentieth of September, at one of the clocke after midnight, hauing amongst vs all but one Barrio of fresh water to drinke, and one small Firkin of Rice, we embarked our felues being nineteene in the whole number, nor one hauing skill in the Mariners art, and without Card or Compass to direct vs: wee layed by the Sunne in the day-time, and by the Starres in the night, going alwayes betwix South-west and by West. The victuals that we had were not sufficient to last that companie for three dayes. For we had not above twelue Biscuits, three Cassau cakes, a dosen Plantans, and some thirtie Potatoes, and some foure or five gallons of water, and a little barrell halfe full of Rice. And as it pleased the Lord he had faued it vntill this our great needfull, for the preservation of our liues: for all our other victuals was gone in two dayes, and our water in three, which we washed in salt water and so ate it raw. Thus we continued at Sea seeking for Land, for the space of ten dayes, where we endured one great tempest, although to our great perill, looking alwayes when wee should be drenched. The raine which then fell, was vnto vs in the middle of our danger a great comfort: for we faued it with great ioy, and dranke it, thanking God for that good refreshing; who likewise did send the very Fowles of the aire to feed vs. For being wearie of their flight they would rest them vpon the side of our Boat, so that we tooke them and dried them in the Sunne with a little gun-powder, and ate them. Our Boats brimmed with so neere the water, that euerly one was come ouer it, ready to sinke vs, but that foure of vs continually did lade the water forth by courses. Now, on the tenth day one *Thomas Morgan* dyed, not being able to lue of that small allowance, and at none we threw him ouer board. Within an houre after it pleased God to glad vs (who were likewise ready to follow our fellow) with a ioyfull sight of Land, vnto Land.

Blind hungry
voyage.

A storme.

Thomas Morgan
died.

But the winde being calme we were benighted before we could come to it. And so wanting the light of the day, we were vpon the shoare before wee were aware, and there split our Boat to the middle, and all our men were turned out save my selfe, which held the helm, thinking the next waie would let her off againe, not knowing her to be split. But the breach was so great that it turned me vnder, putting me in great danger to be grinded to pieces with her weight lying vpon me against the great Rocks; yet at the last wee all recovered our felues, some sitting vpon the Rocks, others on the rootes of great Trees, thinking there to saue our felues vntill the morning. *William Picky*, and my selfe, went and haled the Boat on shore, which was split to the very middle, and so farre with our Swords we cut off, and put in an head in the middle, and fastened it with our Daggers, Knives, and Bodkins; stopping all the leakes with our shirts, and sent five of our companie ouer to the mayne land; which were *Ades Pet*, *William Picky*, *Francis Brace*, *William Kettleby*, and *William Butcher*. They haled their Boat foure or five dayes along the shoare, crossing diuers Riuers with their Boat, being sometimes purried by *Aligates* or Crocodiles, and Sharks.

Boat split.

God pitying their poore estate, guided them to a place, where they found a great earthen barre full of wheat flower set in a little louse, which they boyled in the barre with fresh water, and satisfied their hungry appetites, with thanks vnto God for the same. And within two dayes after they met with three Spaniards, which haile a dosen Indians and Negroes, traouelling from Caracas to Cora, drining Horses and Mules laden with merchandise: who seeing their art, weaknesse for want of victuals, vnloided their Horses to feede on the grasse, while they retreiled

Three Spaniards.

Miserable famine,
Vicot Tabasco

True died in the land,

Food almost
killed as well as
poverty.
Tocoy.

Co. 6.

Kind Spaniards

Good Flemish.

Spanish gentle
noble.

Two more die.

Commodities of the Country.

Drinke made
of Maize.

The treason of
the Indians.

our hungry men with plenty of their good cheere, and shewed themelues very courteous suffering them to ride, and went themelues on foot two or three dayes, till they came to a Towne of small Indians, called *Tocoy*, where they stayed to refresh them, for they were very weak. And there they let the *Spaniards* know in what miserable case they left vs in a desolate land; where we endured the greatest misery, that euer men did with life. For we continued fifteene dayes hauing no kinde of meat but Wilks, salt Water, and Tabacco; which did nothing at all mouth vs, yet neuertheless it took a way the desire of hunger, and saved vs from eating one another. In those fifteene dayes five of our companie pined to death, because they could not take Tabacco; *John Parkins*, *Edward Greene*, *Thomas Sinkles*, *Andrew Swell*, and an old man called *John*. By noting two or three of our men to die, we knew by those tokens when we drew neere to our death: which were thre, first they would swell very bigge, and shortly after fall to the very bones, and wanting strength to hold vp their heads, they would fall downe, and droope into their belomes, and in twelue houres after yeeld vp the Ghost.

At the fifteene dayes end, *Francis Brace* hauing more strength then the rest, guided the three *Spaniards* with fixe *Indians* to the land where we were, and they brought v. duels with them: which when we had eaten had almost killed vs, by reason of the weaknesse of our stomacks, being loo farre spent that we could not digest it, although we fed thereof very sparingly. The next day they carried vs to the mayne land, where we had horles brought vs to carry vs; and the goods we had they tooke all to the King of *Spaines* vie, and so conueyed vs to *Tocoy*; where wee which were weak remained fifteene dayes, and those which were strong went with the three *Spaniards* to *Coro*, which is some fiftie leagues from *Tocoy*; and at the fifteene dayes end, one of the *Spaniards*, whose name was *Sennor Corachual*, came for vs with horles, who shewed himelself as careful of vs, as if we had bene his owne Countymen and friends, and brought vs to *Coro* to our fellows: where we were brought before the Gouernour; and by a *Fleming* which could speake a little *English*, which had bene a prisoner there sixteene yeeres, we were examined of the cause of our coming thither; who excused vs very well. For hee knew, that if we had confessed whether we were determined to goe, they would haue either put vs to death, or condemned vs to the Gallies. But he told them, that we neuer purposed to come thither, but were by misfortune and tempest of wind and weather driuen on that Coast, and told them of all the dangers which we had endured, which drew them into such great admiration, that some said, verily we were Deuils and not Men: others, that we deserved to bee canonized, but that we were *Lutherans*.

All the chiefe *Sennors* of the Towne being there, euery man was desirous to take one of vs. After we were deuided among them, they did not wile vs like prisoners, but were as careful of vs as of their owne children, not suffering vs to want any thing necessarie for the procuring of vs healths. My lot fell out to be entertained by one whose name was *Sennor Francisco Lopez*; and being extremely sicke of a Calenture, or hot Feuer, one Captaine *Persy* which had married his daughter hauing good skill in Physicke, came daily to my Chamber, and theret me blood, dieted me, and purged me, giuing his owne Wife in charge, not to let me want any thing that was there to be had: Thus by the will of God, and their tender care ouer vs, we recouered our healths and strengths againe only two dyed there, which were *Thomas Fletcher*, and *Felix Jones* a shoemaker. In *Coro* eleven of vs remained alive (being all that were left of fixtie fouen, which were put on shore in the land of *Santa Lucia*) for the space of five monthes, euery day going to one another when we pleased: and we rid often into the Country, where the *Indians* tooke great delight in our company. For against our coming, they would prouide all kinde of delicious fruits: which were in much abundance in that Country, and would kill Deere and wild Hogs for vs; and would bring vs Apes, Monkeyes, Panots, and any thing that they thought we delighted in.

The Country about *Coro* doth yeild abundance of Sugar, Honey, Ginger, and Pitch. Also they haue very good Wheat growing there: but the bread is for the most part made of Maize, whereof they haue great plenty, for they reape it three times in one yeere. This Maize they do mingle with the iuyce of the Sugar-cane, which maketh an excellent kinde of bread, and it will keepe like Bisket. Also they make their drinke of this Maize and of Potatoes; which is very sweet and strong: for the *Indians* will be quickly drunke with it. While we were there, a *Spaniard* rode to a Farme of his in the Country with his brother, where he had many *Indians* dwelling to make Tabacco. One of his chiefe *Indians*, which vied to be familiar with him, tooke vp a new Hatchet, which his Master had brought him, asking him what it cost, and suddenly clove his head therewith: which his brother perceiving ranke for his Rapier: but the *Indian* woman had stolne it away before; and so they killed him also with their Bowes and Arrows, and three or foure *Negroes*, which seemed to refresh them, and thereupon fled to the Mountains, gathering a great company vnto him, promising them, that if they would aide him against the *Spaniards* in *Coro*, he would giue them the *Spaniards* wives and daughters in marriage. But before they put this conspiracy in practise, Captaine *Persy* by a Policee tooke him falling among his fellows and women, and tooke thirtie with him, and brought them all to *Coro*; where they were to be

for death with great torments, to terrifie the rest. And of some they cut off the thumber, and cut the finewes of their two fore-fingers, whereby they wanted the benefit of hooting.

Our entertainment there was such, that we could not desire to part from them to come into our owne Country without offending them. For a Frigate being readie at *Coro* to goe for *Carthagena*, foure of vs made intreatie for passage, which were *Philip Glasbeck*, *Richard Garret*, *William Puck*, and my selfe, (*John Nicols*) for all the rest were in the Country vpon plaile, some in one place, and some in another. And when the ship was readie to depart, they persuaded the Gouernour not to let vs goe. For they told him that there were many ships of *Holland* upon the Coast; and that if we went all in the Frigate, we would betray it vnto them, causing the Fathers of their Churches to tell vs, That if we would stay, we should be as themselves, at they would willingly bestow both their daughters and their goods vpon vs. Yet notwithstanding all their allurements, our desire was for our owne Country; and loe those of vs procured monies for to goe, and *William Puck* was stayed, by means his Master told the Gouernour, that *Isaac* were many to wenter in the Frigate. Thus we departed from *Coro* about the twentieth of April, leaving all those with whom we dwelt very sorrowfull for our departure: who giue vs great store of provision for our Voyage. They were very loth to let vs go to *Carthagena*, for feare we should be put into the Gallies: And the Gouernour of *Coro* himelself, wrote vnto the chiefe men of *Carthagena* in our commendation, as to *Don Pedro de Barres*, who was his Sonne in Law; but it tooke small effect. By the way we touched at *Santa Maria*, and watered there.

Within three dayes after we arrived at *Carthagena*, we were committed to Prison by the *Teniente*, for the Gouernour was dead out three dayes before we came in. Yet we brought our Letter from *Coro*, from one *Sennor Gaspar Sanchez Contador*, or in our behalfe to one *Sennor Antonio Cambero*, who proued a speciall good friend vnto vs. For we had not bene an houre in Prison, but hee came to vs and comforted vs, and bade vs not to feare, for we should not want any thing. So he went to the *Teniente*, and proffered three of his *Negroes* to let vs at libertie, and if we made an escape, he should haue those *Negroes* for his owne vie. (The worst of those *Negroes* was made an escape, he should haue those hundred Duckets.) But he would not, neither would he allow vs any victuals. But this *Cambero* lent vs euery day at noone one very good meales meate. Also there were three *Englishmen*, who I need as Mariners in one of the King of *Spaines* Gallions which carrie his Treasure: which after that they were at Sea were by forcible tempest driuen back againe to *Carthagena*, in a great danger to be sunk: for she had twelue foot water in her. Some escaped to *Hanana*, and five of the richest ships were sunk on the shoals betwixt *Carthagena* and *Hanana*. These three *Englishmen* did allow vs twelue pence a day loo long as we remained in Prison. Euery Saturday, the *Teniente* with his *Alcalde* doe sit in iudgement within the Prison where the *Teniente* commanded that we should be sent to the Gallies. Then one *Alcalde*, who was alwayes found to bee a fauourer of *Englishmen*, whose name was *Sennor Francisco Lopez de Morales*, called for our Examination: which when hee had perused, hee told him, that hee could not with iustice commit vs. Who answered againe, Then let them remayne in Prison vntill the Gallions come from *Spain*, for the treasure.

Within two monthes after a Deputie Gouernour was chosen: vnto whom we framed a Petition; which was deliuered by *John Frensdam*; whose answer was to him, that if we could procure any *Spaniards* to bayle vs for our forth coming, we should be at libertie. Which *Sennor Francisco Lopez* and *Antonio Cambero* no sooner heard, but they entered into bond of a thousand Duckets for our forth coming. And at our deliuary, the *Teniente* told vs, that although by order of Law, they could iustly haue put vs to death, yet seeing God had so miraculously saved vs, and that we had endured so many miseries to saue our liues, and that we came to them for succour and reliefe, they were content to let vs at libertie. So *Francisco Lopez* brought a discharge from the Gouernour to the Iaylor for our deliuary out of Prison, and brought vs all three to his owne house: where was provided for euery one of vs a feuerall bed: For the Country is so hot, that we cannot lie but one in a bed. Our entertainment was very great, and all our seruices in plate, with great varietie of meates, and of all the most delicious *Indian* fruits: and yet he thought we neuer fared well enough, without hee sent vs one extraordinary dish or other from his owne Table. Also many Gallants referred to his house to play at Cards, who would bee very liberrall vnto vs at their winning, and would giue vs fixe or seuen pieces of Eight at a time.

There we continued vntill the Gallions were readie to goe for *Spain* with the treasure: then hee procured vs passage euery one in a feuerall ship. * And the day before we embarked which was about the first of August, there came two more of our company from *Coro*, which were *Adrian Pet*, and *Richard Ferne*, who were both placed with *Philip Glasbeck*, in the shippe called *Saint Bartholomew*, *Richard Garret* went in the ship called *La Madre de Dios*, and my selfe in the 60 *Santa Cruz*. So we were a month in sayling to *Hanana*, where we layd another month to trimme the ships. The Gouernour there was *Don Pedro de Valdez*, Prisoner in England 1888. So we liued all on shore with eighteene pence a day for our diet, and about the end of September departed, leaving that shippe, wherein *Philip Glasbeck*, *Adrian Pet*, and *Richard Ferne* were, with another ship called the *Saint Vincent* for want of provision of bread.

Alm m m

* The cause why *Francisco Lopez* did vs so kindly was because Sir *Pe. Drake* when hee took *Carthagena* had all his followers good, and his lie withall.

We shot the channell of *Florida*, in eight dayes against the winde, and came along by the Ile of *Bermada*, and were nine weekes in laying betwene *Hanana* and the Coast of *Spaine*. The tempests and stormes which we had, were wonderful great. In somuch that all the fleetes were disperſed, and put above two ſhips did company together. Which put them in great feare left they ſhould have met with the *Hollanders*; who might with three good ſhips have taken all their treaſure with ſmall adoe for every little Canoe ſhip put them in feare, thinking her to be a man of Warre.

Vpon the ſecond day of Februarie 1665. Maſter *Bernicke* landed ſafely, thanked bee God, at *Domenes Kent*, and gaue me money to bring me to *London*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Relation of Maſter JOHN WILSON of Wanſteed in Eſſex,
one of the laſt ten that returned into England from
Wiapeco in Guiana 1665.



They arrive at
Wiapeco.

Clashes of their
mutinie.

Second voyage
of the Phoenix.

Captain Leigh
weakneſſe.

Deiſed
minds.

Mount Howard

Captaine *Charles Leigh* and his Brother *Sir Olane Leigh*, did furniſh to Sea the good ſhip called the *Phoenix* with Commodities for the Countrey of *Guiana*; and neceſſaries for the Voyage, with ſiftie perſons to inhabit *Wiapeco*, of ſundry Trades who directing their courſe towards *Wiapeco*, on the Coaſt of *Guiana*, which the *Spaniards* call the River of *Canas*, arrived on the twentieth of May following, where he found a ſhip of *Amſterdam*, trading with the *Indians*. They perſwaded the *Indians*, that our Nation came to inhabit among them, only to oppreſſe them as the *Spaniards* did in other parts of the *Indies*, which the *Indians* themſelves confeſſed vnto Captaine *Leigh* notwithstanding they offered our Nation no unkindneſſe, but vied them in all the kind manner they could. For they provided whatſoeuer our Company wanted which they could get them. In ſomuch the Gentleman was like to haue done right well, if it had not happened that his Company had not mutined, which did partly ariſe becauſe of the climate, which is much hotter then ours. And for that they were enuoyded of viſuals or other neceſſaries, therefore conſtrained to liue in ſuch manner as the *Indians* themſelves doe; for that they did ſee at their landing, only Mountains and Hills couered with Woods. And for that the moſt part of them had bene houſholdes in *England*, not accuſtomed vnto ſuch a ſtrange Countrey or Nation, nor ſuch a diet; for which cauſes they were ſo much diſcontented, that they cried to their Captaine, *home, home*. Thus the Captaine and his whole company was diſcontented, and alſo the Maſter of his ſhip called *Martin Prius*, who ſhipped himſelfe ſhortly after their arriual into the *Amſterdam*, which they found there, whereupon the Captaine placed his Mate *Richard Petto* of *Weymouth*, to bee Maſter of the *Phoenix*, furniſhing him with ſuch viſuals as the Countrey afforded, as *Caffian* for their bread, and *Potatoe* Roots, with fiſh, water, and ſuch prouiſion as they had of their owne aboard, appointing *Edward Huntly* to be their Captaine, to goe for *England*, who departed from *Wiapeco* about the firſt of Iuly 1665, by whom Captaine *Leigh* aduertized his Brother *Sir Olane Leigh*.

After whole arriual *Sir Olane Leigh*, hee withall ſpeed furniſhed the aforeſaid ſhip called the *Phoenix* to Sea, with Commodities for the Countrey and other neceſſaries, with thirtie men of ſundry Trades, appointing the aforeſaid *Richard Petto* to be Maſter, and *Edward Huntly* to bee Captaine, they departed from *Wiapeco*, one the twentieth of January following, who expected with the reſt of their company aboard, to haue found the Generall and his company on Land, to haue bene in farre better caſe then they were, for that they found them for the moſt part extreme ſicke, and ſome of them dead: and preſently after their arriual three or foure men of them died, and the Generall himſelfe was very weak and much changed, which partly proceeded by reaſon of their great want of viſuals, for that the *Indians* could not at all times provide them that they wanted. And chiefly for that the company were perſwaded that the ſhip would neuer haue returned vnto them againe, which plainly appeared amongſt them, for that at the arriual of our ſhip, ſome of them which had not in three monethes time bene a ſtones caſt from their houſes, came aboard of vs, a mile and more from their houſes in weak eſtate, which cauſed very much diſcontent amongſt our freſh water ſouldiers aboard, and they were the more diſcontented, becauſe they could not aduertize them of any commodities the Countrey yielded which would afford them preſent bene-
fit, in ſomuch that they withed themſelves in *England* again. During which parley, our Generall came not aboard of vs, for that he was at his houſe called *Mount Howard* a mile and more vp in to the Land, which ſtood on a hill very pleaſantly ſituated, but according to the Countrey manner, by reaſon that their enemies ſhould not well find their houſes nor ſuddenly affault them, haue there fore very rough ſollages beene ſet them, inuolued all with Mountains, Woods, and Hills. Wherefore the Generall ſent one *Sidney Harrington* vnto Captaine *Huntly*, *M. Toderington* Preacher and to

to the Maſter of the ſhip to land their company in *Poſſeſſion Bay*, a place which the *Indians* gaue vnto our Generall, and therefore by him ſo named.

At whole landing according vnto the Generall his Commiſſion, they were all ſworne vnto certain Articles, as that they ſhould acknowledge Captaine *Charles Leigh* to bee their chiefe Generall of *Guiana*, vnder King *James* our King of Great Brittain, and that they ſhould not be hurtfull vnto the ſaie Generall his proceedings, but to ayde and aſſiſt him in their vnto moſt powers. Which being effected, our Generall came vnto vs, and after kinde ſalutations, hauing taken order for our Lodgings, for that time hee departed from vs. The *Indians* in like manner after their Countrey faſhions kindly entertained vs, and after further conference had

10 with our Generall, hee related at large vnto vs what had happened vnto him and his company in their abſence; that by reaſon of his company their diſcontent and ſickneſſe, they had not trauelled vp into the Mayne Land; and therefore of his owne knowledge hee could not certifie them of any other commoditie the Countrey did yield, then ſuch as hee knew of before their departure, but the *Indians* had informed them, that there was vp in the Mayne very rich commodities, as ſold Gold, and ſilver, and eſpecially in the River of *Calane*, where the *Caribes* inhabit, who are enemies vnto our *Indians* of *Wiapeco*, and ſo called by them. Vpon which information our Generall thought it would haue bene beſt to haue peaceably traied with the *Caribes*: But our company miſliked thereof, in ſomuch that the Generall altered his determination, and agreed to ioyne with their friend *Indians* againſt the *Caribes* their enemies.

20 Whereof hauing aduertized the chiefeſt of them, they moſt kindly embraced their offer preſently made eight of their Canoes in readineſſe, furniſhing them with Bread and Drinke, and Viſuals, which for the moſt part are Crabbes and Fiſh, with ſome ſummed of themſelves all naked in their Canoes, whome our Generall accompanied with ſome eight and thirtie of our company, leaving the reſt to keepe our Shippe and Houſes, ſhipping the moſt part of them in a Pinnace that was built by one named

Howard, the Keele whereof hee made of a Canoe, which proved a very fitting Pinnace for thoſe parts and Riuer. This Pinnace after our Generals death the *Indians* did breake a pieces becauſe they thought we would haue ſtole away from them in her vnto the *Spaniards*. And the reſt of our company were placed in their Canoes, all of vs furniſhed with our Calceuers; and ſo were departed on our Iourney and Voyage on the fixe and twentieth of February, on which day at night wee came to a place which wee named Mount Huntly, where wee lodged in the Woods that night, our Generall commanding vs to keepe a good watch; which wee need not to haue done, for the *Indians* themſelves were very watchfull, and wonderfull careful of our Calceuers, and for to keepe our Powder drie, after we had bene acquainted with them, and very diligent for to pleaſe vs.

The next day at night wee came to a place called the Cow, and there wee lodged, and the next day following wee came into the River of *Wia*; and there wee found two or three of the *Caribes* Canoes, but all their men were runne vp into the Woodes, and from thence our Generall went vp farther into the River, where wee burned certaine of their houſes, not finding any 40 people in them. From whence our Generall purpoſed to haue gone farther into the River of *Calane*, but the *Indians* did aduertize him, that there was an *Engliſh* ſhip there, whom the Generall knew to bee one *Jobſon* of *Plymouth*, that had bene ſome fourteen dayes before at *Wiapeco*, and came thither in the way to *Trinidad*. But our Generall would not liſter him to goe, for that hee would not hinder himſelfe and his company, which our Generall alſo thought called to minde, and therefore thought it not good to proceed in the River, becauſe hee doubted that there would haue riſen contention betwixt his company and *Jobſons*, and for that hee alſo miſdoubted wee ſhould haue wanted Bread and Drinke if hee ſhould haue proceeded in his journey, and therefore returned to *Wiapeco*, where wee arrived all, except one Canoe. About the fourteenth day of March.

Our Generall ſent with foure of our Nation named *Blake*, *Owen Goldwell*, *William Crandall*, 50 and *Henry Powell*, with commodities vp into the Countrey, ſome thirtie leagues to a place called *Drake* to the Inhabitants there named *Arwaks*, to trade with them. And after our journey by *Drake*, reaſon of ſuch Raine and ſoule weather as wee had in the ſame, moſt of our company tell ſicke, and for that they had no comfortable drinckes, nor any comforts that ſicke perſons doe want, diuers of them died of the Flux; which the *Indians* (as alſo the Flux called the Calenture) know right well for to cure, yet concealed it from our Generall. But vnto vs after his death they did reueale, which kinneſſe amongſt the company could ſo ſmall grieue vnto our Generall, and chiefly to ſee ſuch wants amongſt them; wherefore hee reſolved with himſelfe to goe for *England*, which hee acquainted the company with, promiting them to returne as ſpeedily as hee could with proſperion.

Preſently after hee had ſhipped his proſperion, and ſuch Commodities as hee had gathered together in the Countrey, and was in a readineſſe to depart for *England*, hee ſickned of the Flux, and died aboard his ſhip, and was by Captaine *Huntly* ſecreſtly buried on the Land, the twentieth of March, whole death was ſecreſtly kept by the Captaine, and the Maſter of the ſhip, that

Diffiſion 237.

Gold & ſilver,
Re Calane,

Expedition a-
gainſt the Ca-
ribes.

Mount Huntly.

Cow,
R. Wia.

Engliſh ſhip.

Arwaks

Mortellie.

The Captaine
ſickneſſe and
death.

M. Tedeington.

35 persons left

17. deprets
Kindeffe of a
Dutchman.

French ship.

Ten more de-
parts.Two returned
out of the
Country to
them.
Th. y. pline
Flaxe, &c.

Burgeffe.

Indian Armes,
Mid choice of
a patient Cap-
taine.R. Caliane fear-
ched.Three ships in
R. of Amazons.

most of the company knew not thereof. The reason was, because there was promotion too little for them which were shipped, and others of the company, if they had known thereof, would have prelied to have come with them. Wherefore Capitaine Huntly with Master Tederington our Preacher and others let fall from *Wapoco* towards *England*, on the second of April 1605, promising a ship to returne vnto vs within teene months, God not hindring their intents, which had happened, for Sir *Oliver Lengh* his great charge had provided a great Fly-boat of the burthen of one hundred and ten teene tunns furnished for to haue come to *Wapoco*, as I haue heard since my being here in *London*, where Capitaine Huntly his arrival in *England*, but it pleased God that the neuer came to *Wapoco*, so that we had no comfort of her, being in number, left at Capitaine Huntly's departure out of the Country thirtie five persons, of whom one named *Richard Sackie* was by Capitaine *Lengh* in his life time, appointed to be chiefe amongst vs, who shipped himselfe into a ship of *Middleborough*, who came into the River about the first of May 1605, and to teene more of our company with him, and more that *Zelander* would have carried if *Sackie* would have suffered him, such was his kindeffe towards our Nation. Hee gaue vnto vs such wine and other comforts as hee had, vnto our great reliefe. His coming vnto vs to *Wapoco*, was so haue sold vnto our Generall *Negroes*, whole kindeffe we did requite in helping him to such commodities as wee had, and did get the *Indians* to prouide *Cassia* and *Guinea* Wheate for bread, with Potatoe Roots for his *Negroes* to eat, who departed on the one and twentieth of May (after he had bin some three weekes in the River of *Wapoco*) for Point de *Rey*, where he shipped of our company into his Countreines ships, some in one ship and some into others for *Holland*, of which ships we heard that some of them were taken by the *Spaniards*, and they were callt ouer-board with the *Hollanders*.

The same day the *Hollanders* departed, which was the one and twentieth of May, came vnto vs a French ship of Saint *Mallors*, who dealt very kindly with vs, wherefore we did suffer him to trade with the *Indians*, who did remayne there some two months, vnto whom many strange *Indians* did bring their commodities, and at his departure hee shipped ten of our men; hee took Powder, and other commodities of vs which we had, for their passage into *France*, leaving tenne of vs behind him, of which two died before the ship was out of ken of vs, *Nicholas Wilgits* and *Andrew Funderbich*. But within foure fourteen dayes after, two of those foure which our Generall had sent to trade vnto *Orake*, came vnto vs not expectiug euer to haue seene them; the other two were drowned by the way. These two named *Owen Goldwell*, and *William Candall*, which came to vs, reported they had bene some fortie miles vnto the Land, in a very plaine pleasant Country, and brought commodities hereafter written of.

About the middle of Iuly, our number of ten were all in good health, spending our time in planting of *Carow* called *Flaxe*, whereof we planted about twentie *Englysh* Acres of Land, and some *Tabacco*, observing the manners and conditions of the people, the nature of the Land and what commodities it yeldeth, and what commodities of ours are in most request with them. About the third of October, the *Indians* did request vs for to accompany them in their warres against the *Caribes*, who heretofore was willingly did agree. They prouided teene *Canoes* furnishing them with men, and for their drink, and their victuals Crabs, and fish of the Country, and their users (sore, which they take every day fresh and fresh as they trauell in the Rivers). We went in to the River of *Calane*, which is some thirtie leagues from *Wapoco*, where we rowed vp and downe, but we could not find any of the *Caribes* in the River, we perswaded them to land which they did, and marched vp some two miles vnto the *Caribes* houses, as we marched to their houses, the *Caribes* came to the water side where our *Canoes* did lye, but finding my selfe therewith my Caluier, they had no great desire to come very neere vnto vs; and so after we had burned some of their houses, and killed diuers of them, our company returned to our *Canoes*, leaving lost one of the *Indian* Captaine named *Macato*, others of the *Indians* were shot with three of our company, whom they heald as they did themselfes, with a lease, very speedily.

They are armed in their warres with naked skins, and their Artillery are Bowes and Arrowes, so their Weapons wooden Swords and Bucklers. They choise their Captaine at their drunken Feasts; he is placed in the middle of the whole company, holding his hands on his head. After they haue made an Oration vnto him to be valiant, and not to be treacherous vnto them, with such like speeches; they whip him with a Whip which maketh the blood spring out of his bodie at every stroke, and he neuer once moueth thereat. By these meanes they try his patience and courage. After we had shipped our furs into our *Canoes*, were rowed vp and downe the river of *Calane*, some eight or ten dayes, which we noted for to be a very fine River and nauigable. It runneth diuers wayes from the mayne Land; and great foor of kinde commodities hereafter specified, which the Country yeldeth is to be had in the said River. We returned vnto our houses at *Wapoco*, about the first of November. In this Iourney we were kindly vnto our comorts our *Indians*, and highly respected of them for our seruice which we did.

After a few dayes, reit at *Wapoco*, the *Indians* advertised vs of three Ships which were in the River of *Amazons*, and that one of them would come vnto vs to the River of *Wapoco* some two months after, which proued to be true, but by what meanes they knew it I could not imagine, except

except it were by their diuels meanes, which they call their *Peyar*, with whom the men haue often conference, and it will answere them, but the women neuer that I could perceiue, when the men will confere with their *Peyar*, they suffer not a child to be in the house, and when any of them are sicke, they know by him whether they shall lye or dye; if he saith they shall dye, they will giue the sicke person no physike; but if he say that he shall lye, then they will giue him any thing they haue for his comfort. After our company was advertised of a Shipps coming vnto vs, we went with the *Indians* in their *Canoes*, some into the River of *Wapoco*, and some into the River of *Aracome*, to make away such commodities as we had left which were not many, referringe some of them to giue to our *Indians* for our victuals, although their kindeffe towards vs was such, that if we had not had any commodities, they would not haue suffered vs to haue wanted. In which our Iourney we noted the River of *Aracome* to be a very pleasant River, and yeldeth such commodities as other Rivers doe; also the River of *Wapoco* is a very faire River, and nauigable, which entreth the maine more then fortie miles. And at the end thereof there is a very great fall of water which cometh ouer great hills and mountains; some of our company were on the tops of them, for some months in the yeare the Mountains are drie, and we were informed that on the other side of those great hills, there is a River which is inhabited with many *Indians*, and hath the like commodities that *Wapoco* hath, and that there is Gold in that place, which the *Indians* calleth *Caracore*, but we neuer went to see the same River, by reason we had very small store of commodities.

At our returne to *Wapoco* we gaue to the *Indians* for their paines, and prouiding of vs victuals in our Iourney an Axe, for which they would haue trauelled with vs two or three months time if occasion had required. And for an Axe they found vs victuals two months time at our houses, as Bread, and Drinke, and Crabs, and all such kinde of bests as they killed for themselfes, for the same price; but if we desired any Hennes or Cockes of them, then we were to haue giuen them some small trifles, as Beades; so likewise if they brought vs in our trauell to any of their friend *Indians* houses, we must doe the like as at our departure, to giue them some trifles, as Knives and Beades. So that we liued very good cheape.

There are of the *Indians* three foor which inhabit at *Wapoco* with whom we were, whose houses be situated as neere the Rivers mouth as they well may be, they are named the *Tayes*, the *Arwakets*, and the *Suppays*. The *Tayes* are a people very proud, and vfe much flouting and mocking of others, much giuen vnto danling, and are full of meriment, very ingenious, and very kinde of nature. The *Arwakets* are a people of better carriage, and did vfe our company with better respect then the *Tayes*. These two kinde of *Indians* come out of the West, wherefore they doe know all those Goats, and they hate the *Spaniards* as deadly as they doe the *Caribes*. The *Suppays* are a people more craftie in their dealings, for they will not part with any thing, but will haue commodities for commodities. They are not many of them, and we could not learne from whence they are come. The men and women goe all naked, without any couerment at all; they are very well limmed and proportioned of body. They neuer company together all the day time, but as the women doe bring them their victuals, they doe eate viually every day; if they doe doors at the mouth of their houses, the men remaine at the one end of the house, & the women at the other. The women are very great in making of their Bread, which they doe with their drinke *Pajibo*; they make their Bread and Drinke of a roote which they call *Cassia*, which maketh good Bread and very strong drinke, very pleasant to drinke after ones is vfed to it.

Their houses be built after the manner of our barnes in *England*, but much longer; for we haue measured some of them which were one hundred and fiftie paces long, and some twenty paces broad, one hundred persons keepe together in one of those houses; they are most artificially builded and thatched, so that no raine cometh into them: although in April, May, and Iune, and most of Iuly very extreame raine doth fall there. Also they make Pots of earth, which shew as if they were gilded, and some of them will hold thirtie or fortie gallons of liquor, they are very faire to behold, and very sweete to keepe any thing in. They make Baskets of diuers foor most artificially, and their beds which they call *Hammets*; they are some of them made of Cotton wool, and some of barks of trees, they vfe to lye in them hanging. They haue a great delight to paint themselves both men and women, and especially when they goe to any Feast.

The women against their day of trauell in child beareth, make for that time a roome apart in the house, whereunto they goe all alone, and are deliuered without any helpe at all; and presently after the child is borne, she calleth for her husband, and deliuereth him the child; who presently washeth it in a pot of water, and painteth it with sundry colours, which seemed very strange vnto me, that I did not heare the women, once so much as to graue, or to make any moane at all in all her time of her trauell; if any one of them dieth they doe vfe to make great moane for them some ten or twelue daies together after her death or longer, according as the patient was beloued in his life time.

And touching such kinde of Beasts as are in the woods as well about *Wapoco* as in other places of the Country. There are great store of Deere, Hares and Conies, Hoggas and many Monkeys great and small, blacke and greene, which foor are called *Marmosets*, and great red ones as bigge

Peyar-dinling

River of Aracome.

Fall.

Three Nations;

The Tayes.

The Arwakets.

Suppays.

Nakednesse.

Men and women how they lye.

Their houses.

Fairst earthen Pots.

Baskets. Hammets.

Painting.

Childbirth.

Funerals.

Beasts of those parts.

M m m m 3

bigge as Baboones (chole the *Indians* doe kill and eate) and there are Leopards, and Porcupines, and Lyons; for in one place we did see a Lyon which the *Indians* had killed; they brought all their boyes that they had, and did lay them on the Lyons backe, and with a whip did give eury of them three lathes, wherefore they did so we could not learne, but imagined it was because they should remember the place where the Lyon was killed: also there are great flocks of Otters, and a beatt which is called an Alligator, he hath a cod that smelleth like the Muske cod.

Fowles.

Of Fowles, I haue seene Cockes, Hennes, Duckes, and Geese; Partridges, Wood-doues, Herne-shaws, Snoucklers, and a fowle of a crimlon colour, called *Paffrey Fanning*, & great flocks of white fowles, which the *Indians* call *Wakronces*, & great flocks of Parrats, and Parakeets, which flye there in fholes like Starlings here in *England*: also there is a Parat there as bigge as a great Hen, blew and red, very beautifull to behold, and multitudes of fowles of other sorts, and Hawkes of divers sorts in the woods and Riuer.

Fishes and fishing as before.

And of fish there are great abundance of all sorts both of fresh water fish, and Sea fish, and Crabbes great flocks; and the *Indians* take their fish with a kinde of wood which they beate against some stone or other tree, untill one end thereof be all bruised, and putting that into the Riuer, presently the fish come drunke, and run themselves on the shoare, and I swim about water, as our Halldockes doe in *England*.

Fruites.

There are flowers of good Rootes and Plants with Fruites, as the Pina and Plantine, Potatoes, Nappoyes, and a fruite called of the *Indians* *Pappoyes*, it is bigger then an Apple and very pleasant to eate, and sundry sorts of Plums, and other sorts of fruities whereof they make drinke very pleasant to be drunke.

Dying woods & other commodities of the Countrey.

There are these commodities at *Wiapoco*, and in other places of the Countrey where I haue traueled, Woods of blacke, red and yellow colours, Tobacco, *Gumme* pepper, Cotten wool, *Carrow* (of vs called *Flaxe*) *Aunes*, Berries which dye a very faire Stammeell colour, *Spiagard*, whereof of a precious Oyle may be made, *Gummes* of diuers sorts, *Bee-waxe*, Feathers of the best sorts, such as Ladies doe wear in their hats, and other Feathers abundance. There grow naturally in many places Sugar Canes, and great abundance of *Carrow* of it selfe, called of vs *Flaxe*, and of the *Spaniard* *Pers*. Also they make Oyle which they paint themselves with of a kinde of Nut-bigger then a Chestnut, whereof are great abundance growing; and the Manery stone is to be had in the *Aracunas* Countrey, and in no other place of the *Indies* that I haue heard of. These things I noted, but if so we had expected certainly for to haue had a Ship of our owne Nation to haue come vnto vs, I my selfe, and the rest of vs should haue bene encouraged to haue obserued more then I haue done. Neither had we any store of commodities to trade vp in the Maine, as the two *Hollanders* hath which are there, and were left there at our coming from thence by *Iohn Sims*, Master of a Ship called the *Hops of Amsterdame*, of the burthen of one hundred tuns Fraughted by the Merchants of *Amsterdame*, and by their Charter partie was bound to lye in the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, and of *Calumay* six months time, which he did, for he lay with vs at *Wiapoco* from the twentieth of December vnto the twentieth of May following, trading with the *Indians*, and fought most after the *Manate* stone and *Carrow*, which we call *Flaxe*. They furnished there two Factors very well with Commodities, which they left at *Wiapoco*. They dealt very kindly with vs, for he shipped all our whole company, which were nine of vs.

Their returne.

Taking our leaues of the *Indians* (who were as a willing to part from our companies, as we were willing to goe into our owne Countrey, saying vnto vs, that if any of vs came to them againe to trade with them; No other Nation should trade there but we. And after they knew of our departure; whilst we remained amongst them, they brought their children vnto vs for to name after our great mens names of *England*, which we did. They had often speech of *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, and one came farre out of the Maine from *Orenago* to enquire of vs of him, saying he promised to haue returned to them before that time. After we had provided our necessities, and such commodities as we had, and had giuen the *Indians* great charge of the *Hollanders* Factors, we shipped our lodes and departed from *Wiapoco* on the last of May 1606. And from thence we went into the Riuer of *Calumay*, where our Master *Iohn Sims* traded some thirtie dayes with the *Caribes*, and other of the *Indians*. This *Sims* was Masters mate of the *Holland* Shippe which Captaine *Lee* found in the Riuer of *Wiapoco* at his first arrival there: also he was Master of the Ship which the *Indians* aduerted vs was in the Riuer of *Amacoma*, and according to their saying, God be thanked he came to vs to our Comforts.

Trinidad.

After his departure out of the Riuer of *Calumay*, he sailed vnto *Trinidad*, where the *Spaniards* entertained him and his company very kindly, for they gaue them Tobacco for all such commodities as they had, and suffered them to lade Pirch which goeth out of the ground there, for that our Master durst not goe to Point de *Re* to lade Saule there as he determined, because he heard that the *Spaniards* did lye there with their men of warre, and had taken certaine *Holland* Shippes, and had hung ouer board all the men that were in them: our Master tooke his course from *Trinidad* to *Amsterdame*, where he arrived on the 10 of June, and there were in number of vs eight besides my selfe, named *Doues Gansdell*, *Robert Gardner*, *William Crandall*, *Robert Becks*, *Richard Fryn*, *William Frier*, *Gilbert Browne*, and *Richard Spuocky*. Since my being here I vnderstand

that one of our company which we left at *Trinidad*, named *William Crandall* is gone in a Shippe of *Holland* for *Wiapoco*, which voyage they would haue hired my selfe and others to haue gone with them, by reason we haue the *Indians* languages: such is the diligence of that Nation, vnto whom I wish well for the great kindeffice they shewed my selfe and others of our Nation.

CHAP. XV.

Part of a Treatise written by Master WILLIAM TURNER, Sonne to Doctor TURNER of London a Physician, touching the former Voyage.

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The fourteenth of August, about two in the afternoone, we had sight of the *Ber-bades*, which bore of vs South South-west. The Land hath two points bearing East and West one from another; and from the middle of it, it stretcheth like *Tennessee*, and is tenne leagues broad, and is barren of any inhabitants, hauing great flocks of Hogges, Pigeons, and Parrots. We bore for the *Wellernott* point of this land, and so we steered away West North-west; and North-west and West amongst for Saint Lucia.

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The fifteenth day, being thursdai, we had sight of Saint Lucia, bearing West North-west of vs. This land of Saint Lucia is a very fertile Ile, bearing many sorts of fruities, as Plantons, Potatoes, Pinos, Guanos, Poppins, Cassado, and many other fruities. It hath also great flocks of Cotten wool, and Tobacco, but their Tobacco is not very good. It hath also many wilde Beasts in it, as Tygers, Guanes, Alagartos, and other Beasts, which time would not permit vs to see. It hath also great flocks of Pigeons, Parrats, Pellicans, Cats, and Dogges. The people goe naked, hauing very long haire, and are very honest kinde hearted people. In this land we set our passengers aloare, and furnished them with all things necessary that our distressed Shippe could afford them. But they like treacherous idle disposed people, not regarding our kindeffice, so not pitying our necessity, betrayed our Boate from vs one morning as we went aloare, my selfe and three or foure other Gentlemen being in her; and then they detained three Saylers which were drawing in the Boate keeping them for their owne vile, and afterward sent vs aboard in a *Canna*, which we were faine to buy of them for Kinaes. The Master and the Captaine seeing this their treacherous dealing, and being out of all hope to get their Boate againe, about thursdai in the evening, being the three and twentieth of August, gaue them a Pece of Ordnance with intent to beate downe their houses. We had no sooner let flye at them, but presently they shot at vs againe, the bullet whereof came betwene our maine Mast and our Poop, but it hurt no body. So that night we waied, and went to a Baye some two leagues to leeward of this roade where we first anchored. In this Bay there are halfe a dosen of *Indian* houses very pleasantly situated vpon the top of a hill, with a fresh water Riuer at the foote of the same hill; and in this Baye we had very good traffike of linnen cloth, and many pleasant fruities, for our Hatchets and Knives. After we had roade here some fixe houres, we might plainly discern our Boate vnder saile, whereupon we presently fitted our small floor, hoping that their intent was to come aboard, and betray our Shippe, but they tacked in, and rowed alongh the shoare, till they came to the very Bay where we roade, and there they stopped, and we were in good hope to recouer our Boate againe, but they carried there trading for their commodities in the face of our Ordnance: whereupon we seeing their daring boldnesse to be so great that they presumed to traffike in our owne Boate before our noyse, and to goe about as it were to stop vs from traffike, we let flye at them fixe peeces of Ordnance, and a vialle of small shot, but wist harme we did amongst them, we know not, for they rowed away, and got out of sight of vs.

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We returned the Baye where we put these men a shoare *Rogues Baye*, & the Cape we called *Cape Knauts*, and the Riuer, *Riuer of Rafols*. This very same day being the foure and twentieth of August, we waied anchor, and steered away South South-east, and South-east and by South amongst for Saint Vincent. And vpon Saturday the fixe and twentieth day, in the afternoone we arrived at the *Island of Saint Vincent*, where we came within a Ships length very nigh the shoare, which put vs all in great feare, for if God had sent vs a gale from the shoare, we had all runne a ground, and we had had all our throates cut by the *Indians* of that land. So that night we tried it off at Sea with our fore-top-faile, and fore-faile, intending next day, being Sunday, to stand in it againe for the shoare, because we had good hope of good traffike there. But the current had driven vs so farre off at Sea by the next morning, and the winde blew so vehemently from the shoare, that we could by no means fetch the land; whereupon being foure leagues from the shoare of Saint Vincent, we steered away South South-west, and South-west and by South amongst for the *Teffigens*. And the next morning being monday, we had sight of the *Granades*, bearing of vs South-east, but we could not fetch the

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* The large journal of their voyage to this place, is for breuitie omitted, as also their course homewards.

* The treachery of the *Guanes* a thing worthy the noting, for their nature is, if one stripe one, it sets one a courting, and este a greene one a courting, as I haue said.

Ex quod dicitur in libro Perennis misericordie.

Rogues Bay, Cape Knauts, Riuer of Rafols.

Saint Vincent.

Teffigens, Granades.

Tell ye

Tiffiger. The nine and twentieth being Wednesday morning, we had fight of five small Rocks, which bore of vs West and by North. Some five leagues off: we had also fight of the Island of *Blanco*, whereby we found that the Current had set vs, and doth set to the North-east, and therefore your beilf coule to goe from the *Granada* to the *Tiffiger*, is to steere away South-west.

The first of September being Friday morning we had fight of *Margarita*, and at night we cast anchor at the Westermoist Point of this land, called *Paim Macanao*. The second day the next morning we went aloft with our Canoe, to see if we coule meete with any *Spaniards*, with whom we might bargain for some Beeces. But we coule neither see *Spaniards*, Beeces, nor fresh-water, only we found the dung of Beeces. In this land of *Margarita* also there are great flocks of Pelicans. This morning we weighed; and as soone as wee had doubled the Point of *Macanao*, we had fight of the *Langeria*, which is as it were a little towne, containing in it some fortie or fiftie houles. Here wee did not land because wee saw no people, but stood it away South-east and South and by East amongst for the *Burdones*. About mid-night we came close aboard the shoare by an Island, called *Fabasso*, and then went aboard, and had ground at fortie fathome.

The third day being Monday morning, we were becalmed, some three leagues off from the mayne. About twelue at noone the same day, we had fight of *Paim de Rey*. The winde and breezes blew so strongly of the shoare, that we coule not come to anchor that night to the *Burdones*. These *Burdones* are no Towne, nor hath any houles, but belongeth to the Towne of *Comana*.

The fourth day being Wednesday, at four in the afternoon, we came to an anchor at the *Burdones*; so that we were three dayes in getting to the shoare, being in sight of it all the while. About twelue at mid-night the same day, we put out our raine-Net into the Sea for to catch some fish. And about foure in the morning we found a great Sword-fish flue into the Net, which was fourteen foot long, and he had a word some three foot long. The sword is square, and blunt at the end, hauing great prickles vpon each side, of the bignesse of a wille Bores tuske. We sent our Canoe ashore here, to parley with them, bruing a flagge of truce. The Gouverneur of *Comana* perceiving our Canoe coming ashore, sent a *Molato* to parley with our men, who saluted them very kindly, inquiring of vs, what newes in *England*, and whether the Con-
30 stable of *Spain* were gone home into *Spain* or no; we told him he was gone into *Spain*, because we let out of *England*; we asked of him what newes in *Comana* of any *English* men, and when any had beene here; he told them about a month agoe, and that one of them had like to have beene taken by a French Pirate, if a *Flamingo* had not took his part. This night there came foure *Spaniards* aboard our ship from a Canell which was an anchor halfe a league from vs. These *Spaniards* bargued with vs some Tobacco, and told vs, that Captaine *Lee* had a Towne built for himselfe, and that the Pinnasse had beene here a moneth agoe.

The fiftenth of September in the afternoon, there came the *Adole* of Master *Eldred* to an anchor in the road where we rode, and then we welcomed them with a shot, and they gave vs three for one: after these our salutations, the Captaine of the *Adole*, called *Squire*, came aboard vs, and told vs, that Sir *Oliph Lee* his Pinnasse was come home, before they let out of *England*, and that Captaine *Lee* dyed in the Pinnasse coming into *England*; others of his companie said, that they heard he was betrayed, and killed in his *Flamenc* in *Wapoco*. He also told vs, that he had left some thirtie men behind him which were in great miserie and extremitie, both for lacke of health and scarcitie of victuals.

The sixteenth of September, Captaine *Squire* weighed, and left vs going for *Comanagota*. The *Spaniards* are not trucke with vs for any thing, but when that they steale aboard in the night; for if that they should be espied they should be hanged: Cloth of Tissue and Gold, cloth of Siluer, Veluet, Saxine, Silkes, fine woollen cloth and linnen, as Cambrick, Lawne, Holland, new Trunkes, Pistols, Fowling peece, and Muskets are very good commodities to truck with the *Spaniards*; and all other places in the *Indies*. There is muchous for all the day long till it be noone, and then there blowes a coole breeze; and at noone you shall alwayes heare thundering and lightning without any raine for the most part. The towne of *Comana* stands two miles from the Sea-side, and cannot be seene by reason of the trees which cover the fight of it, but you may see the Gouvernours house, for it stands vpon the top of a Hill, looking ouer the trees, which cover the towne.

The eight and twentieth of September being Saturday, we espied ten sail of *Flammings* bound for *Ponira*. The thirtieth day being Monday, we weighed for *Loyata*; and wee steered away North and North and by West for *Ponira* from *Comana*; and about fixe of the clocke in the morning we arrived there safely.

The fourteenth of October, Captaine *Catho* and two other Gentlemen, went out of our ship vpon some discontentments, murthering of the Master of our ships vnderwards them, and had their passage in two *Hollenders*, that were riding at *Ponira*. The five and twentieth about eight a clocke at night we weighed at *Ponira*, hauing two *Flammings* ships our consorts with vs. On
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the thirtieth we had fight of the Westermoist end of *Porto Rico*, called Cape *Roxo*, and of a little land (some foure leagues off, called *Echro*. Here we layed till Friday and Saturday, hoping for to haue gotten the shoare for fresh water, and Oranges; but we had no winde at all to leue our turnes. About Saturday at noone, there came vnto vs a *Flammings* boat with a dozen men in it; these men told vs, that vpon Sunday the seuen and twentieth day of this moneth, there came nineteene sail of *Spaniards*, and that they had taken all the ships which we left behinde vs, in number ten, lauing two ships of Captaine *Mageronnes*, which escaped by their swift lauiting, and that they themselues being ashore with their Boat made an escape from *Ponira*, and so came to vs at *Porto Rico*, which is one hundred and threecore leagues, where we refreshed our selues with fresh water and Oranges.

The ninth of November being Saturday, we dissembogued from *Porto Rico*. The two and twentieth of December we saw *Flores*, one of the Islands of the *Ajores*.

CHAP. XVI.

A Relation of a voyage to Guiana performed by ROBERT HARCOURT of Stanton Harcourt in the Countie of Oxford Esquire. To PRINCE CHARLES.

IN the yeere of our Lord 1608. and the 23. of March, when I had furnished my selfe with one ship of fourcore tunnes, called the *Rose*; a Pinnasse of fixe and thirtie tunnes, called the *Patience*; and a Shallop of nine tunnes, called the *Lilly*, which I built at *Dartmouth*; and had finished my other buisness: there, and prepared all things in readinesse to begin my voyage, the winde reasonably serving, I then imbarked my companie, as followeth.

In the *Rose*, I was accompanied with Captaine *Edward Fisher*, Captaine *Edward Harney*, Master *Edward Gifford*, and my Cou'in *Thomas Harcourt*: and besides them, I had of Gentlemen and others one and thirtie Land-men, two *Indians*, and three and twentie Mariners and Saylers. In the *Patience*, my brother Captaine *Michael Harcourt*, had with him of Gentlemen and others twentie Land-men, and eleuen Mariners and Saylers. In the *Lilly*, I kept the Master, had one Land-man, and two Saylers: so that my full number (too great for so few of us of no greater burden) was in all fourcore and seuenteen, whereof threecore were Land-men. Being thus imbarked, we set saile from the Rainge at *Dartmouth* the said three and twentieth of March; but the winde altering vpon a sudden, put vs backe againe that evening; and about two of the clocke the next morning (it coming better for vs) we weighed anchor, and put to Sea: the evening following we lost sight of the Lizzard, and steered away for the *Canaries*.

The seventh day of April we fell with *Aleganza* and *Lancero*, two lands of the *Canaries*: we stood in with *Aleganza* and came to anchor on the South-west side thereof; that evening and the next day I landed my companie to exercise their limmes on shoare: in this land we found no Inhabitants, nor fresh water, neither fruitfull Tree, Plant, Herbe, Grasse, nor any thing growing that was good, only an abundance of vnwholsome Sea-fowle, which after one meale were vnlaourie and distastefull, and a few wille Capritos, or wilde Goats, which the craggy Rocks defended from our hands, and hungrie mouthe.

The eighth of April we departed from *Aleganza*, and directed our course for *Tencrife*, another of the Islands. The eleventh day I sent the Pinnasse, and the Shallop to water at the Calmes, and there to attend my coming; but with my ship I held my course for *Ortano*, a Towne on the other side of the land, in hope to get some wine amongst the Merchants there; but not being able (by reason of a contrary winde) to double *Punta de Negra*, wee altered our course from Wine to Water. And the twelfth day wee passed by *Santa Cruz*, and watered that evening at the Calmes.

This watering place is very conuenient for all such as passe by these Islands, and is thus to be found; there is a woollen Crosse neere vnto it, the high *Pike* of *Tencrife* beareth due North from it. There is also a ledge of Rocks to the Eastward of the landing place, which is a short Sandie Bay. When you are landed, you shall finde the place about fortie or fiftie yards from the Sea side.

Then we stood on our course for the Riuer of *Wapoco* in *Guiana*, hauing a prosperous winde, faire weather, and a smooth Sea. The ninth day of May, we fell into the Current of the great and famous Riuer of *Amazons*, which putteth out into the Sea such a violent and mightie streame of fresh water, that being thirtie leagues from land, we dunked thereof, and found it as fresh and good as in a Spring or Poole.

This Riuer for the great and wonderfull breadth (consyding at the mouth neere fixe leagues) is rightly termed by *Iosephus Acosta* the Emperesse and Queene of all Floods, and by *Hieronymus Orta* *Tartacensis*: it is said to bee the greatest not only of all *Indias*, but also of the

23. March, 1608.

The *Rose*.

The *Patience*, Th. *Lilly*.

Land-men fixe. They let saile the 23. of March.

They arrive at *Aleganza*.

Tencrife.

An excellent watering place.

The Riuer of *Amazons*. Fresh water in the Sea 30. leagues from land. *Iosephus Acosta*. *Hieronymus Orta* *Tartacensis*.

the whole world; and for the greatneſſe, is called of many the Sweet Sea, it riſeth and floweth from the Mountains of *Peru*, and draweth out her ſtreames in many windings and turnings vnder the Equinoctiall, for the ſpace of one thouſand and five hundred leagues and more: alſomuch from her Fontaines and Springs vnto the Sea it is but fix hundred. When we entred into the aforeſaid Current, we found, and had fortie foure fathome water, ſandie bottom. The tenth day the colour of the water changed, and became muddie, whitith, and thicke; then we founded againe at noone, and had thirte fathomes; and fourtene at foure in the afternoon. The eleuenth day at eight of the clocke in the morning we made Land, the vtermoſt Point thereof bearing Weſt from vs, and came to anchor in five fathom water.

At night the *Patience* putting in to neere the ſhoare, came to anchor in two fathome and a halfe water vpon the flood which fell from her vpon the ebbe, and left her drie vpon the Ooze, and the next flood coming in, did lo ſhake and beate her againſt the ground, that beſore ſhee could get off, her rudder was beate away, and her ribs for rent and craied, that if Almighty God had not preferred her, ſhee had bene wrackt: but (God be thanked) with much adoe ſhee came off into deeper water, and mended her Cudding, as well as the time and place would afford means. Then we followed on our courſe, coaſting along to the North North-weſt, the Land lying. It is very ſhoale all along this Coaſt, the ground ſoft ooze, but no danger to be feared, keeping our ſhip in five fathom water.

When we came to the latitude of two degrees and a halfe, wee anchored in a goodly Bay, by certaine Ilands, called *Carripoo*, I did at that time forbear to make particular diſcouer of this Coaſt, intending (God ſpare me life) to make a perfect diſcouerie of the famous Riuer of *Amazones*, and of her ſeverall branches, and Countries bordering vpon it, and of all this tract of Land from the *Amazones*, vnto the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, which containeth many goodly Provinces, and Signories, which are in this diſcouery, but briefly mentioned: For at this time I purpoſed only to procure my firſt prociſſe, which ſhall come in vnto another place.

From hence I flood along the Coaſt, and the eleuenth of May, I came to anchor in the Bay of *Wiapoco*: where the *Indians* came off vnto vs in two or three Canoes as well to learne of what Nation wee were, as allo to trade with vs: who vnderſtanding that we were *Engliſh* men boldly came aboard vs, one of them could ſpeake our language well, and was knowne to ſome of my companie to be an *Indian*, that ſometime had bene in *England*, and ſerued Sir *Iohn Gilberſ* many 30 yeeres: they brought with them ſuch dainties as their Countrey yeeldeth; as Hens, Fiſh, Pinas, Plantanes, Potatoes, bread of Caſſia, and ſuch like cates, which were heartily welcome to my hungrie companie: In recompence whereof, I gaue them Knives, Beades, *ſewes* trumps, and ſuch toys, which well contented them. But when I had awhile entertaigned them, and made known vnto them the rerurſe of the *Indian*, *Marſin*, their Countreiman, whom I brought with mee out of *England*, they ſeemed exceeding ioyfull, ſuppoſing that he had bene dead, being about foure yeeres ſince he departed from them.

The *Indian* before mentioned to haue ſerued Sir *Iohn Gilberſ* (whole name was *Iohn*) whileſt he liued (for he is now dead, and dyed a Chriſtian) was a great helpe vnto vs, becauſe he ſpoke our language much better then either of thoſe that I brought with mee, and was euer firme and faithfull to vs, vntill his death. By him I vnderſtood that their Towne was ſituate vpon the Eaſt ſide of the Hill in the mouth of *Wiapoco*, and was called *Caripo*: that the *Indians*, *Marſin*, was Lord thereof, and that in his abſence his brother was chiefe. Moreover, he certified mee that the principall *Indian* of that Riuer was called *Carafana* (who by good fortune) was then at *Caripo*, and ſo hauing ſpent ſome time in other conference and friendly entertaing etc. they tooke their leave, and departed for that time. I ſent one of my companie with them to giue notice to *Carafana*, and the reſt of the *Indians* of *Caripo*, that I had brought home their Countreiman *Marſin*, whom they all thought to be dead, and another of their Nation allo, who had kindred and friends amongſt them: to deſire him to come aboard my ſhip, and to bring with him the principall *Indians* of *Caripo*, that I might declare vnto them the cauſe of my coming into their Countrey, and conferre with them of other matters intended for their good. The next day I came into the Riuer of *Wiapoco*, and anchored ouer againſt the *Sandy Bay*.

The day following the *Indians* came aboard as I had deſired, and brought vs good ſtore of their Countrey prouifion: *Carafana*, and one or two more of them were attired in old clothes, which they had gotten of certain *Engliſh* men, who (by the direction of Sir *Walter Raleigh*) had traded there the yeere before, the reſt were all naked, both men and women; and thus I obſerued amongſt them, that althoug the better fort of men (ſpecially the *Tanis*) doe couer their priuities by wearing ouer them a little peece of cotton cloth, prettily woven after their manner: yet did I neuer ſee any of their women couered in any part, either aboue or beneath the waite, albeit they daily conuerſed amongſt vs, but were all (as the ſaie prouerb is) euen ſleeke 60

At their coming aboard my ſhip, firſt *Carafana* as the principall amongſt them, and after him the reſt, ſaluted and welcomed vs after their rule manner. I viſited them with all curteſie, and entertaigned them as well as the ſtraight room would giue me leaſe: giuing them good ſtore of

of *Aquauiua*, which they loue exceedingly: I preſented to their view their two Countreimen, *Marſin* the Lord of their Towne, and *Antonie Candre*, who was a Chriſtian, and had liued in *England* fourtene yeere, both which I had brought home vnto them: when they beheld them, and ſee ſalutations, and ſome conference, knew to be the ſame perſons, whom they ſuppoſed had bene long ſince dead, they expreſſed much ioy and contentment: and vnderſtanding (from their owne mouths) how well I had viſited them, they ſeemed to be better pleaſed with our coming; and when their rule ſalutations to their new-come Countreimen were ended, I tooke them apart, and thus declared the cauſe of my coming.

Fiſt, I brought to their remembrance the exploits performed by Sir *Walter Raleigh* in their Countrey, in the reigne of our late Soueraigne Queene *Elizabeth*, when (to free them from ſeruitude) he moſt worthily vanquiſhed the *Spaniards* at *Trinidad*: burnt their Towne, tooke their Gouverneur *Don Antonio de Berro* priſoner: deliuered ſue of the *Indian* Kings impriſoned, and bound by the necke with colders of Iron; and with great labour and perill diſcouered the Riuer of *Orenoco*, and the Countries adioyning, as farre as the Province of *Arumay*, the Countrey of *Tapariary*, and the Riuer of *Oronoco* beyond it. And that their Countreimen called the *Orenocoque* (who are the borderers of *Oronoco*) did then moſt willingly ſubmit: and render themſelves vnder the ſubjection of the late Queene; all which they well remembered, and ſaid, that Sir *Walter Raleigh* promiſed to haue returned againe vnto them long ſince.

Then ſhewd he not returning according to his promiſe, by reaſon of other employments 20 of great importance impoſed vpon him by the late Queene: ſhewing them moreover, that when he could not (for that cauſe) returne himſelfe, hee ſent Captaine *Kerym* to viſit them, and to bring him true intelligence of their eſtate (ſuppoſing that hee had left no *Spaniards* behinde him at *Trinidad* of power to moleſt them) to the end that reliefe and aide might be prepared for them, according to their neceſſities, and oppreſſion of their enemies. Then I told them of the death of the late Queene, whereby that buſineſſe of theirs was againe hindered.

Moreover, I declared vnto them, that our gracious Soueraigne Lord King *James*, who now reigneth ouer vs (being the only right and lawfull Heire, and Succesor, to the Crowne and Dignitie of the Realme of *England*, after the death of the late Queene) was throughout the whole Land proclaimed King of *England*; and fo coming to reſigne ouer vs, hath bene euer 30 ſince buſied in ordering the State and affaires of the Kingdom, which being (by his great wiſedome) ſeiled in tranquillitie and peace, like a good, gracious, and worthy King, doth now permit his Subjects to trauiell abroad into forraigne Countries, and Nations, to aide and aſſiſt all ſuch as are vniuſually moleſted by their enemies. Whereupon, I and the reſt of theſe worthy Gentlemen my ſolicitors and friends, hauing intelligence by ſome that had bene followers of Captaine *Charles Lee* (who was a man well knowne amongſt them), and heretofore had taken poſſeſſion of their Countrey to his Maſteſties vie, and was planted diuers yeeres in *Wiapoco*, where hee lyeth buried) of the great variance and diſcord depending betweene the allied Nations, the *Tanis*, *Arumays*, *Sappaiis*, and *Paragomys*; and their enemies the *Charibes* (all inhabiting betweene the Riuer of *Amazones*, and *Deſſequibe*) haue made a long and dangerous voy- 40 age into thoſe parts, to appeale their diſſentions, and defend them againſt the *Charibes*, or other enemies that ſhall moleſt or oppreſſe them: and now being there arrived, doe intend to make ſearch in thoſe Countries for convenient places, where ſuch of our Nation as ſhall hereafter come to defend them, may be ſitely ſeated to dwell amongſt them: that if any of thoſe Nations ſhall attempt at any time to diſturb the quiet liuing of their Neighbours, they may haue ſtore of *Engliſh* friends at hand and amongſt them, that will not ſpare their paines to appeaſe their diſcords, nor their liues to defend them from harme.

When I had thus declared vnto them the cauſe of my coming, they made this anſwere; that with our coming they were well pleaſed; but our number or men they thought too great; that they wanted meanes to prouide vs bread ſufficient for them all, hauing but a ſmall Towne, 50 few Gardens, and ſlender prouifion for their owne companies, becauſe ſince Captaine *Lee* his death, and his mens departure from them, they neuer made prouifion for any ſtrangers.

I replied, that albeit their Towne was ſmall, and their Gardens few (for the grounds where in they plant their Caſſia, whereof they make their bread, they call their Gardens) yet their Countrey was full of Inhabitants, and had ſtore of Gardens to ſupply our wants of bread, and was plentifully ſtored with other prouifions ſufficient for a greater number, which I deſired might bee weekly brought vnto vs, as neede required, for that I meant not to take it without recompence, but would giue them for it ſuch commodities as ſhould well pleaſe them, which they wanted: as Axes, Hatchets, Knives, Beades, Looking-glafſes, *ſewes* trumps, and ſuch like things wherein they moſt delight.

Then they deſired to conſult amongſt themſelves, which I permitted, and expected their an- ſwere about two houres, the which time they ſpent in debating the matter after their manner, and drinking *Aquauiua*, and in the end deſired my preſence, and made me this anſwer.

That they were contented and well pleaſed we ſhould liue amongſt them; that they would furniſh vs with houſes to lodge in, and prouide all neceſſaries for vs in the beſt manner they could.

Their conference with the *Indians*, Sir *W. Raleigh* ſaies in theſe words. See *lib. 3.*

The *Orenocoque* had rendered themſelves ſubjects to Queene *Elizabeth*.

Cap. *Kerym* his voyage to *Guiana*.

Poſſeſſion of the Countrey taken at *Wiapoco*, by Captaine *Lee* to his Maſteſties vie.

The eleuenth of May they made land in *Guiana*. The *Patience* in danger of wracke.

* Ilands called *Carripoo*.

The Bay of *Wiapoco*. *Indian* boats.

A village called *Caripo*.

A meſſenger ſent to the *Indians*.

The *Indians* come aboard.

The chiefe men of the Nation of the *Tanis* couer their priuities. The women generally goe all naked.

could. But whereas I said our King would permit his people to live and abide amongst them, and defend them against their enemies: they answered, it was a thing they greatly desired, and had expected long, and now they made much doubt thereof; and said they were but young, having heretofore bene^a promised the like, but nothing performed. To relieve that doubt, and make good my speeches, I told them what I had spoken should certainly be performed; and to that end I would leave my brother in their Country, and some of my company with him, to dwell amongst them, untill a greater supply might be sent from England for their better defence. Then they seemed to give credit to my words: And so I offered much talk, and many complements to please the naked people, I gave to *Cara-Jona* a sword, and to the rest some other things, which day the *Indian Maryn* went ashore, and seemed joyful that he had again recovered his own home.

The day following I took land, with my companies in armes and colours displayed, and went up into the Towne, where I found all the women and children standing at their doors to behold vs. The principall *Indians* came out unto me, and invited me into the Captaines house, which untill the returne of *Maryn* belonged unto his brother, as chief of their Countie cities: I had well eaten and refreshed my selfe, *Maryn* took me by the hand and said, that he had not any thing wherewith to requite my kindnesse towards him, in such manner as he desired; neither had he such delicate fare, and good lodging for vs, as in England heretofore we had bene vnto: but humbly intreated me to accept of his house in good part for my selfe, and the Gentlemen of my company; and the rest should be lodged in other *Indian* houses adjoining: and Gentia: such provision as the Country yeeldeth, should be provided for vs. His speech was approved by the rest of the *Indians* present, who took me by the hand one after another, and after their manner bad me welcome. I gave them many thanks, and some rewards for their kinde entertainment; and then disposed my many companies in convenient lodgings: but yet I kept a continual guard, as in time of warre.

When I had thus settled my company at this village, I went out to view the situation of the place, and the advantages for defence thereof. It is a great rockie Mountaine, not accessible by reason of fast woods, and keepe rocks, but only in certaine places, which are narrow footes: paths, very steepe and safe to be defended: whereby we were lodged as in a Fort, and most conveniently in respect the harbour was no neere, for our Ships did ride at anchor underneath vs, our against the footes of the hill.

Being thus arrived upon the Coast, I found the time of the yeare to be seasonable for our purpose, that (by reason of continuall raine) we were constrained to lye still and doe nothing for the space of three weekes, or a moneth: in which idle time I conferred with the *Indians*, sometime with one, sometime with another; and by helpe of my *Indian* *Arriacary* *Cambary*, and the *Indian* *John* about mentioned (whom I used for my interpreters) I gathered from them as well as I could, the State of their Countie: the manner of their government and living; how they stood with their neighbours in teares of peace, and warre; and of what power and strength they were. I inquired also of the seasons of the yeare in those parts: of their diuision, and account of times, and numbers; of the productions of their Countie for vituals, and other necessities: and made a diligent inquiry of all the commodities their Countie yeeldeth, and what things were of most estimation amongst them: all which I haue briefly declared vnto your Highnesse in this following discourse.

This goodly Countie, and spacious Empire, is on the North part bounded with the Sea, and the great River of *Orinoco*, wherein Sir *Walter Raleigh* performed his worthy and memorable discovery, on the East and South parts, with the famous River of *Amazones*: and on the West part with the Mountaines of *Peru*.

The westmost branch of the River of *Amazones* that falleth into the Sea, is called *Arripoco*: upon which River are feated many goodly Signories well deserving a particular discovery, which shall (by Gods permission) be performed hereafter. To the North of *Arripoco* is the River of *Arriacary*, which is a goodly River, discovering a gallant Countie. From *Arriacary* vnto the River of *Cassipoung* extendeth the Province of *Arriacary*; containing the Signories of *Arriacary*, *Macary*, and *Coolhebery*; of which *Arriacary* is principall, who by Nation is a *Tai*, and fled from the borders of *Orinoco* for feare of the *Spaniards*, to whom he is a mortall enemy. He hath feated himselfe in the Province of *Arriacary*, and now dwelleth at *Morogay* in the Signory of *Macari*. To the North-west of which, there falleth into the Sea a River called *Canapoco* is Chief, vnder the subiection of *Arriacary*; whereof an *Indian* named *Leonard* *Rapago* is resident in England with Sir *Walter Raleigh*, to whom he beareth great affection: he cana little understand and speake our language, and loveth our Nation with all his heart. During my abode at *Wiapoco*, having intelligence of him, and of his Country, and that certaine stones were

found therein, supposed to be Diamonds: I sent my Cozen, Captaine *Fisher* to discover the same, and fetch some of those stones, to be refused of the truth.

At his coming thither, *Leonard* entertained him with all kindnesse, nor after the ordinary rude manner of the *Indians*, but in more civill fashion, and with much respect and love, he furnished him with guides to conduct him through the Countie to the place where the Stones were found, being fifty miles Southward up into the Land: beyond which place there is an high Mountaine appearing in sight, called *Cowab* and on the top thereof (as the *Indians* report) a great lightfull, as our any man beheld; but the Stones nor Diamonds: yet they were *Topazes*, which being a little cut, and set in Gold by a cunning workman, doe make as faire a shew, and give as good a luster as any Diamond whatsoever: which yeelde good hopes of better to be found hereafter: For where the *Topaz* is found on the Mountaines of *Tenafren*, in the East *Indies*, the greatest store of Diamonds are also found.

When my kinsman returned, Captaine *Leonard* came with him to *Wiapoco* (being about an hundred miles from his owne Countie) onely to visite me and my company; for the great love he did beare to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and our Nation. I much marvelled to see him, for assuredly he is the bravest *Indian* of all those parts. After he had bene with me a day or two, he earnestly requested me to send some of my company into his Countie, which he greatly commended for the wholesome ayre, and plenty of vituals, alluding that the place where then wee lived (by his owne experience) was very unhealthfull, and that our men would there be subiect to sickness and die: and for an instance he named Captaine *Lee*, and his company, who formerly were planted there, and almost all dyed by sickness in the same place: But he assured me that his owne Countie *Coolhebery* was of a good ayre, pleasant, and healthfull; that there they might have room sufficient to build *English* houses in (for those were the words he used) that thither they should be welcome and should want nothing. Much he perswaded to draw me to his desire, which by his importunity I granted, and accordingly performed it; finding his Countie agreeable to his report; being for the most part champion ground, naturally intermixt of plaine fields, fruitfull meadows, and goodly woods, in such admirable order, as if they had bene planted artificially by handy labour. The fields appearing above the meadows in pleasant and lovely prospects: the meadows bordering on every side between the fields and woods, the woods growing in the lowest valleys betwixt the meadows, and commonly are watered with sweete and pleasant fresh streames running through them: which strange and rare mixture of Mounts, Valleys, Meadows, Fields, and Woods, afford as excellent and healthfull habitations as can be wished or desired, but is not greatly peopled.

From the River of *Cassipoung* Northward to the River of *Arriacary* and vp further into the Land towards the West and South-west, as farre as the River of *Arriacary* (which falleth into the land above the overfalls) extend the Provinces of *Arriacary*, and *Morowini*, which also to the landward (by the relation of my Brother, Captaine *Michael* *Harcourt*, and Captaine *Harvey*, who have trauelled and discovered those parts) are pleasant and delightfull plaine Counties, like unto *Coolhebery*. The *Arriacary* Countie is well peopled, and their chief Captaine is called *Ipero*. Betwixt the *Wiapoco* and *Arriacary* there is no hearty love and friendship, yet is outward love they hold good quarter. In *Morowini*, there is also store of people, which are friendly *Indians*. In that Province there is a very high Hill called *Callipary*, fashioned like a Sugar-loafe, or a *Pyramis*, which overuieweth and discovereth all the Territories adjoining about an hundred miles.

Beyond the Countie of *Morowini* to the Southward bordering the River of *Arriacary*, is the Province of *Norack*; the people thereof are *Chiribes*, and enemies both to the *Morowinnes*, the inhabitants of *Arriacary*, and to the *Wiapoco*; who are also vnder the subiection of *Anaky-tu*, the principall and greatest Lord, or *Captaine* of all the *Tais* in those Provinces, bordering upon the Sea betwixt the *Amazones*, Southward, and *Desfuyne* North-westward.

From the River of *Amazones* to the Bay of *Wiapoco*, there fall into the Sea these Rivers following: *Arripoco* (a branch of *Amazones*); *Arriacary*, *Macary*, *Canapoco*, and *Cassipoung*: In the Bay of *Wiapoco* to the East of the said River, there falleth into the Sea the River of *Arriacary*; and into *Arriacary* falleth the River of *Vtari*. To the North of *Vtari* there is a small creeke called *Vitany*, which letteth into the Sea a dayes journey Westward up into the Land: some take this creeke to be a River, but they doe erre in that opinion, it hauing neither Spring, nor Fontaine from whence it falleth. To the North and North-west of the said creeke, there is a ridge of high Mountaines running towards the River of *Apurimac*, the soile whereof is excellent and fertile for Tobacco, and beareth the best of all those parts; so are the Sugar-canes there growing the best and fairest that are found upon the Coast: and all the tract of Land betwixt the Rivers of *Vtari*, and *Apurimac*, is accounted the Province of *Vtari*, containing the Signories of *Vtari*, *Vtari*, and *Vtari*. Beneath the overfalls in *Vtari* (which are forty miles distant from the Sea) there is much people, both of *Tais*, and *Amazones*: of the *Tais* in this River *Cara*

A Mountaine called *enak*, *Topaz* in *Coolhebery*.

The quality of the Province of *Coolhebery*.

An exceeding high hill called *Callipary*.

Norack.

Anaky-tu.

Rivers falling into the Sea, betweene *Arripoco* and *Arriacary*.

The Province of *Wiapoco*.

Jana.

^a By Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and Captaine *Lee*.

The *Indian Maryn* goes ashore.

The *English* take land.

The *English* feasted by the *Indians*. The grateful offer of *Maryn*.

The *English* settled at *Caripo* in *Wiapoco*. The paths of the place.

Continuall raine.

The bounds and limits of *Guiana*.

Arripoco a branch of *Amazones*. *Arriacary*.

Macary. *Anaky-tu* chief of the *Tais*. *Morowini*. *Canapoco*.

Coolhebery. *Leonard Rapago* Lord of *Coolhebery*.

Jana.

Caiane. *Caiane* is chiefe. Of the *Amaccas*, *Arriqua* is principall. In *Humary* there are few *Indians*, and *Cajurino* is their chieftaine.

To the North-west of the Bay of *Wapoco*, there fall into the Sea the River of *Apurucas*, *Coro*, *Uro*, and *Caiane*. *Apurucas* is a goodly River, and well inhabited. *Coro* is void of inhabitants: *Uro* is a faire River and leadeth many dayes journey into the high land, and discovereth a fertile and hopeful Country. As *Caiane* there is an excellent harbour for shipping of any burden, which heretofore by Captaine *Lawrence Keymis* was called *Port Howard*. On the Starboard side, as you enter this harbour, there is an Iland of low land, called *Mucumbra*. Situate betwixt the River of *Caiane* and *Mecorra*, containing in circuit about sixtente leagues. In this Iland there are two hills, the one called *Mucumbra*, whereof the Iland taketh the name; the other called *Cilicidemo*: from these hills the greatest part of the Iland may be overiewed, which containeth many goodly Pastures and Meadows intermixt with some Woods, and is full of Deere, both red and fallow.

On the Larboard side, as you enter *Caiane* there is another Iland of high Land, called *Mattoryn*, in quantitie much like unto the first: this Iland for the commodious situation, is of great use for the defence of the harbour, affording naturally two such notable convenient places for the planting of Ordnance for that purpose, as no indolity of art could devise better, or more available.

The Inhabitants of this Province of *Caiane* are *Charibes*, their principall commander is called *Arriquary*, who dwelleth at *Cilicidemo* before mentioned: we have found him truly and faithfully to our Nation but to our friend *Leonard of Cosfobery*, he is a mortall enemy. As this man should I left foure or five of my company, thereby to hold amity and friendship with the *Charibes*, to learne their language, and to keep peace betwixt them and the *Taisi*, *Amaccas*, and other Nations their allies. To the South-westward of these Provinces about mentioned towards the high land, there be many others which hereafter shall be more exactly described by a second discovery.

These Provinces & Signiories to the landward are not plentifully inhabited, the greatest numbers of people are seated near unto the Rivers, & traueil from place to place in Canoes. There is no settled government amongst them, onely they acknowledge a superiority, which they will obey as farre as they please. In every Province or Signiory there is a chiefe *Caife*, or *Capitaine*, commanding all: So likewise in every Towne and Village, they commonly chafise murder and adultery by death, which onely are the offences punished amongst them, and certaine persons are appointed by them to execute those punishments. The *Indians* take wives, over whom they are extreme jealous, and expect great continence in them; for if they take them in adultery, they presently cause their brains to be beaten out. The better sort of persons have every one of them two or three wives, or more, the rest but one, accounting him that hath most wives, the greatest man. Their wives (especially the elder sort) are as servants unto them, for they make them breake and drinke, dreffe their meate, serve them at meales, and doe all the other business about the house.

The Provinces are peopled with divers Nations of severall languages, namely, *Taisi*, *Ar-waccas*, *Sappato*, *Paragony*, and *Charibes*. The *Charibes* are the ancient inhabitants, and the other Nations are such as have beene chafed away from *Trinidad*, and the borders of *Orenoque*. And forasmuch as they have vntied themselves in those parts, the *Charibes* have held them in continuall warres, but the *Taisi* and other Nations their Allies, are growne so strong, that they have constrained the *Charibes* of the Sea-coast to contract a peace with them, yet beare no hearty love the one Nation to the other: but with the *Charibes* inhabiting the in-land parts vpon the Mountaines, they have as yet no peace at all; for they doe often times come downe vpon them in great numbers, spoile and burne their houses, kill their men, and carry away their women, which is the greatest cause of warre and hatred amongst them; whereof our men have scene experience in *Cosfobery*, where happened an accident worth the observing, which I will here declare vnto your Highnesse. The *Indian Leonard Rago*, before mentioned, is a *Taisi*, who finding the Countrey of *Cosfobery* tolerably inhabited, hath seized vpon it for his owne Signiory; and at his earnest request, I sent foure Gentlemen of my company to remaine there with him. The naturall inhabitants that dwell vpon the vttermost bounds thereof, towards the South and West, are *Charibes*, and enemies to him, and to his Nation: for while our men vnto the *Charibes* staid at *Cosfobery*, they assembled themselves together to the number of two hundred or more, and came downe into his Signiory, burned and spoiled houses, roasted one woman, tooke many prisoners, and intended to assault him also: which to prevent he armed about fiftie of his *Indians*, with their vsuall weapons; which are Bowes and Arrows, long Staves sharpened at the point, and with fire hardened: wdden Swords and Targets very artificially made of wood, and painted with Beasts, and Birds: He requested also our men to aide and assist him with their Muskets, which I commanded them to doe, vpon all such occasions offered: And so being all in readinesse, *Leonard* (as their capitaine) led them on to intercept his enemies; and as I have heard by Master *Henry Baldwin* (who then was present, and so obscure the manner

of their warres, gave him leave to command all) he brauely performed that exploit, in good order after their manner, and with great iudgement and resolution. For in the Front, he first placed our foure *Englishmen*, by twain a rank, next to them two *Indians* armed with wdden Swords and Targets; then two Archers, and after them two men with sharpened staves, imital of ordering Pikes; and in like manner ordered, and ranked all his Company. Being thus prepared, they marched against the *Charibes*, who (neere at hand) were coming in the fame order towards him; but when they approached, and (vnsuspected) perceived our *Englishmen* amongst the *Taisi*, they were much amazed, and made a sudden stand: which *Leonard* perceiving, guided rightly at the cause, and instantly did make good vantage of that advantage. He commanded his owne company to keepe their Station, himselfe with a Sword in his hand (which I had giuen him) and a Target of his owne fashion, went boldly towards them to parley with their Captaine. And hauing called them out, he reproved them for coming (as enemies) into his Signiory, for burning and spoiling his houses, and his people: He demanded satisfaction for the hurt done, and restitution of the prisoners taken, and warned them forthwith to depart out of his Signiory, and desist from warre: which if they refused to fulfill, he was there ready with his friends the *Englishmen* to fight with them, and reuenge his wrongs: and said further, that if in the conflict any of the *Englishmen* were slaine, or hurt; he would then fetch all the rest from *Wapoco*, and returne to burne their houses, and cut them all in peeces. Thus he boldly spake, with full courage, shewing also our men vnto them (who had their match in cocke) ready to discharge, that hee Brooke such a stare into them all, by reason of our words, that they presently agreed to peace, performed what conditions he required, and then departed home with all their company. Here may your Highnesse note the factions among the *Indian Nations*: the discipline and order they hold in warre; the feare the *Charibes* conceiued at the sight of our *Englishmen*, and the policy of the *Indian Leonard*, to take advantage by their feare, and make our men his Guard, and chiefe protection against them. These things in time will much auale vs, being well obserued, and rightly applied according to occasion. But to our former discourse.

The power and strength of these Countries (being so thinly peopled) is not very great to withstand the might of forraigne enemies. The vsuall weapons of the *Indians*, are before described, saying that their Arrows are oft times poisoned. But since our trade and commerce with them, they haue gotten a few good Swords, Muskets, Caliuets, and some small quantity of thor and powder; and haue learned to handle their Peeces very orderly, and some of them are good shot.

The seasons of the yeare vpon this coast, and in this climate are diuers, for in the East parts of *Guiana* towards the *Amaccas*, the dry weather, which we call their Summer, beginneth in August; and the violent raines and tempestuous winde, which we count their winter, doe begin in February: But in the Westerne parts, towards *Orenoque*, the dry season beginneth in October, and the raines and winde in April. There is little difference of heate and cold in this diuersity of seasons being so neere the Equinoctiall, where the day and night are alwayes equall: for in those parts we finde, that when the Sunne declineth furthest from them towards the Tropique of *Capricorne*, the ayre is then clearest, and the season of the yeare most dry; as in the Easterne parts of *Guiana* in August, September, October, Nouember and December: and when the Sunne returneth towards the Tropique of *Cancer*, then doe the raines begin, increase, and decrease, from February to Iuly: but sometimes they begin to fall, and the Rivers to rise, swell, and ouerflow sooner or later by a moneth; and the yeare is sometimes more or lesse winde and wet, according to the disposition of the heauens, and of the Planets: and as the Sun approacheth, or declineth little, or much, even to the earth wanteth or aboundeth with water and moillure.

They haue no diuision or account of times or numbers; they onely reckon by the Moones, as one, two, three, foure, or five Moones: or by dayes in like manner. Their numbers they reckon thus, one, two, three, and so to ten: then they say ten and one, ten and two, ten and three, &c. And to shew their meaning more certainly, they will hold vp one, two, three, or more of their fingers, expressing the numbers, till making figures as they speake, the better to declare their meaning: when they will reckon twenty, they will hold downe both their hands to their feete, shewing all their fingers and toes, and as the number is greater, so will they double the figure. When they appoint or promise any thing to be done by a time limited, they will deliuer a little bundle of sticks equall to the number of dayes, or Moones, that they appoint, and will themselves keepe another bundle of the like number: and to obserue their appointed time, they will eury day, or Moone take away a stick, and when they haue taken away all, then they know that the time of their appointment is come, and will accordingly performe their promise.

As touching Religion, they haue none amongst them, that I could perceiue, more then a certaine obseruance of the Sunne and Moone, supposing them to be aloue, but vnto no religious worship towards them, nor offer sacrifice to any thing; vntile they vie a superstition in their drinking feasts, by sacrificing lasses of drinke: for at the death of any of their *Cosfobery*, they

The manner of ordering the warres.

The *Charibes* amazed at the sight of the *English*.

Leonard speaking to the *Charibes*.

The *Charibes* agree to peace for feare of the *English*.

The season of the yeare in *Guiana*. The summer beginneth in August. The winter beginneth in February.

Their account of times and numbers.

Religion. They vie no service nor religious worship to any thing.

The manner
of their drink-
ing is at the
desire of their
Captaines.

Their *Pecuni*
or *Pecuni* have
conference
with the diu-
The opinion
of the dead
At the death
of a *Caffine*,
they kill in
Indians to free
him in the o-
ther world.

The qualitie
of the Land.

The provisions
for victuals.
The route of
Caffine in both
their bread
and drinke.

Maiz of *Guiana*
where.

Their diuers
kinds of drinke
An excellent
drinke made
of *Caffine*.

Store of honey.

The foyle ex-
cellent for
Vines.

Sundry kinds
of Beasts in
Guiana.

Swine which
haue the Na-
mle in the back

Captaines, or great friends whom they esteeme, they will make a *solemne feast* (their chieftest prouision being of their best and strongest drinke, which they call *Parranon*) with a feast shall continue three or four dayes, or as long as their liquor lasteth, spending their time in dancing, singing, and drinking excessively: in which vice they exceede all other Nations whatsoever, accounting him that will be drunk, first, the bravest fellow: during this solemnity of their drinking, some women being nerer of their kin vnto the party dead, doth stand by and cry extremely: thus their manner is vntill their drinke out, time will reuenge, as to some speciall times have conference with the Diuell (the common deceiver of mankind) whom they call *Uatappa*, and are by him deluded; yet notwithstanding their often conference with him, they feare and hate him much, and say that he is nought: and not without great reason, for hee will oftentimes (to their great terror) beate them blacke and blew. They beleue that the good *Indians* when they dye, goe vp, and will point towards the heauens, which they call *Cauca*; and that the bad *Indians* goe downe, pointing to the earth, which they call *Soy*. When any *Caffine*, Captaine, or chiefe man dieth amongst them, if he haue a slave or prisoner taken from their enemies, they will kill him; and if he haue none such, then will they kill one of his other seruants, that he may haue one to attend him in the other world.

The qualitie of the Land in those Countries, is of diuers kindes; by the Sea side the Land is low, where the heate would be most vniuersall, if it were not qualified and tempered by a 20
fresh Easterly winde or Breeze, most forcibly blowing in the heate of the day: in many places this low land is very vnfertile, and little inhabited, by reason of the ouer-flowing of the waters; but for the most part is lush goodly fruitful Riuers, a fertile soyle, much people, and is a healthfull habitation. Vpon the Mountains there is a high land, where the ayre is coldest, in some places it is fruitful, in others not: but generally is full of Minerals, and mines of mettals, and yeldeth as many as any part either of the East, or West *Indies*, both of the best, and of the best thereof, we shall (by Gods permission) giue good testimony, to the benefit of our Country, and honour of our Nation in time convenient: and in most places vpon the Mountains there is found and healthfull dwelling. There is also a middle sort of land, which is of a meane height, and is most temperate, healthfull, fertile, and most inhabited of all other; it aboundeth in Meadows, Pastures, and pleasant streames of fresh water, in goodly woods, and most deliightfull Plaines, for sport, pleasure, sport, and recreation: and also is not void of Minerals.

The provisions of this Country for victuals, are many: First, of the roote of a tree, called *Cassia*, they make their Bread, in manner following: they grate the roote vpon a stone, and presse out the iuice thereof, which being rawe is poyson, but boiled with *Guinea* Pepper, whereof they haue abundance, it maketh an excellent and wholesome food, then they drie the grated roote, and bake it vpon a stone, as we bake our Oaten cakes in *England*. This Bread is very excellent, much like but far better than our great Oaten cakes, a finger thicke, which are vied in the Moorelands, and the *Pask* in *Staffordshire* and *Dorsetshire*.

There is a kinde of great Wheat, called *Maiz* of some, it is called *Guinea* Wheat, which graine is singular prouision in those Countries, and yeldeth admirable increase, euen a thousand or fiftene hundred for one, and many times much more. It maketh excellent meale, or flour for Bread; and very good Meale for Beere or Ale, and serueth well for sundry other necessary vses for the reliefe of man. Of the aforesaid *Cassia* bread, and this Wheat the *Indians* make drinke, which they call *Tassia*: it will not keepe long, but must be spent within foure or five dayes: they make another kinde of drinke of *Cassia*, called *Parranon*, very good and strong, much like vnto our best March beere in *England*; and that kinde of drinke will keepe ten dayes; many forts they haue which I haue tasted, some strong, some small, some thicke, some thin, but all good, being well made, as commonly they were amongst the *Tuao*, and *Arumacca*, which are the chieftest people of all those Nations.

There is great store of honey in the Country, and although it be wilde (being taken out of trees and buries in the earth) yet is it as good as any in the world; of which may be made an excellent drinke much vied in *Wales*, called *Meath*. The honey and the waxe, are also good commodities for merchandise.

There is no Vines in that Country, but the Soyle being rich and fertile, and the climate hot, if they were planted there, they would prosper exceedingly, and yelded good Sackes, and Canary wines, which in those parts we finde to be very wholesome.

Many other necessary prouisions sufficient for the sustenance of man, doe there abound in plenty: Namely, Deere of all sorts, wilde Swine in great numbers, whereof there are two kindes, the 60
one small, by the *Indians* called *Pockies*, which hath the namle in the backe; the other is called *Pango*, and is as faire and large as any we haue in *England*. There be store of Hares, and Conies, and of a kinde far differing from ours: There be Tigers, Leopards, Ounces, Armadils, Mapouris, which are in taile like Beere, & wil take like *Bareme* or Ant-Bees, which take like *Mutton*, & other

other small beasts of the same taste, coloured, like a Fawne, Elkes, Monkeys, and Marmosites of diuers sorts, both great and small: of these beasts there be innumerable, and by experience we haue found them all good meate. Many other kindes of beasts there are of sundry and strange shapes, which hereafter shall be figured in their true proportion according to the life with their names annexed.

Of Fowles there be diuers kindes; namely, Wild-ducks, Widgins, Teales, Wild-geese, Herons of diuers colours, Cranes, Storkes, Pheasants, Partridges, Doves, Stock-doves, Black-birds, Curlews, Gull-wives, Woodcocks, Snipes, Parrots of sundry sorts, many other kinde of great and small Birds of rare colours; besides great numerous Fowles and Hawkes of every kinde.

Of fish the varietie is great, first of Sea fish, there is Sea-bream, Muller, Sole, Skate, Thorne-backe, the Sword-fish, Sturgeon, Scale, a fish like vnto a Salmon, but as the Salmon is red, this is yellow; Shrimps, Lobsters, and Oysters, which hang vpon the branches of Trees: There is a rare fish called *Caffinora*, which hath in each eye two nightgales, and as it swimmeth it beareth the lower lights within the water, and the other aboue: the ribs and back of this fish resemble those parts of a man, hauing the ribs round and the back flat, with a dent therein, as a man hath; it is somewhat bigger then a Smelt, but farre exceeding it for daintie meate; and many other sorts there be most excellent. Of fresh-water fish many kindes vnknowne in these parts, but all exceeding good and daintie: And I dare be bold to say, that this Countrey may compare with any other of the world, for the great varietie of excellent fish both of the Sea, and fresh Waters.

20 There is also a Sea-fish which usually cometh into the fresh waters, especially in the winter and wet season, it is of great esteeme amongst vs, and we account it halfe fish, for the blood of it is warme; it cometh vp into the shallow waters in the drowned lands, and feedeth vpon grasse and weeds: the *Indians* name it *Commora*, and the *Spaniards*, *Manati*, but wee call it the *Sea-man*; in taste it is like beefe, will take salt, and serueth for victuals thus: the *Indians* hath bene proued by our Countreimen: Of this fish may be made an excellent oile for many purposes, the fat of it is good to frye either fish or flesh; the hide (as I haue heard) will make good buffe; and being dried in the Sunne, and kept from wet, will serue for Targets and Armour against the *Indians* arrows: In the wet season the store of them are infinite; some of these hides were heretofore brought into *England*, by Sir *Walter Raleigh*.

30 The feuerall kindes of fruits are many, the Pina, Platana, Potato, Medler, Plums of diuers sorts, the Nuts of strange kindes. The excellency of the Pina I cannot expresse, for I dare boldly affirme that the world affordeth no more delicate fruit: In taste it is like Straw-berries, Claret-wine and Sugar. The Platana is also a very good fruit, and tasteth like an old Pippin. The Potato is well knowne. The Medler exceedeth in gratefulness. The Plums I cannot commend, for to eat much of them doth cause fluxes, which in those Countries are dangerous. The Nuts are good being moderately eaten.

H Auing thus (most excellent Prince) declared the feuerall sorts of prouisions for victuals and necessarye foods, it remaineth that I now make mention of the varietie of commodities, 40
found in the Countrey for the trade of merchandise, which in few yeeres, by our paines and industrie, may be brought to perfectiō, and so sold in those parts, that not only the vnder-takers may receive reward for their induours, but our Countrey also may grow rich, by trading for the fruits of our labours.

The first and principall commodity of estimation, are the Sugar-canes, whereof in those parts there is great plenty; the soile is as fertile for them as in any other part of the world: They doe there grow to great bignesse in a short time; by orderly and fit planting of them, and by erecting convenient works for the boyling and making of Sugars (which at the first will require some charge and expence) may be yearly returned great benefit and wealth: the long experience of the *Portugals* and *Spaniards*, in *Brazil*, and the Iland of the *Canaries*; and of the *Moors* in *Barbary*, may giue vs certaine assurance, and full satisfaction thereof.

50 The Cotton wooll is a general commodity, beneficiall to our Merchants, and profitable to our Countrey, by making of *Eutians*, and seruing for Bumbaite, and other vses: for making of *Hannocks*, which are the *Indians* beds, most necessarie in those parts, and also of a fine cotton cloth for clothing of the people. There is a natural Hempe or Flax of great vye, almost as fine as silke as it may be vied; we haue now found out the best vye of it; and for making of *hennin* or flax, cloth it is most excellent.

There be many rare and singular commodities for Dyers, of which sort there is a red berrie, called *Amato*, which being rightly prepared by the *Indians*, dyeth a perfect and fine Orange-tawine of a good price; it hath bene sold in *Holland* for twelue shillings sterling the pound, and is yet of a good price. There is another berrie that dyeth blue, There is also a gumme of a tree, whereof I haue seene experience, that in cloth dyeth a fine and perfect yellow in graine. There be leaues of certaine Trees, which being rightly prepared, doe die a deepe red, There is also a wood which dyeth a purple, and is of a good price; and another that dyeth yellow. There is yet another wood which dyeth a purple when the liquor is hot, and a crimson when the liquor 60
N n n n n 3

Great variety
of Fowles.

Diuers kinde
of fish.

Oysters hing
vpon trees.

A fish hauing
square eyes,
and the ribs,
and backe like
a man.

The Sea cow
like beete.

Sundrie kindes
of fruits.
Pina.
Platana.
Potato.
Medler.
Plummes.

Nuts.

The varietie
of commodities.
Sugar Canes.

Cotton wooll.

Natural hempe
or flax.

Diuers com-
modities for
Dyers.
Amato.

A gum which
dyeth a yellow
in graine.

is cold. Many other notable things there are (no doubt) not yet knowne vnto vs, which by our diligent labour and observation in time will be discovered and found.

The sweet Gummies of unfettable value and strange operation in physike and chirurgerie, are innumerable; there is yellow Amber, *Gumma Lemnia*, *Coliman* or *Cariman*, *Barratia*, and many more which I omit. The *Coliman* hath beene proued by Master *Walter Cary* of *William in Buckinghamshire* (a Gentleman of great iudgement and practice in physike) to be of speciall regard for many purposes: this gumme is black and brittle, much like in shew to common pitch; if you put a little of it vpon burning coales, it filleth all the roome with a most sweet and pleasant sauer. He further reporteth of it, that certainly if you hold your head ouer the fume thereof three or four times a day, it cureth the giddinesse of the head, and is also a most excellent comfort and remedie for a cold, moist, and rheumaticke braine: it is also good against the resolution (or as the common folk call it) the dead palsey, whereof the giddinesse of the head is often a messenger, and the fore-tell of that most pernicious grieffe. It is also of great vfe for the paine that many women haue in the lower part of their backs: which is very common to such as haue had chil dren: for remedie whereof, it is to be melted in a pewter vessell with a gentle fire, then with a knife it muſt be spread lightly vpon a piece of leather, and laid warme to the place grieued, vntill it come off of it selfe. This plaister is also very good for aches, and doth greatly comfort and strengthen the sinewes. Thus much Master *Cary* written and reported of it, and hath proued by his owne experience. This gumme is also approued to bee an excellent remedie against the gout; and of singular vertue in the cure of wounds.

The *Barratia* is a most foueraigne Balsamum farre exceeding all others yet knowne: which by the same Gentleman's experience is of admirable operation in the cure of greene wounds and being buried vpon coales, it is a sweet and odoriferous sauer.

There be many other sweet gummies of great vfe for perfumes; whereof, one doth make a very rare perfume, much like vnto the scent of sweete Margerum, very pleasant and delectable.

For physick there be also many excellent Drugs; namely, Spiknard, *Coffia Fihala*, *Sene*; and the earth yeldeth Bole-Armoniack, and *Terra Lemnia*, all which are knowne vnto vs. There be other Drugs and Simples also of strange and rare vertue, in these parts vnknewen; of which sort there is a little Greene Apple, by the *Indians* called in their language, The sleeping Apple; which in operation is so violent, that one little bit thereof doth cause a man to sleepe to death: the least drop of the ioyce of it, will purge in vehement and excessive manner, as dangerously was proued by my cousin *Paton Fisher*, who first found it: for biting a little of it for a taile, and finding it to burne his mouth in extreme extremitie, did sodainly spit it out againe, but some small quantitie of the ioyce (against his will) went downe into his stomack, which for two or three dayes (pace did prouoke in him an extraordinary sleepinesse, and purged him with sixtie sterts. This Apple, for the purging vertue in so small a quantitie, is like to be of good price, and great estimation in the practice of physicks; for the learned Physicians doe well knowe how to obstruct the sleeping quantitie thereof wherein the danger lieth. There is a berrie in those parts very excellent against the bloudie-fluxe, by the *Indians* it is called *Kolotea*. The ioyce of the leafe called *Ypoco*, cureth the wounds of the poisoned arrowes. The ioyce of the leafe called *Yari*, is good against the head-ache. Many other Drugs and Simples are there found of singular properties both in physick and chirurgerie, which if they should be severally described according to their value and worthinesse, would containe a large Volume.

Moreover, the Tree wherewith they take their fish, is not a little to be esteemed, but chiefly the great goodnesse of God therein is highly to be prayed and admired, who amongst so many admirable things by him created, and planted in those parts, hath vouchsafed to bestow vpon those barbarous people for great benefit, and naturall helpe, for the present getting of their food and sustenance. These trees are commonly growing neere vnto the places of their habitation for their present vfe: for when, at any time, they goe to fish, they take three or foure little sticks of this tree, and bruite them vpon a stone, and then go into certain small creeks by the Sea-shore, which at a high water are usually full of very good fish of diuers kinds, which come in with the tyde; and there they wade vp and downe the water, and betwene their handes hit those small bruised fishes therein, which are of such vertue, and by which they cause the fish to turne vpon their bellies, and lye still aboue the water for a certaine time: In which space they presently take as many as they please, and lide them into their Canoes, and so with little labour returne home sufficiently prouided.

There is also a red speckled wood in that Countrey, called *Pira iminere*, which is worth thirtie or fortie pounds a Tun: It is excellent for Ioyners worke; as chaires, stonks, bed-fetes, prestes, cupboards, and for waincoat. There are diuers kinds of stone of great vfe, and good prices, as Jasper, Porphyrie, and the Spelen-tione.

There is yet another profitfull commodity to be reaped in *Guiana*, and that is by Tobacco, which albeit some dislike, yet the generallie of men in this Kingdome doth with great affection entertaine it. It is not only in request in this our Countrey of *England*, but also in *Ireland*, the

Netherland, in all the Easterly Countreyes, and *Germany*; and most of all amongst the *Turkes*, and in *Babary*. The price it holdeth is great, the benefit our Merchants gaine thereof is infinite, and the Kings rent for the custome thereof is not a little. The Tobacco that was brought into this Kingdome in the year of our Lord 1610. was at the least worth 60. thousand pounds: And since that time the more that yearly hath come in, was little lesse. It is planted, gathered, seasoned, and made vp fit for the Merchant in short time, and with little labour. But when we first arrived in those parts, wee altogether wanted the true skill and knowledge how to order it; which now of late we happily haue learned of the *Spaniards* themselves, whereby I dare venture to say, and hope to proue, within few months, (as others also of sound iudgement, and great experience doe hold opinion) that only this commoditie Tobacco; (so much sought after, and desired) will bring as great a benefit and profit to the vnder-takers, as euer the *Spaniards* gained by the best and richest Silver Myne in all their *Indies*, considering the charge of both.

The which the *Indians* desire from vs by way of trade in exchange for the aboue named commodities, (whereby wee hold societie and commerce with them) are Axes, Hatchets, Bill-hooks, Knives, all kinde of Edge-tooles, Nails, great Fifth-hooks, Harping-irons, Jewels, Trumps, Looking-glasses, blue, and white Beads, Chrystal Beades, Hats, Pinnes, Needles, Sals, Shirts, Bands, linnen and woollen Clothes, Swords, Muskets, Caleuers, Powder, and Shot: but of these last mentioned, we are very sparing, and part not with many, vntill vpon great occasion, by way of gift to speciall persons.

When the raines ceased, which was in Iuly, I beganne to trauell abroad in search of those golden Mountaines, promised vnto vs before the beginning of our Voyage, (by one that vnderooke to guide vs to them) which filled my company full of vaine expectation, and golden hopes; that their insatiable and covetous minds (being wholly set thereon) could not be satisfied with anything but only Gold. Our guide that vainly made those great promises, being come vnto the wished place to make performance, was then possessed with a thimelike spirit of ignorance, for he knew little, and could performe nothing. What other intences of Mynes alreadie found I had from other men in *England*, and from the Master of my ship, who had bene heretofore in those parts, I found them by experience false, and nothing true concerning Mynes, that was in *England* reported vnto me.

Our greedie desire of Gold being thus made frustrate, diuers vnconstant persons of my vnruly company began to murmur, to bee discontented, to kinde discords and diffentions, and to stir vp mutinie, euen almost to the confusion and ruine of vs all: and wee vpon the point to shake off all obedience to their commanders; to abandon patience, peace, and vnitie, and wilfully to breake out into all mischiefe and wretched disorder, onely because they were deceiued of their golden hopes and expectations: but with good words, and comfortable persuasions, I pacified them for the time, and made them acquainted with my better hopes concerned of the commodities aboue mentioned. I persuaded them in generall from idleness, to trauell abroad, to search and seeke out amongst the *Indians*, what other nouelties they could (though Gold were wanting) whereby we might hereafter benefit our selves; and still I employed them some one way, and some another, to couerie themselves by doing something, the better to prevent diffinition, which commonly is bred of idleness, the flourishing Mother of all fishy vice.

As I daily consulted amongst the *Indians*, it chanced one day, that one of them presented me with a halfe Moone of Metall, which held somewhat more then a third part Gold, the rest Copper: another also gaue me a little Image of the same Metall; and of another bought a plate of the same (which he called a spread Eagle) for an Axe. All which things they assured mee were made in the high Countrey of *Guiana*, which they said did abound with Images of Gold, by them called *Caricorey*. These things I shewed to my company to lettle their troubled minds, which gaue much contentment to the greater part of them, and satisfied vs all that there was Gold in *Guiana*. Shortly after that my *Indian Anthony Canabre*, brought me a piece of a Rocke, of white Sparre, whereof the high Countrey is full: And if the white Sparres of this kinde, which are the purest white of all others, (for every sort of Myne hath a Sparre, and for the most part white) be in a maine Rocke, they are certainly Mynes of Gold, or Silver, or of both: I made triall of a piece of Sparre, which the same *Indian* discovered vnto mee, and I found that it held both Gold, and Silver, which (although it was in small quantitie) gaue me satisfaction that there be richer Mynes in the Countrey to be found: but the best lie deeper in the earth, and wee had not time nor power to make search for them.

I trauelled vp the River of *Wapoco*, to view the ouer-falls, but the waters being high and strong, I could not passe them. In August when they are fallen, with some labour they may be passed. This River hath very many ouer-falls, lying one a good distance beyond another, euen to the

head thereof. Aboue some of the first falls there dwelteth an *Indian*, called *Carriman*, who is an old man of a free disposition; by him I learned that a certaine distance aboue the first falls, the River *Aray* falleth into *Wapoco*; moreover that certaine dayes journey beyond him towards the high Land, vpon the borders of *Wapoco*, there is a Nation of *Chariber* hauing great exeres of an extraordinary bignesse, hard to be beleueed, whom hee called *Marghemmas*: amongst these

60000. worth of Tobacco in a year.

The commodities most effected by the Indians.

Lead mines, mine nothing but golden Mynes.

Disorders by mutiny.

Good to bee doing: one what to prevent the death.

The high Countrey of *Guiana* aboundeth with images of Gold.

The Rocks of the purest white Sparre are Mynes of golden siluer.

Many ouer-falls in *Wapoco*.

People having great ears; perhaps these ears made large by use, as divers East-Indians use. The proportion of their idoll.

Possession taken for the King at Gomero.

The like possession taken at Ararany.

Point Perilous.

A great argument of plenty in the Country.

A dangerous Boore at Carriquiry.

people (as *Comarum* reporteth) there is an Idoll of stone, which they worship as their God; they have placed it in a house made of purpose for the greater honour of it, which they keepe very cleane and handsome. This Idoll is fashioned like a man sitting vpon his heeles, holding open his knees, and resting his elbows vpon them, holding vp his hands with the thumbs forwards, looking upwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open. The meaning of this proportion he could not declare, although he hath bene many times amongst them, and hath often seemed to see them. What other Nations were beyond these he did not know, having neuer traueled so farre, but he saith, they be *Charibes*, and also enemies vnto them. It seemeth there be many Nations of this great eared people: for in the River of *Marravini*, I heard also the like, who dwell farre vp towards the high Land, as hereafter you shall heare, and I suppose, by the trending of the Rivers of *Wiapoco*, and *Marravini*, are all one people.

Vpon the fourteenth day of August I went vnto a Mountaine, called *Gomeribo*, being the westmost point of Land to the Northward in the Bay of *Wiapoco*; I found the soile of it most excellent for Tobacco, Maiz, Cotton-trees, Annoto-trees, Vines, and for any other thing that should be planted there. When I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious for many purposes: then in the presence of Captain *Fisher*, diuers Gentlemen, and others of my company, and of the *Indians* also, I tooke possession of the Land, by Turfe and Twigge, in the behaue of our Soueraigne Lord King James: I tooke the said possession of a part, in name of the whole Continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the Rivers of *Amasone*, and *Orenoco*, not being actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the *Indians* seemed to be well contented and pleased.

In like manner my Brother Captain *Michael Harricourt*, and Captain *Harvey*, (whom I left as his associate, and he esteemed as an inward friend) in a notable journey, which (to their great honour) they performed, to discover the River of *Ararany*, and the Country bordering vpon it, (neere adjoyning to the River of *Amasone*) did take the like possession of the Land there, to his Majesties use.

The dangers and great difficulties which they in that attempt encountered, were memorable, and such, as hardly any of our Nation such small Canoes (being only some-what longer, but not so broad as our *Thames* Wherries, and flat-bottomed) euer overcame the like. First the number of their owne attendants being themselves, was only one man, and a Boy: Their troops of *Indians* sixtie persons. Their journey by Sea vnto the River of *Ararany* was neere one hundred leagues: wherein (by the way) they met with many dreadfull plunges, by reason of a high going Sea, which breaketh vpon the flats and shoals; especially, at the next great Cape to the North of *Ararany*, which, in respect of the danger they passed there, they named *Point Perilous*. Then their Discovery vp the River, was fiftie leagues more: where they found a Nation of *Indians*, which neuer had seene white men, or Christians before, and could not be drawne to any familiar commerce, or conversation, nor so much as with our *Indians*, because they were strangers to them, and of another Nation. The Discovery of this River is of great importance, and speciall note, according as it entraines more behoufull for the searching and Discovery of the Inland parts of *Guiana*, then any other River yet knowne vpon the Coast; for trending Westward vp into the Land, it discovereth all the Countreys and Nations to the Southwest of *Ararany*, *Conchibery*, *Marravini*, and *Norack*, which I have mentioned before.

Many weekes they spent in this Adventure, still taking vp their Lodgings in the Woods at night. Provision of meate they wanted not, for fish were euer plenty, and at land: and the Woods yielded either Deere, Tigers, or Fowle: to their greatest want was of bread and drinke, which only defect did hinder (at that time) the accomplishment of that Discovery. For when the *Indians* perceived their bread to be neuer spent, and their drinke to be corrupted, they could not be persuaded to proceed, having no means to supply their wants amongst the *Araranyers*, the *Indians* of that River who would not freely trade with them vpon this first acquaintance, but always flood vpon their guard, on the other side of the River, where they inhabited: yet so desiring to obtaine some of our *English* commodities, and make trall of our *Indians* friendship, afforded some small Trade for their present reliefe during their abode in that River: So that of force they were constrained to breake off their Discovery, and hasten homeward.

But here their dangers ended not, for as they returned, arriving at certaine Lands called *Carriquiry*, and passing betwixt them and the mayne Land much against the wills of all the *Indians*, who knowing the danger of the place, and more respecting their safety, then their owne (being themselves all expert Swimmers) would haue dissuaded them from that hazard: but they being ignorant of the perill, would needs puffe on, and at the last met with such a Boore (as the Sea-men terme it) and violent encounter of two tydes comming in, which like two furious enraged Rammes, or Bulles rushed together, and oft retired backe, to returne againe, with greater violence, vntill the one by force had ouer-borne the other: that if next vnder Gods diligent care and paines of the *Indians* had not preferred them, they had bene there destroyed, and swallowed vp by that mercuriale Boore or breach of waters; which (God be thanked) they escaped, and returned home in safetie.

Wha

When I had (as before) taken possession at *Gomeribo*, in presence of the said parties, I deliuered the possession of that Mountaine to my Indian *Anthony Canabre*, to haue, hold, possesse, and enjoy the same, to him, and to his Heires for euer, of our Soueraigne Lord King James, his Heires and Successors, as his subject: *Tending and paying* yearlyly the tenth part of all Tobacco, Cotton-wooll, Annoto, and other commodities whatsoever, which should hereafter be either planted or growing within the said Mountaine, if it were demanded. The *Indians* most gladly received the possession vpon these conditions, and for himselfe, and his posteritie, did promise to be true Subjects vnto the Kings Majestie: his Heires, and Successors: And to pay the duties imposed vpon them: and so that busines being finished, I returned againe to *Wiapoco*.

Now (most worthy Prince) there came vnto my knowledge, an inconuenience happened by the careless negligence of the Master of my ship, who had the charge of providing and laying in the provisions and victuals for the Voyage, which was the cause that I gained no present profit by it, but left off all my Discoveries in the first beginning. I had a purpose at that time to performe a businesse, which might haue proved profitable, and honourable vnto vs, if I had bene able to haue stayed the time, but it was not my chance to bee so fortunate: for the Master, his Mate, and the Steward of my Ship, came vnto me, and told mee plainly, that if I made any longer abode in that Countrey, I would neuer in those ships returne into England: or if I did adventure, my selfe, and all my Company would sturue at Sea for want of Beere, Syder, and Water, for all my Caskes was spoiled, because it was not Iron-bound; the wooden hoes flew off, by reason of the heat of the Climate; and our Beere, and Syder, (whereof we had good store) did leake about the ship, that we could hardly be sufficient to release vs, if we made a longer Bay vpon the Coast; which was the Masters fault, having had a speciall charge to be careful of that onely point. By this default, I was constrained to make a vertue of necessity, and prepare my selfe for England, and leave my former purposes to be accomplished hereafter, which shall be done (God aiding me) in time conuenient.

Then disposing of my company, I appointed my Brother Captain *Michael Harricourt* to remayne in the Countrey, as chiefe Commander in my absence, and to continue the possession on the Kings behaile; I gaue him directions to trauell abroad, as (occasion serued) to discover the Countrey, to spend sometime at *Conchibery*, and sometime also in other places; but to make his chiefe residence at *Wiapoco*, (the onely Rendezvous for shippes that trade vpon that Coast) and there to plant good store of Maiz, for our reliefe of bread and drinke, which is the chiefe thing to be respected in those parts; for other victuals were need not take much care being alwayes easily provided. He performed his charge with great reputation, discovered many goodly Prouinces, and spacious Countreys; and worthily continued the possession full three yeeres compleate. I left with him for his assistance, Captain *Harvey*, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune to be employed in the prosecution of this honourable action. For his Lieutenant I appointed Master *Edward Gifford*, a valiant and worthy Gentleman; and left also with him of Gentlemen and others, about twentie more, with all such necessities as could spare, and thought conuenient for them: and so commending them to God, the eighteenth day of August I departed from *Wiapoco*, and the day following arrived at *Calumie*.

At my coming to *Calumie* my Pinnasse received a leake, which would haue proved dangerous, if we had bene farr at Sea; whereby enforced to attend the stopping thereof, and new trimming of the Pinnasse; and vnwilling to be idle in the meane space doing nothing, I left my ships there to repair these defects, and in my ship-boate departed thence, the twentie three of August: taking with me Captain *Fisher*, who hath euer bene (since we first crept into the world) my chiefe companion, both in Armes and trauels; I tooke also with mee his Brother *Victor Fisher*, Master *Graslie* the Masters mate of my ship, and about sixte more. I followed the Coast to the Westward steering during Well, and passing by the River of *Mecocoria*, I lodged that night in the mouth of the River *Corono*: which hath a narrow deepe entrance, and within affordeth a good Harbour, which may in time to come (for some speciall purpose) be of great vie.

The next day, and the night following I proceeded Westward with full saile, and passing the Rivers of *Marravini*, *Sucumama*, *Orenoco*, *Concomoria*, *Fracco*, and *Amanna*: I arrived the twentie five day at the River of *Marravini*, which openeth a faire River, but is shoale vpon the Barre, which lieth two or three leagues off at Sea, having but two fathome water: within the Barre, the Channell is three, foure, fife, and sixte fathome deepe. Foure leagues within the river we passed by certaine Lands called *Curacuray* not inhabited, for at the rising of the waters they are alwayes ouer-flowne, of which sort the River hath very many: we lodged that night a little beyond these first Lands at a Village called *Moymen*, on the left hand, the Captain thereof is called *Mageritake*, of the Nation of the *Paragaites*, a man very loving and faithfull to our Nation, whereof we haue had good proofe. The next day we proceeded vp the River three leagues, and staid at a Towne called *Coromay* on the right hand, at the house of *Minpa*, the chiefe *Charib* of that Signiorie: to pounce two Canoes to prosecute our journey for the Discovery of the River.

Gomeribo deliuered to an *Indian* as the Kings tenet.

The only cause of losse by the voyage.

Cap. Michael Harricourt left Commander of the company.

Possession continued 3 yeeres.

Twentie men left with Captain *Harvey* at *Wiapoco*.

The Pinnasse received a leake at *Calumie*.

R. Mageritake, R. Corono.

Rivers to the West of *Calumie*.

Lands called *Curacuray*.

The

People haue
great cares;
perhaps these
care are made
large by art,
diuers East In-
dians vie.
The propor-
tion of their
Idoll.

people (as *Comarian* reporteth) there is an Idoll of stone, which they worship as their God; they haue placed it in a house made of purpose for the greatest honour of it, which they keep very cleane and handsome. This Idoll is fashioned like a man sitting vpon his heeles, holding open his knees, and resting his shoules vpon them, holding vp his hands with the palmes forwards, looking vpwards, and gaping with his mouth wide open. The meaning of this proportion hee could not declare, although he hath bene many times amongst them, and hath often seene it. What other Nations were beyond these he did not know, haue neuer traueled to farre, but he saith, they be *Chariber*, and also enemies vnto them. It seemeth there bee many Nations of those great eared people: for in the River of *Marravini*, I heard also the like, who dwell farre vp towards the high Land, as hereafter you shall heare, and I suppose, by the trending of the Ri-
uers of *Wiapoco*, and *Marravini*, are all one people.

Vpon the fourteenth day of August I went vnto a Mountaine, called *Gomeribo*, being the vt-
termoost point of Land to the North-ward in the Bay of *Wiapoco*: I found the sole of it most ex-
cellent for Tabacco, Maix, Cotton-trees, Annoto-trees, Vines, and for any other thing that
should bee planted there. When I had taken good view of the place, and found it commodious
for many purposes; then in the presence of Capitaine *Fisher*, diuers Gentlemen, and others of my
company, and of the *Indians* also, I tooke possession of the Land, by Turfe and Twigg, in the
behalf of our Soueraigne Lord King *James*: I tooke the said possession of a part, in name of the
whole Continent of *Guiana*, lying betwixt the Riuer of *Amazones*, and *Orenoque*, not being
actually possessed, and inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State; wherewith the *Indians*
seemed to be well content and pleased.

In like manner my Brother Capitaine *Michael Harcourt*, and Capitaine *Harney*, (whom I left
as his associate, and he esteemed as an inward friend) in a notable journey, which (to their great
honour) they performed, to discover the Riuer of *Araraway*, and the Country bordering vpon it,
(neere adioyning to the Riuer of *Amazones*) did take the like possession of the Land thereto, to his
Maieslies vie.

The dangers and great difficulties which in that attempt incountered, were memorable,
and such, as hardly any of our Nation such small Canoes (being onely some-what longer, but
not so broad as our *Thames* Wherries, and flat-bottomed) euer ouercame the like. First the num-
ber of their owne attendants besides themselves, was onely one man, and a Boy: Their troope
of *Indians* sixtie persons. Their iourney by Sea vnto the Riuer of *Araraway* was neere one hun-
dred leagues: wherein (by the way) they met with many dreadfull plunges, by reason of a high
going Sea, which breaketh vpon the flats and shoals; especially, at the next great Cape to the
North of *Araraway*, which, in respect of the danger they passed there, they named *Punt Periloso*.

Then their Discouery vpon the Riuer, was sixtie leagues more: where they found a Nation of
Indians, which neuer had seene white men, or Christians before, and could not be drawn to any
familiar commerce, or conversation, for the *Indians*, because they were stran-
gers to them, and of another Nation. The Discouery of this Riuer is of great importance, and
speciall note, affording an entrance more behoufull for the searching and Discouery of the In-
land parts of *Guiana*, than any other Riuer yet knowne vpon the Coast; for trending Westward
vp into it, it discovereth all the Countreys and Nations to the Southward of *Ararico*,
Coshobery, *Marravina*, and *Norrock*, which I haue mentioned before.

Many weekes they spent in this Adventure, fill taking vp their Lodgings in the Woods at
night. Prouision of meate they wanted not, for fish were euer plenty, and at hand: and the
Woods yielded either Deere, Tigres, or Fowle: their greatest want was of bread and drinke,
which onely defect did hinder (at that time) the accomplishment of that Discouery. For when
the *Indians* perceived their bread to neere spent, and their drinke to be corrupted, they could
not be persuaded to proceed, haueing no means to supply their wants amongst the *Ararawans*,
the *Indians* of that Riuer who would not freely trade with them vpon this full acquaintance,
but always stood vpon their guard, on the other side of the Riuer, where they inhabited: yet
desiring to obtaine some of our *English* commodities, and make triall of our *Indians* friendship, af-
forded some small Trade for their present reliefe during their abode in that Riuer: So that of
force they were constrained to breake off their Discouerie, and hasten homeward.

But here their dangers ended not, for as they returned, arriving at certaine Ilands called *Car-
riquiry*, and passing betwene them and the mayne Land, much against the wils of all the *Indians*,
who knowing the danger of the place, and more respecting their safetie, then their owne (being
themselves all expert Swimmers) would haue dissuaded them from that hazard: but they being
ignorant of the perill, would needs passe on, and at the last met with such a Boore (as the Sea-
men terme it) and violent encounter of two tydes coming in, which like two furious enraged
Rammes, or Bulles rushed together, and oft retired backe, to retorne againe, with greater vio-
lence, untill the one by force had ouer-borne the other: that if next vnder God) the diligent
care and paines of the *Indians* had not preferred them, they had bene there destroyed, and swal-
lowed vp by that mercurie Boore or breach of waters; which (God be thanked) they escaped,
and returned home in safetie.

Wh. 8

When I had (as before) taken possession at *Gomeribo*, in presence of the said parties, I deliuered
the possession of that Mountaine to my *Indian Anthony Canabre*, To haue, hold, possesse, and
enjoy the same, to him, and to his Heires for euer, of our Soueraigne Lord King *James*, his Heires,
and Successors, as his Subiect: Tending and paying yearly the tenth part of all Tabacco, Cotton-
wooll, Annoto, and other commodities whatsoever, which should hereafter be either planted or
growing within the said Mountaine, if it were demanded. The *Indian* most gladly received the
possession vpon these conditions, and for himselfe, and his posteritie, did promise to be true
Subiects vnto the Kings Maieslie: his Heires, and Successors: And to pay the duties imposed
vpon them; and to that businesse being finished, I returned againe to *Wiapoco*.

10 Now (most worthy Prince) there came vnto my knowledge, an inconuenience happened by
the carelesse negligence of the Master of my ship, who had the charge of prouiding and laying in
the provisions and victuals for the Voyage, which was the cause that I gained no present profit
by it, but left off all my Discoueries in the first beginning. I had a purpose at that time to per-
forme a businesse, which might haue proved profitable, and honourable vnto vs, if I had bene
able to haue stayed the time, but it was not my chance to bee lo fortunate: For the Master, his
Mates, and the Steward of my Ship, came vnto me, and told mee plainly, that if I made any
longer abode in this Country, I would neuer in thosk ships retorne into England: or if I did ad-
venture it, my life, and all my Company would sticke at Sea for want of Beere, Syder, and
Water, for all my Caskes was spoiled, because it was not Iron-bound, the wooden hoopes flew
off, by reason of the heate of the Climate; and our Beere, and Syder, (whereof wee had good
store) did leake about the ship, that we could hardly be sufficient to releue vs, if we made a
longer stay vpon the Coast; which was the Masters fault, haueing had a speciall charge to be care-
full of that onely point. By this default, I was constrained to make a vertue of necessity, and
prepare my selfe for England, and leaue my former purposes to be accomplished hereafter, which
shall be done (God aiding me) in time conuenient.

Then disposing of my company, I appointed my Brother Capitaine *Michael Harcourt* to
remaine in the Country, as chiefe Commander in my absence, and to continue the possession on
the Kings behalfe: I gaue him directions to trauell abroad, as (occasion serued) to discover the
Country, to spend sometime at *Coshobery*, and sometime also in other places: but to make his
chiefest residence at *Wiapoco*, (the onely Rendezouz for shippes that trade vpon that Coast) and
there to plant good store of Maix, for our reliefe of food and drinke, which is the chiefeest thing
to be respected in those parts; for other victuals were used not take much care being alwayes ea-
sily prouided. He performed his charge with great reputation, discovered many goodly Provinces,
and spacious Countreys; and worthily continued the possession full three yeeres complete,
I left with him for his assistance, Capitaine *Harney*, who hath nobly vowed his time and fortune
to be employed in the prosecution of this honourable action. For his Lieutenant I appointed
Master *Edward Gifford*, a valiant and worthy Gentleman; and I left also with him of Gentlemen
and others, about twentie more, with all such necessaries as I could spare, and thought con-
uenient for them: and so commending them to God, the eighteenth day of August I departed
from *Wiapoco*, and the day following arrived at *Caienne*.

At my coming to *Caienne* my Pinnasse received a leake, which would haue proved dangerous,
if we had bene farre at Sea; whereby enforced to attend the stopping thereof, and new trim-
ming of the Pinnasse; and vnwilling to be idle in the meane space doing nothing, I left my ships
there to repaire their defects, and in my ship-boate departed thence, the twentie three of Aug-
ust: taking with me Capitaine *Fisher*, who hath euer bene (since we first crept into the world.)
my chiefe companion, both in Armes and travels: I tooke also with mee his Brother *Union Fi-
sher*, Master *Cradle* the Masters mate of my ship, and about fixe more. I followed the Coast to
the Westward steering downe Well, and passing by the Riuer of *Meccorria*, I lodged that night
in the mouth of the Riuer *Corrovo*: which hath a narrow deepe entrance, and within a shoorth
a good Harbour, which may in time to come (for some speciall purpose) be of great vie.

The next day, and the next following I proceeded Westward with full sail, and passing the
Riuer of *Mannamory*, *Souannata*, *Oraissouma*, *Cocanahonia*, *Vraco*, and *Amantia*: I arrived the
twentie five day at the Riuer of *Marravini*, which openeth a faire Riuer, but is thole vpon the
barre, which lieth two or three leagues off at Sea, haueing but two fathome water: within the
Barre, the Channell is three, foure, five, and fixe fathome deepe. Five leagues within the Riuer
we passed by certaine Ilands called *Carawayory*, not inhabited, for at the rising of the waters they
are alwayes ouer-borne, of which fore the Riuer hath very many: we lodged that night a lit-
tle beyond the first Ilands at a Village called *Moyemon*, on the left hand, the Capitaine thereof
was *Manquiche*, of the Nation of the *Paragouis*, a man very louing and faithful to our Nati-
oon, whereof we haue had good proofe. The next day wee proceeded vp the Riuer three leagues,
and stayed at a Towne called *Carwayan* on the right hand, at the house of *Adiapa*, the chiefe
Charis of that Signiorie: to pounde two Canoes to prosecute our iourney for the Discouerie of
this Riuer.

Gomeribo deli-
uered to an
Indian as the
Kings tenants.

The onely
cause of losse
by the voyage.

Cap. Michael
Harcourt lets
Commander of the com-
pany.

Possession
continued 3
yeeres.

Twentie men
left wth Cap-
taine Harcourt
at *Wiapoco*.

The Pinnasse
received a
leake at *Caienne*

R. Meccorria,
R. Corrovo.

Riuer to the
West pt *Car-
wayan*.

Ilands call'd
Carawayory.

The

speedily cured; and ever since that time, I have found the flate of my body (I give God thanks for it) farre exceeding what it was before, in strength and health. Moreover, one of my company, named *John Hewit* (servant to my brother) as he was making a fire, burned his hand with Gunpowder, and was in doubt thereby to loose the use of one or two of his fingers, which were shrunke vp with the fire, but he went presently to the Bath, and washed and bathed his hand a good space therein, which looped his fingers in such manner, that with great ease he could stir and stretch them out, and the fire was loathed out of his hand that within the space of twenty four hours, by twice or thrice washing and bathing it, the foreseid thereof was cured, notwithstanding the eye-fore for the time remained. Furthermore, two or three other of my company having swellings in their legs, were by the Bath cured in a day.

Hence we departed the sixteenth day of October, in the afternoone, and leaving the Islands of Saint Christopher, Saint Martin, and Anguilla on the Starboard side, we dissembogued through the broken Islands on the North side of Anguilla upon S. Lukes day, where I thinke neuer Englishman dissembogued before vs: for we found all our Sea-charts false concerning that place, those broken Islands being placed thence, to the Southward of Anguilla, betwixen it and Saint Martin, and we found them situate to the Northward thereof.

On the eleventh day of November we had sight of Fayal, one of the Islands of the *Tercera*, which we left on our starboard side, and steered away for England, the winde continuing faire until the twenty fourth day. But then it changed, first to the East by North, and then to the East South-east, and became so violent and furious, that for three dayes space we were not able to bære our saile, but did drive before the winde in the least three leagues, a watch out of our course; and the first land we made was *Cape Cleere*, in the South-west part of Ireland, where against our wils we arrived at *Crook Haven* the twenty nine of November.

During the time of my Voyage, we lost but one Land-man, who died in *Guiana*; and one Sailor, and an *Indian Boy*, who died at Sea in our returne: and during the space of these three years last past since the voyage, of all the men which I left in the Country, being in number about thirty, there died but six, whereof one was drowned, another was on old man of three score years of age, and another took his death by his owne disorder; the rest died of sickness, as pleased God the giver of life: for such small losse, his holy name be blessed now and ever.

A mans hand
burned with
Gunpowder,
and by the
Bath cured in
24. houres.
Swellings in
the legges cu-
red in a day.
They depart
from Meues.

They fell with
Fayal.

They are dri-
ven by a storme
into Ireland.

The number
of those that
died.

*The names of the Rivers falling into the Sea from Amazones,
to Dessequibe, and of the severall Nations
inhabiting those Rivers.*

RIVERS.	NATIONS.	RIVERS.	NATIONS.
1 <i>Amazones.</i>		21 <i>Marravina.</i>	<i>Paragotos, Tai- ai, Charibi, Ar- wacas.</i>
2 <i>Arrapaco,</i> branch of <i>A. macacas.</i>	<i>Charibi.</i>	22 <i>Amara.</i>	
3 <i>Arrawary.</i>		23 <i>Camour,</i> or <i>Camavin,</i> a branch of <i>Selinama.</i>	<i>Charibi.</i>
4 <i>Mucury.</i>	<i>Taias and Cha- ribes.</i>	24 <i>Selinama,</i> or <i>Surenama.</i>	
5 <i>Connamini.</i>		25 <i>Surenama.</i>	
6 <i>Cassipouge.</i>	<i>Aracacories.</i>	26 <i>Copacoumy.</i>	
7 <i>Aracou.</i>		27 <i>Encacere.</i>	
8 <i>Wiapaco.</i>		28 <i>Cocetine.</i>	<i>Arwacou and Charibi.</i>
9 <i>Wianary.</i>	<i>Taias and Ar- creeke or in- let of thesa.</i>	29 <i>Berebiba.</i>	
10 <i>Cowu,</i> not inhabited.	<i>wacas.</i>	30 <i>Manbica.</i>	
11 <i>Arurawaca.</i>		31 <i>Wipary.</i>	<i>Arwacou.</i>
12 <i>Wia.</i>		32 <i>Mucoune.</i>	
13 <i>Cauae.</i>	<i>Charibi.</i>	33 <i>Demecare.</i>	
14 <i>Mecouaria.</i>		34 <i>Motoumoune.</i>	
15 <i>Conwou.</i>		35 <i>Quenoune.</i>	<i>Charibi.</i>
16 <i>Mamoumny.</i>		branches of <i>Dessequibe.</i>	
17 <i>Sinamoune.</i>		36 <i>Dessequibe.</i>	<i>Arwacou and Charibi.</i>
18 <i>Coussipini.</i> not inhabited.			
19 <i>Connamina.</i>	<i>Arwacou.</i>		
20 <i>Uracao.</i>			

Euery

Euery house hath Cocks, Hennes, and Chickens, as in England; and the variety of fish is wonderful, without compare: but the chiefe comfort of our Country-men is this, that the Beast called *Manary* and the fish called the *Sea-Cow* being usually as bigge as a Horse of two years old, and of which kinde there are very many are in eating lo like unto our *English* Beefe, that hardly in taste we can distinguish them, and may as well as Beefe be fatted, and kept for our present use. There is also a Bead in colour like a Fawne, but fuller of white spots, in stature somewhat less than a small Sheepe, and in taste like Mutton, but is rather better meate: the *Barem* is also of the same taste. I have the Copie of Master *Harcourt* his Patent, and he published also certaine Articles for the Adventurers, &c. which for breuitie are omitted.

CHAP. XVII.

*A Relation of the habitations and other Observations of the River
of Marwin, * and the adioyning
Regions.*

Townes in the River of Marwin.

The first Village so called where the *Arwacou* dwell, whose chiefe Captaine is *Coretan*, and is at the foot of the River of *Marwin* in a creeke on the left hand going vp the River. Secondly, *Ruffia* little Village fo called where likewise *Arwacou* dwell being likewise at the foot of the River on the right hand going vp the River. Thirdly, *Moyem*, a large Towne where are some twentie houses all builded very lately, inhabited by *Paragotos* and *Taias*, whose chiefe Captaine is *Maperitacca* (being the Captaine with whom the Generall left vs, and with whom we continue) being on the left hand of the River. Fourthly, *Kianawie*, a Towne inhabited by *Careebes*, almost right against *Moyem*, whose Chieftaine is—
Fifthly, *Tonouma*, a little Village about *Kianawie* inhabited by *Careebes*, being on the same side of the River, who be governed by the Captaine of *Quenou*. Sixthly, *Quenou*, a Towne some quarter of a mile distant from *Tonouma*, inhabited by *Careebes*, whose Chieftaine is *Pampe*, having a lame hand. Seventhly, *Arwata*, a Towne situate on the same side of the River (whose inhabitants be *Careebes* but a good prettie way beyond, whose Chieftaine is *Separe*. Eighthly, *Comuraty*, a Towne situate beyond *Arwata*, on the other side of the River, whose inhabitants be *Careebes*, and Chieftaine is *Parapape*. Ninthly, *Pasim*, a Towne situate beyond *Comuraty* on the same side of the River whose inhabitants be *Careeb*, and Chieftaine is *Tanatsorya*. Tenthly, *Paramaree*, a Towne situate beyond *Pasim* on the other side of the River, inhabited by *Careebes*, whose Chieftaine is *Isara*. There is beyond *Paramaree* a lone house, being situate some dayes journey from *Paramaree* on the same side of the River being inhabited by *Careebes*. Eleventhly, about some eleven daies journey beyond the lone house there is a towne called *Tamparamunni*, whose inhabitants be *Careebes*. Twelfthly, a daies journey from thence is another Towne called *Moreshego*, whose inhabitants be *Careebes*. About some twentie daies journey beyond *Moreshego* is a Towne called *Antouenne*, whose inhabitants be *Careebes* having very long eares hanging to their shoulders, and they are reported to be a very gentle and loving people. Some twentie daies farther is the head of the River *Marwin*, where dwell *Paragotos*, *Arwacou*, and *Sappay*, and after a daies journey in the Land, they report the way to be very faire, and Champaign ground with long grasse.

Townes from the foot of Marwin on the Northside
along the Sea.

First, *Eguibibone*, a Towne inhabited by *Arwacou* and *Paragotos*. Secondly, *Cayecoucou*, inhabited by *Arwacou*, whose Chieftaine is *Wacoune*. Thirdly, *Ampye* inhabited by *Arwacou*. Fourthly, about six mile within Land is *Careebes*, inhabited by *Arwacou*, whose Chieftaine is *Arwaca*. Fifthly, *Wia Wiam*, about two miles from the Sea, a Towne inhabited by *Taias*, *Paragotos* and *Arwacou*, whose Chieftaine is *Arapomaca*. Sixthly, *Sorry Sorry*, some two mile directly farther toward the Sea side, inhabited by *Paragotos*, whose Chieftaine is *Referrima*. Seventhly, *Amieba*, a little distant from *Sorry Sorry*, inhabited by *Paragotos*. Eighthly, *Ueguanou*, some sixe mile beyond *Sorry Sorry*, inhabited by *Taias* and *Paragotos*. Ninthly, *Vierino* adioyning to *Ueguanou*, inhabited by *Arwacou* and *Paragotos*. Tenthly, *Swarata* a daies journey beyond *Wia Wiam* vp into the Land inhabited by *Arwacou*. Eleventhly, *Simarra*, some sixe miles distant from *Wia Wiam*, inhabited by *Arwacou*. Twelfthly, *Cagri*, a Towne adioyning to *Simarra*, inhabited by *Arwacou*. Thirteenthly, *Concore*, a Towne adioyning to *Cagri*, inhabited by *Paragotos*, and *Arwacou*.

○ ○ ○ ○ ○

To

* I found this
fairly written
amongst M.
Jek, papers,
but know not
who was the
Author.

Long eares,
perhaps made
by art, with
hanging
weights there-
on, as is vied
in the East-Ind
dies.

Waters ouer-
flowing.

Great Bats,
Darke and
dangerous pa-
lage.

Seemeth want
patience. See
A. Knute.

Spaniards
killed.

Spaniards desirous
of tortures.

Sir Fr. Drake
at Guazaco on
the South Sea
found a Nyrp
in iron chains
as yards long
tied to be
whipped till
all his flesh was
raw, and so
to be in the
Sunne, to be
gouged to
death by Mul-
titors.

Golden hoopes
Sir W. M.

To most of these places there can be no passage but by Canoes in the Winter being marl-meadow grounds, overflowe with swelling Tides. But in the Summer it is faire, and then they hide their Canoes in the Woods by the Sea-side.

As for the Riuer of *Marwin*, there are no other Riuer which fall into it: but there be many Ilands, and some very great. The passage to the head thereof from the men with long eares is very dangerous, by reason of the passage through hollow and concave Rockes, wherein harbour Bat-mice of an insatiable bignesse, which with their claws and wings doe wound the Passengers shrewdly: yea, and oftentimes deprive them of life. During which passage (which is some quarter of a mile, and very darke; for the Rockes are close about, and in fashion like an Indian house) they are enforced to make great fires in their Canoes, and put over their heads (some of their Crab-baskets to defend them from the force of their claws and wings, and so they safely passe.

There is a *Charechee* (with whom I am very well acquainted) whose name is *Caranue* who assured me of certaine transparent stones, both of a Greene and red colour, which hee described by a Greene eare-ring which I shewed him, affirming they were somewhat bigger, and that they lay in a little gutter at the head of the Riuer, which ran in a Valley betweene two Hills.

I was further informed by a *Tato*, an ancient man (who came downe from the head of the Riuer *Selmana* in a little Canoe, with four other, and a boy; three of which were *Aravaca*, and one *Tato*, who was borne in *Oranaga*, and as I judge, about the age of foure score yeeres, or little less) who reported to mee, that hee was one of them which *Mareguito* and *Pintimo*, was at the killing of nine *Spaniards*, and a *Spanish Pelt*; and how *Mareguito* was put to death, at a gramaçny of his *Indians* hanged: himselfe was taken prisoner, and pinched with Pincers for his punishment, and his eares nailed to wood, which I coniecture was a Pillourie. Besides, they rubbed his body ouer with salt mixt with Vine, after they had pinched him, and fetche blood, and after tyed him vp in chains. The reason why they put him net to death, was because hee had bene a great Trauelier and knew the Countries well, and so they kept him for a Guide.

It so chanced, that the *Spaniards*, vpon his informing them of the *Cassipagos* Countrie, and how rich they were, and how he wold be their guide, went with some companie to conquer it: the Captaine of the *Spaniards* was called *Alexander*, as he saith. But the *Cassipagos* knowing his crueltie, thought it better to fight it out, then trull to his clemency, and so ouertrew him and his companie, driving them to their Canoes, in which fight hee escaped: But yet afterward it was his mishap to be againe in the hands of his aduersaries by the means of *Caripana* King of *Emeria*, and put in chains, and handled cruelly. His body was befreamed, as hee said, with a yellow fone; for so hee called it, which I take to be Brimstone, and so set on fire on his body, and after that hee was well, and his skinn smooth and faire, they anointed him with honie from top to toe, and so scattered dust vpon him, in which which were millions of Pimices, tying him in chains to a great tree, where Muskitoes hockt about him like moates in the Sunne, and did pitifully sting him, then which death had bene better, as hee said. Within some small space hee had another *Tato*, and three *Aravaca* were cholen to goe a fishing some two dayes journey from the Towne. Likewise there went as ouertrewers ouer them four *Spaniards*, three of which, while they were a fishing went into the Wood a fowling, and the fourth which was left for the ouertrewer by chance fell asleepe, which they epying, agreed to release themselves and to slip from the shoare with their Canoe, and went vp *Selmana* seven dayes journey within land from the head thereof to a Towne of the *Aravaca*, called *Coroopan*, where he now dwelleth, whose name is *Weepacka*; and the chiefe *Aravaca* which came with him is called *Eddadema*, and the Captaine of *Coroopan* is called *Nanickieban*. This *Tato* told mee of a Mountaine at the head of *Diskechee* which is called *Oradado*, where is a great Rocke of white Spar, which hath streame of Gold in it about the breadth of a Goose-quill and this is asfirmeth very exactly. Also he speaketh of a Plaine which is some feuen or eight dayes journey from the Mountaine where is great store of Gold in graines lo big as the top of a mans finger, and after the floods be fallen they finde them, which Plaine is called *Mampara*.

Further, hee spake of a Valley not farre distant from thence, which is called *Wancobanaka*, which hath the like: and hee said, they gather them the space of two moneths together; which two moneths are presently after the great raines which wash away the sand and grauell from the grasse which groweth in tuftes, and then they may perceue the Gold lie glittering on the ground. And of these they are very chare. And the Captaines and Priests or *Peezys* doe charge the *Indians* very strictly, yea with punishment of the whip, that they be secer, and not reuale it to the *Spaniard*. But it seemeth they are willing the *English* should haue it, or else bee would neuer haue related so much of the state of his Countrie.

Hee spake very much of Sir *Walter Raleigh*: he likewise knew *Francis Sparrow*, and the boy which Sir *Walter* left behind him at *Topianary* his house. He further said, that *Topianary* wondred that he heard not from Sir *Walter*, according to his promise: and how *Topianary* did verily thinke, that the *Spaniard* had met with him, and so had laine him. Further, hee saith how *Topianary*

panary is dead, and how one *Roponygrippis* succeeded in his roome. Likewise hee sayth *Caripana*, the King of *Emeria*, who was very lubie to the *Spaniard*, and did once betray him to the *Spaniard*, is now dead: at which hee seemed not a little to reioyce; and how one *Dutobrona* is in his place, and is a good King, holding Armes against the *Spaniard* with the *Cassipagos*, and being guing him many ouertrewes, so that now hee hath leare left *Diskechee* and not a *Spaniard* there. Hee likewise said, how *Topianary* had drawne in the *Indians* of *Warimakeri*, *Ana-rucapana*, *Aravaca*, *Wickery*, and all the people that belonged to *Wanurite*, Captaine of *Canura*, and *Watarupia* Captaine of *Seyma* against Sir *Walter Raleigh* his coming to haue warred against the *Teaderperuemei*: And as yet *Wanurite* and *Watarupia* doe expect his coming.

He addeth further, how he knew the two Nations of *Tunatita*, called *Canana* and *Warantity*, who are forced in the floods to build their houses on the top of trees. And now hee saith the *Spaniard* hath for the most part destroyed them, keeping diuers of them to make and mend his Canoes. Further hee knew *Teparimacca*, and sayth hee is yet liuing, and Captaine of *Aravaca* a *Nepoy*, who likewise doth expect Sir *Walter* his coming, and had drawne a companie of *Indians* for the aide and assistance of Sir *Walter*. Likewise, how *Pintimo* is yet liuing, and how the *Spaniards* haue layd great waite for him, but could neuer find him to bee reuenged for his part of killing the nine *Spaniards*. Further hee addeth, how the *Spaniards* were killed at a Mountaine called *Rioneri* in *Pintimo* Countrie, and how *Pintimo* expected long for Sir *Walter Raleigh*. Likewise hee saith, how the *Eguremei* haue now two very faire Townes, one called *Arubugua*

20, and the other *Corberrimore*: and saith, they are not good people, yet they dare not waite with them. He further affirmeth of the men whose shoulders are higher then their heads, which hee called *Wippannamyans*, and offereth to goe with me thither if I come vp in their high Countrie. For since the death of *Topianary*, they are friends, and bend their forces against the *Spaniards*. He further spake of a white, cleare, high and huge Rocke vnder a Mountaine, whose name is called *Mattuck*, that on a Sun-shine day if a man looked on it, it would dazzle his eyes exceedingly. Hee shewed mee before his departure from me, a piece of metall fashioned like an Eagle, and as I gesse, it was about the weight of eight or nine ounces troy weight, it seemed to be Gold or at leastwise two parts Gold and one Copper, I offered him an Axe, which hee refused: to which I added foure Knives, but could not get it of him: but I imagine the *Dutch* at *Selmana* have

30 bought it of him, for their only hearing was for Axes, as hee said, hearing that the *Dutch* were at *Selmana*. I demanded where hee had that Eagle, his answer was, hee had it of his Vnckle, who dwelt among the *Wecarapoyis* in the Countrie called *Sherumerrymary* neere the *Cassipagos* Countrie where is great store of these Images. Further hee said, that at the head of *Selmana* and *Marwin* there were great store of the halie Moones, which hee called by the name of *Vanaton*. He likewise spake of a very faire and large Citie in *Guiana*, which hee called *Monooan*, which I take to be that which Sir *Walter* calleth *Monoa*, which standeth by a salt Lake which hee called *Parroquary* neere *Monooan*, in the Province of *Ajacoma* the chiefe Captaine or *Aravaca*, as hee called him, was called *Pepodallaga*. He further said, that after that a man is vp at the head of the Riuer and some ten dayes journey within the Land, euery childe can tell of the riches of *Monooan*. Further hee addeth, how that once in euery third yeere all the *Cassipagos* or Lords and Captaines come feuen dayes journey from *Monooan* to the baye where good

40 fishing continueth for the space of ten dayes together, in which time they doe sometimes a fishing, fowling, and hunting, their fishing is in the salt Lake, where is abundance of Caroes, and those very great. They haue many fish-pooles of standing water, wherein they haue abundance of Fish. They haue store of wilde Porks and Deere, and other beastes, which are very good meat. Their Houses be made with many lotts and partitions in them, but not boarded, but with barres of wood, only the lower floore on the ground is spread with clay very smooth, and with fires hardned, as they doe their pots, then presently they build their houses, as is before spoken of. Also hee affirmeth, that within the Citie at the entering in of their houses they hang *Caracore* on the poolls which I take to be Images of gold.

Directions to the Towne of Cooropan from Marrawin.

From the head of *Marrawin* to *Isbuerwa*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Caperoca*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to a Mountaine called *Payen*: from thence to *Una*, a Mountaine: from thence to *Tumalpena*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Tetattetcomoyeto*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Tunifloria*, a *Chareeb* Towne: from thence to *Soyoon*, a *Paravag* Towne: from thence to *Croorore*, a *Supay* Towne: from thence to *Macatana*, a *Supay* Towne: from thence to *Pipicorwarra*, a Mountaine: from thence to *Shadden*, an *Aravaca* Towne: from thence to *Lunoo*, an *Aravaca* Towne: from thence to *Habutebin*, a Plaine: from thence to *Caracore*, an *Arac* Towne: from thence to *Hardo* an *Aravaca*: and from thence to *Cooropan*, where he dwelleth, which hee saith is but ten dayes journey from the head of *Marrawin*.

O O O O O

Directions

Topianary dead

These houses
are on trees
tops.

Men with
shoulders
higher then
their heads.
Cryfif Rock.

Images of
gold.

Monooan great
Citie in Guia,
etc.

Houses with
lotts.

Directions from the head of Selinama to Cooropan, which is
but seven dayes journey.

From the head of Selinama to Kiawo a Cheereb Towne: from thence to Pemmuro a Chareeb Towne: from thence to Secoodaddepon an Aruac Towne: from thence to Sielene a Mountaine: from thence to Shuburway an Aruac Towne: from thence to Hadarmer a Suppay Towne: from thence to Weetopona, Aruac: from thence to Ruttrabar, Aruac: from thence to Caboyettite, Aruac: from thence to Hecanamerre, Suppay: from thence to Wabockeyaney, Aruac: from thence to Hanamob, Aruac: from thence to Mattugabee, a Mountaine: and so to Cooropan, which is but seven dayes journey from the head of Selinama.

He likewise saith it is but a monthes journey by land, from the head of Marrawin to the head of Dissikeeb, and from the head of Dissikeeb to the head of Oronog, a monthes traull.

Rivers from Brabiff to the Amazonas.

RIVERS.	NATIONS.	Ecanwa.	Chareeb.
Trabiffe.	Chareebes.	Camrooro.	Chareeb.
Winnipa.	Chareebes.	Muccurtie.	Chareeb.
Arew.	Nappys.	Kiam.	Chareeb.
Mannapo.	Nappys.	Wia.	Chareeb.
Muccauru.	not inhabited.	Kowa.	not inhabited.
Morecoffe.	Nappys.	Aporuacca.	Chareeb.
Aravon.	not inhabited.	Wannaffe.	Tais.
Oronog.	Tais Aruac.	Wapoco.	Tais.
Ematuccoo.	Chareebes.	Arocoona.	Arocooli.
Eparamoo.	Chareebes.	Cassiporo.	Arocooli.
Arocoete.	Chareebes.	Commam.	Tais.
Amackooroo.	Chareeb.	Miscaree.	Arocooli.
Parema.	Chareeb.	Demecare.	Aruac.
Wine.	Chareeb.	Micocene.	Aruac.
Moroka.	Tais.	Wapay.	Aruac.
Pawooma.	Aruacca.	Maubica.	Aruac.
Wacaymbu.	Aruacca.	Kribiff.	Aruac.
Dissikeeb.	Aruac.	Coreine.	Chareeb. Aru.
Quinimine.	Chareeb.	Enecare.	Chareeb.
Matoorone.	Chareeb.	Coapanomi.	Chareeb.
Marrawin.	Para-Ta-Cha. & Aruac.	Sorammo.	Chareeb.
Amama.	Chareeb.	Sorammo, alias, Selinama.	Chareeb.
Vraco.	Aruac.	Camorore, alias, Commam.	Chareeb.
Coonawia.	Aruac.	Sorammo.	Chareeb.
Oogastimi.	not inhabited.	Arapoco.	Chareeb.
Smoota.	Chareeb.	Amazane.	
Mancamany.	Chareeb.		

Topaniniwi, a Branch of Marrawin, at the head thereof going toward Oronog, in which dwell a wide People called Frakers, which are swift in running.

The Chareebes with long eares are called Nooraco. Ekmenick, a kinde of worrne, which poisoneth the water.

And thus much of Guianian affairs. Some other Voyages thither have bene at large published by Sir W. R. and Master Keymis, recorded by Master Haki. A later also with great noise, preparation and expectation hath happened, written abroad in blood, therefore, and for the late needles and unworthies, that I say not too dissonant and fatal for our Relations.

CHAP. XVIII.

A Description and Discovery of the River of Amazons, by
WILLIAM DAVIES Barber Surgeon
of London.



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He River of the Amazons lieth in the highest part of the West Indies, beyond the Equinoctial Line, to fall with this River for twelve leagues from Land you shall have 8. 6, & 7. fathomes water, & you shall see the Sea change to a ruddie colour, the water shall grow fresh, by these signes you may run boldly in your courie, and coming nere the Rivers mouth, the depth of your water shall increase, then you shall make Discouerie of the Trees before the Land, by reason the Land is very low, and not higher in one place then another three foote, being at a Spring tide almost all ouerflowne, God knows how many hundred leagues. It flows much water therewith a verie forcible tide. In this River I continued tenne weekes, seeing the fashion of the people and Countrie there: This Countrie is altogether full of Woods, with all sorts of wilde Beasts: as Lions Beares, Woolues, Leopards, Baboons, strange Boores, Apes, Monkees, Martins, Sanguines, Marmosets, with diuers other strange beasts: also these Woods are full of Wild-fowle of all sorts, and Parrots more plentifull then Pidgeons in England, and as good meate, for I haue often eaten of them. Also this Countrey is very full of Rivers, hauing a King ouer euery River. In this place is continuall Tempests, as Lightning, Thunder, and Raine, and so excreame, that it continues most commonly sixteen or eighteen houres in foure and twentie. There are many standing waters in this Countrie, which bee full of Alligators, Guianers, with many other fearful water Serpents, and great store of fresh fish, of strange fashions. This Countrie is full of Muskitas, which is a small Flie, which much offends a Stranger coming newly into the Countrie. The manner, fashion, and nature of the people is this: They are altogether naked, both men and women, hauing not so much as one thread about them to cover any part of their nakednesse, the man taketh a round Cane as bigge as a pennie Candle, and two inches in length, through the which hee puls the fore-skinne of his yard, tying the skinne with a piece of the rinde of a Tree about the bignesse of a small pack-thread, then making of it fast about his middle, hee continueth thus till hee haue occasion to vfe him: In each Ear hee weareth a Reede or Cane, which hee bores through it, about the bignesse of a Swannes Quill, and in length halfe an inch, and the like through the midle of the lower lippe: also at the bridge of the Nose hee hangs in a Reede a small glasse Beade or Button, which hanging directly afore his Mouth, flies too and fro till as hee pleaseth, when hee takes great pleasure. Hee weares his Haire long, being rounded below to wee the better part of his Ear, and one short, or rather as I lodged plucked bald on the crown like a rarer: But their women vfe no fashion at all to set forth their fclous, but flacke naked as they were borne, with hair long on their Heads, also their Breasts hang vrie low, by reason they are neuer laced or braced up: they doe vfe to anoint their Bodies, both Men and Women, with a kinde of redd Earth, the cause the Muskitas, or Flies shall not offend them.

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at both ends at length, then fastning either end to a Tree, to the full length about a yard and halfe from the ground, when hee hath desire to sleepe, hee creeps vnto it. The King of curie Riuer is knowne by this manner. He weares vpon his head a Crowne of Parrats feathers, of seuerall colours, hauing either about his middle, or about his Necke, a Chaîne of Lions teeth or claws, or of some other strange beaſt, hauing a wooden Sword in his hand, and hereby is he knowne to be the King: Oftentimes one King warres against another in their Canowes, which are Boats cut out of a whole Tree, sometimes taking one another, the Conquerours eates the Captiues. By this time ten weekes were spent, and being homewards bound, but not the same way that we came, for we failed vnto the Riuer before the winde, because it blowes there continually one way, which forces all shippes that come thither to returne by a contrarie way.

The end of the first Booke.



VOY.

VOYAGES TO AND
ABOUT THE SOVTHERNE
AMERICA, WITH MANY MARINE
OBSERVATIONS AND DISCOVER-
SES OF THOSE SEAS AND
LANDS, BY ENGLISHMEN
AND OTHERS.

THE SEAVENETH BOOKE.

Reader, I here present thee the exactest Treatise of Brasil which I haue seen written by any man, especially in the Historie of the multiplied and diuersified Nations and customes of men; as also in the natural History of Beasts, Serpents, Fowles, Fishes, Trees, Plants, with diuers other remarkable naturall things of those Regions. It was written (as I remember) by a Portugall Priest (or Jesuite) which had lived thirte years in those parts, from whom (much against his will) the written Booke was taken by one Frances Cooke of Dartmouth in a Voyage outward bound for Brasil, An. 1601, who sold the same to Master Hacket for twenty shillings; by whose procurement it was translated out of Portugall into English: which translation I haue compared with the written Original, and in many places supplied defects, amended errors, illustrated with notes, and thus finished and furnished to the publick view. Great I oft had the Author of his works, and it not a little of his name, which I should as willingly haue inferred as worthy much honour for his industrie, by which the great and admirable workes of the Creator are made knowne; the visible and various testimonies of his infinite power, and manifold wisdom. Sic vos non vobis. In this and other written treatises the Spaniards and the Portugalls haue taken paines, and (which was denied to Spaine and Portugall) England is here entred into their labours, and hath reaped as English harvest of Spanish and Portugall seeds. Another Treatise was taken by the said Frances Cooke, written more fairly, but it seemeth with the same hand, part of which I haue added for better knowledge both of the civill-vncivil dealings of the Portugalls with the Indians; and of the vncristian cruelties in their owne practise and conuersion of the Indians, and that by Iesuiticall testimony. I may well add this Iesuite to the English Voyages, as being an English prize and captive.

CHAP. I.

A Treatise of Brasil, written by a Portugall which had long lived there.

§. I.

Of the beginning and originall of the Indians of Brasil, and of their Customes, Religions, and Ceremonies.



It seemeth that this people hath no knowledge of the beginning and creation of the world, but of the deluge it seemeth they haue some notice: but as they haue no writings nor characters of such notice is obscure and confused; for they say that the waters drowned all men, and that one onely escaped vpon a *leapata* with a fillet of his that was with child, and that from theſe two they haue their beginning, and from thence began their multiplying and increaſe.

This people hath not any knowledge of their Creator, nor of any thing of heauen, nor if there be any paine nor glory after this life, therefore they haue no odoration nor ceremonies, nor diuine worship, but they know that they haue ſoules, and that they dye not; and they ſay that the

Of the know-
ledg that they
haue of the
Creator, and
of the Soules,
Paradiſe, &c.
uch:

- the Soules are converted into duels, and that after their death they goe to certaine fields where are many figge trees along by a faire River, and all together doe nothing but daunce. This is the cause why they are greatly afraid of the Duell, whom they call *Curupira*, *Taguana*, *Pigatanga*, *Machchera*, *Aobanga*; and their feare of him is so great, that onely with the imagination of him they dye as many it is already it hath happened: they worship it not, nor any other creature, neither haue they Idols of any sort, onely some old men doe say that in some waies they haue certaine Potts where they offer to him appeare, for the feare they haue of them, and because they would not die, sometimes the Duells appeere vnto them, though very feldome, and among them are few of fild.
- Thy yve some witchcrafts, and there are some Witches, not because they beleue in them, or doe worship them, but onely they giue themselves to the *Chupar* in their sicknesses, coming to them, that they recouert their health: but not because they doe think they haue any diuinity, and they doe it rather to recouert health, then for any other respect. There arise sometimes among them some Witches, whom they call *Caraiba*, and most commonly it is some *Indian* of a bad life; this doth some witchcrafts and strange things to nature, as to show that he raiseth soules to life, that makes himselfe dead, and with these and other like things he carrieth all the Countrey after him, deceiuing and faying to them that they shall not cultivate, nor plant their Pulse, and their provision, neither digge nor labour, &c. for with his comming the time is come that the Mattookes themselves shall digge of their owne accord, and the Beasts goe to the fields and bring the provision, and with this falsehood he leades them so deluded and enchanted, that not looking to their liues, and to get their food, they die for hunger, and these companies are diminished by little and little, till the *Caraiba* remaineth alone, or is murdered by them.
- No proper name of God. They haue no proper name to expresse God, but they say the *Tapan* is the thunder and lightning, and that this is the chief god, whom the Mattookes and the food, and because they haue no other name more natural and proper, they call God *Tapan*.
- Of the Marriages. There is marriages among them, but there is a great doubt whether they be true, as well because they haue many wives, as for the ease forliking them for whatsoever quarrell, anger, or any other disgrace hapning among them; but either true or not, as they were made in this sort. No young man did vie to marrie before he had taken an enemy, and he continued a virgin till he tooke and slew him, holding first his feasts for the space of two or three yeares, the woman in like sort did not marrie nor know man, till she had her teares, after the which they made her great feasts; at the time of the deluerie of the woman they made great drinkings. And the teall being ended, the marriage remained perfect giuing a net cleane waist; and after they were laid, the father tooke a weige of stone and did cut vpon a post or stake, then they lay hee did cut the tails from the grandchildren, and therefore they were borne without them, and after they were married they began to drinke, for vntill then their fathers did not suffer them, teaching them that they should drinke heedfully, and should be considerate and wife in their speaking, that the wine might doe them no hurt, and that they should not speake bad things, and then with a weill the old ancient men did giue him the first wine, and hold his head with their hands that he might not vomit, for if he doth vomit they hold to chemicles that he would not be valiant.
- Of the manner they keepen in drinke. This people eateth at all times by night and by day, and euerie houre and moment, and when they haue any meate they keepe it no long time, for they haue no prouidence for the future, but presently they they are all that they haue, and deuide it among their friends, in sort that of one fish that they haue they deuide it to all, and they hold for a great honour and gallantry to be liberal, and thereby they get great fame and honour: and they hold for the greatest iniurie that they can doe them, to tolid them for niggardie, or call them so: and when they haue nothing to eate, they are very patient in hunger and thirst. They haue no flesh or fish dainties, they eate all manner of fild, even of vncleane creatures, as Snakes, Toades, Rats, and such like wormes; they este also all manner of Fruits, faying some of these are poisonous. This lustenace is ordinarily of all the which the Countrey yeeldeth without husbandrie, as wilde fowle, flesh and frutes, but they haue a certaine kinde of food of a good substance, and healthfull, and many other pulses, whereof hereafter shall mention be made. Ordinarily they drinke not while they eate, but after meate they drinke water or wine which they make of many kinde of frutes, and rootes, as hereafter shall be said, of the which they drinke without measure or order, euen till they fall downe.
- Feasts. They haue some particular daies wherein they make great feasts, and all ends in drinking, and they last two or three daies, in the which they eate not but onely drinke, and there be men that emptie a whole great veill of wine. That these drinkings may be more festiual, some goe about singing from house to house, calling and inuoting all they find for to drinke, and be merie. These dauncing last with musike all the time of the drinking, in the which they drinke not but passe it all in drinking, and when they are drunke they play many disorders, and they break one anothers head, and take other mens wiues, &c. They giue no thanks before nor after meate to God, nor wash their hands before meate, and after meate they wipe them at their haire, on the

their body, or a poste. They haue no towells nor towles, they eate sitting, or lying in their nets, or crouing on the ground: they eate their meate: throwing it with their hand into the mouth and I omit many other particularities that they haue in their eating and drinking, because they este the principall.

All this people haue for their beds certaine nets made of Cotten woad, and they sleepe in them hanging in the ayre. These they make some wrought, others of iundry colours and as they remaine in the ayre, and haue no other covering or clothes alwaies in summer and winter, they haue new let them: they ride not very early, and goe to bed by times, and in the mornings there is one chiefe man in their houses, that lying in his net doth preach vnto them for the space of an houre, how they are to goe to labour as their forefathers did, and he appointeth them the time, telling them what they are to doe; and after he is vp continueth his preaching, running through the Towne. They tooke this custome from a bird which is like a Hawke, which singeth in the morning, and they call it the *King and Lord of the other Birds*; and they say that euen as that Bird doth sing in the mornings to be heard of the rest, so the principall should make those preachings and speeches to be heard of theirs.

All of them goe naked as well men as women, and haue no kinde of apparell, and are nothing affirmed: rather it seemeth that they are in the state of innocencie touching this behalfe by the great honestie and modestie they loe keepe among themselves; and when any man speaketh with a woman, he turneth his backe to her. But to make themselves gallant they vie diuers inuentions, painting their bodies with the iuice of a certaine frute wherewith they remaine black, making in their bodies many white stroakes, after the fashion of roundels, and other kinde of garments. They enlame themselves also, making Dailems and Bracelets, and other very fine inuentions, they esteeme very much all manner of fine feathers: they loe not haire grow in the parts of their body, but they pull them out, onely the head excepted, which they cut in many daies, for some weare them long with a halfe Moone hauben beate, and they lay thei vnto this vie from Saint Thomas, and it seemeth that they had fauen notice of him, though confusedly; others make certaine kinde of crownes and circles that they seeme Friers: the women also doe wear long haire, and ordinarily blacke, and the haire of the one and of the other is smooth: when they are angrie they let their haire grow long: and the women when they mourne, doe so cut their haire, and also when their husbands goe a farre journey, in this they show their loue and loyalty to them: the vanitie they haue in their poling is so much, that by the head the Nations are knowne.

Now alreadie some doe weare apparell as well men as women, but they esteeme it so little that they weare it rather for fashion then for honestie sake, and because they are commanded to weare: as it is well seene by some, that some-times come abroad with certaine garments no further then the nauell, without any other thing, and others onely with a cap on their heads; and I leaue the other garments at home: the women make great accept of Laces and Combes.

Their houses doe vie certaine Cottages, or houles of timber, couered with Palme tree leaues, and are of a length some of two hundred and some hundred fpanes, and they haue two or three doores, verie little and low. They shew their valour in seeking timber, and verie great paine and of great continuance, and there be houles that haue sixtie, or seauentie rooms of twentie or five and twentie quarters long, and as many quarters long, and as many in breadth, I this house dwelleth one principall man or more, whom all the rest doe obey, and ordinarily they are kinfe men. In euery room of these dwelleth a household with their children and family without any repartition betweene the one and the other, and to enter in one of these houles is to enter into a labinerth, for euery room hath his fire, and their nets hanging, and their stuffe, so that coming in, all that they haue is in sight, and some houles hath two hundred persons and more.

The women when they are brought to bed (they are deluered on the ground) doe not take vnto the child, but the Father taketh it vp, or some other person whom they take for their God, and in friendship they are as the Godfathers among the Christians. The Father doth cut the Nauell string with his teeth, or with two stones knocking the one with the other, and then they let themselves to fasting untill the Nauell string fall off, which is ordinarily to the eight day, and till it doth fall they haue not their fasting, when it faller, if it beea man child he maketh it a Bow with Arrows, and trieth it at the end of the Neth, and at the other end manie handfulls of herbes which are the enemies which some shall kill and eate. These ceremonies being ended, they make drinkings wherewith they are merie. The women when they are deliered, doe presently goe and wash themselves in the Ruers, and they gae the child sucke ordinarily a yeere and an hile, not giuing it any other thing to eate. They looe their children extraordinarily, and beire them in certaine pieces of Nets which they call *Tapias*, and carrie them to their plowings, and to all kinde of labours on their backs, through cold and heate, and they carrie them like the Gipsies trailing about their hips: they giue them no manner of correction, that their children may not cry. They haue manie Southsillings, for they put Cotton-clothes vpon their head, birds feathers, and sticks: they lay them one the palms of their hands,

Of the manner that they haue in their sleeping.

* One House contains many Families.

Nakednesse.

Modesty. Painting.

Galantry.

Neatnesse.

Mourning.

Apparell.

Of their Houses.

Childbirth.

Love and care of their children.

Friers and le-
sures paices
with Indians
children.

Of the custom
they have in
harboring, or
entertaining
their guests.

Of the custom
they have of
drinking of
limeack.

Of the man-
ner of pay-
ments and
busbandry.

Of their Jewels
and Brooches.

Filthily fine.

Of the rage
of their wits,
and how they
man them.

Testimonie.
Of their dan-
ces and their
songs.

hands, and rocke them by them that they may grow. They esteeme more to doe good to their children then to themselves, and now they esteeme and love the *Fathers* verie much because they bring them vp, they teach them, roade, write, and cipher, and singing, and to play on an Instru- ment, a thing which they doe much esteeme.

When any guest doth come to the house, the honour and entertainment they make him is to bewaile him: Now the guest being come into the house they let him in the Net, & after he is let without speaking any word to him the wife and the daughters, and the other friends do sit them downe round about him with their haire loose, touching with the hand the partie: they all be- gonne to weep with a high voice and great abundance of teares, and there they tell in a verified proofe all things that have happened since they saw one another to that house, and manie other which they inuent, and the troubles that the guest hath suffered in his journey, and all things else that may prouoke pitee and teares. The guest all this time speaketh not one word, but after they have bewailed him a good while they wipe the teares, and remaine so quiet, so modest, so pleasant and merie that it seemeth they never wept, and then they salute one another, and give their *Erings*, or welcome, and they bring him meate, &c. And after these Ceremonies ended, the guest telleth wherfore he cometh. The men likewise bewaile one another, but it is in some weightie matters, as deaths, misfortunes in wars, &c. They hold it for a great courtesie to entertaine all men and to give them all things necessarie for their sustentance, and some gifts, as Bowes, Arrows, Birds, Feathers, and other things according to their povertrie without any kind of reward.

These *Gentles* doe accustom to drinke the smoke of *Peisima*, by another name the *baly herbe*, this they drie and make of a Palme-tree leafe a Coffin like the joint of a Cane, and filled with this herbe, they fire it at the small end putting the biggest in their mouth, and so they sucke or drinke that smoke, and they hold it for a great daintie and saour, and lying in their Nets they spend part of the daies and of the nights: to some it doth much hurt, and maketh them dizzy and drunke, to others it doth much good, and maketh them void a great deal of flegme at the mouth. The women also doe drinke it, but they are such as are old and sickly, for it is verie me- dicinable vnto them, especially for the cough, the head-ache, and the Disale of the stomacke, and hence comes a great manie of the *Portugals* to drinke it, and have taken it for a vice or for idleness, imitating the *Indians* to spend daies and nights about it.

This Nation hath no money wherewith to satisfie the desires that are done to them, but they live with bartering one thing for another, and principally in change of wine they doe all that they will, and so when they have any business, they make wines, and adulter the Neigh- bours, and assembling all the Towne, they desire them to help them in their Busbandry, which they doe with a good will, and labouring till tenne of the clocke they retorne home againe to drinke their wines, and if that day their tillage be not ended, they make other wines, and so goe another day till ten of the clocke to make an end of their business. And in this sort doe the wife *White men* or *Portugals* vie, that know the vices and fashions of the *Indians*, and how much they do for wine: they make wines for them, and call them to their Husbandries, and to their Sugar- canes, and with this they pay them. They vie also ordinarily to change some things for white beads, which are made of Wilkes; and in change of some Nolgais they give even their wines; and this is the ranfome wherewith they vie ordinarily, that is, the *White men*, for to buy of them the flaves, as well men as women that they have for to eate.

These *Indians* vie ordinarily, chiefly in their Featts, Collars which they make of Wilkes, Diameres of Feathers, and certaine Brooches, (that is, stones which they put in their lower lip) some Greene, white, some blue, and verie fine, and are like Emeralds, or Christall, they are round, and some of them so long that they reach to their breasts, and it is ordinarily among the greatest and principall men, to have them of a span, or more in length. They vie also white Brace- lets of the same Wilkes, and they put in their eares certain white stones of a span long and more, and these and other like are the ornaments wherewith they adorne themselves in their Featts, whether they be of slaughters of the enemies: or of wines; and these are the Riches that they esteeme above all that they possess.

These *Indians* doe vie to irritate their Wines well, they never strike them, neither quarrell with them, except in the time of their drinkings, for then ordinarily they reuenge themselves of them, giving for an excuse afterward, it was the wine they had drunke, and then they are friends as before, and the hatreds betweene them last not long. They goe alwaies together, and when they goe abroad, the woman cometh behind and the man before, that if any ambush be laid, the wife may not fall into it, and may have time to flee while the Husband fighteth with his ad- versarie, &c. But at their returning home from their fields, or from any other place the wife cometh before, and the Husband behind, that if any mischance shall happen, the wife may flee home, and the Husband fight with the enemies, or any other thing. But in a safe Countrey and within the Townes the wife alwaies goeth before, and the Husband behind, for they are ve- rie jealous, and will have alwaies their wife in sight.

Though they be melancholike they have their Games, especially the children verie diuers and pleasant, in the which they counteiret manie kinds of Birds, and with so great featt and order

order as may be. And the children are joyfull and giuen to play, and they play with such quiet- nesse and friendship, that among them is no bad name heard, or any scurrillitie, or calling any nickname one to anothers Father or Mother; and fellome doe they disagree when they play, nor disorder themselves for any thing, and verie feldome doe they strike or fight one with another. The Fathers doe teach them from their cradles to dance and sing, and their dances are not fondre changes, but a continuall stamping with the feet standing still, or going round about, or stirring their bodies or their head, and they doe it all by such compasse, and pleasantesse as can be desired, at the found of a Timbrell made after the fashion of those which the children vie in *Spain* with manieflor fiones within or certaine feeds wherof they make also verie good beads: and so they sing dancing altogether, for they doe not one thing without the other, in such com- pisse and order that at sometime an 200. men dancing and singing together in a row one behind the other doe end all at one stroke, as if they were altogether in one place. The fingers of well men as women are much esteemed among them, in so much that if they take an enemies good finger, and an Inuencer of Veries, they therefore spare his life, and doe not eate him nor his children. The women doe dance together with the men, and make many gambolls and gestures with their armes and bodies, especially when they dance alone. They keepe among themselves differences of voices in their Consort: and ordinarily the women doe sing the Treble, Counter, and Tenours.

They are verie wicke, especially in weeping for the dead, for when any one dieth, the Kin- dred doe call themselves vpon him in the Net, and so suddenly that sometimes they choke him before he dieth, seeming to them he is dead. And those that cannot call themselves with the Coarse in the Net doe call themselves on the ground with such falls and knockes that it seemeth a Miracle they doe not at their lues with the dead, and of these falls, and mourning they re- maine so feeble that sometime they die. When they mourne they speak manie pittifull and dolo- rous words, & if it be at evening all night long they weep with a high voice, that is a wonder they are not wearie. For these mourning they call the Neighbours, & kinmen, and if he be one of the principall, all the Towne doth meere to mourne, and in this they have also their points of honour, and they curse with plaques those which weepe not, saying, they shall not be mourned for. After he is dead they wash him and paint him verie brauely, as they paint their be- nemies: and after this they couer him with Cotton Yarne that nothing is seene of him, and put a couering ouer his face, and sitting they put him in a great tinnage or vessell that they haue re- der the Earth for that purpose, and doe couer it in such manner that no Earth may come to him, and the vessel they couer with earth, making him a house where euerie day they carrie him meate. For they say that when he is wearie with dancing he cometh thither to eate, and so they goe for a certaine time to bewaile him euerie day all his Kindred, with him they burie all his Jewels or Brooches, that none may see them and grieue thereat. But if the dead had any Peece, as a Sword, &c. that had beene giuen him, it returneth to him that gaue it, and hee taketh it againe wherofeuer he findeth it: therefore they say that when one dieth he loseth all the right of that which was giuen him. After the Coarse is buried, the Kinmen are in continuall weeping night Nets neere to the rooves, and the women after twentie daies doe cut their haire, and this lament- ing lasteth a whole Moone, the which being ended they make great Wines or Drinkings to put blacke, and these Ceremonies and others being ended, they beginne to communicate the one with the other, as well the men as the women. After their companions are dead, some neuer doe marrie againe nor enter into the Feast of Wines, neither paint themselves with blacke; but is verie feldome among them, because they are much giuen to women, and cannot lue with- out them.

Before they had any knowledge of the *Portugals* they used rootes and instruments of stone, bone, wood, Canes, and teeth of Beasts, &c. and with thesethey hewed downe great Woods, with wedges of stones, helping themselves with fire; and they digged allo the ground with cer- taine shupe flakes, and they made their Brooches, Beades of Wilkes, Bowes, and Arrows, as well as now having Instruments of Iron, but they spent a long time in making of whatsoever making their things with it. And this is the reason wherfore they are glad of Commerce with the *Portugals*, or white men.

The weapons of this people ordinarily are Bowes and Arrows, and they boast themselves of them, and they make them of verie good wood, and verie faire interlaid with Palme-tree of sun- drie colours, they die their strings Greene, or red, and they make their Arrows verie faite, see- king for them the fairest feathers they can find. They make these Arrows of shupe flakes, and fasten in their points the teeth of beasts, or certaine verie hard Rutes, or shupe flakes with some a thing of mockerie, but are verie cruell Weapons, and pierce quilted breast-plates or cu- rates; and fluting in a fluke they cleave it a funder, and sometimes happen to goe through a man

Instruments.

Womens dan-
ces.

Of their bu-
rials.

Lamentations
to be lamenc-
ted.

Of the Instru-
ments they use.

Of the wea-
pons they doe
vie.

Cruell arrows
and

Cunning Archers.

and flicke on the ground. They doe exercise themselves in these Weapons verie young, and are great Archers, and to certaine that no Bird can escape them be it neuer so little, Or any vermine of the Woods; and there is no more but if they will shoot an Arrow through the eye of a bird or a man; or hit any other thing be it neuer so small, they doe it with great facilitie and with their owne safetie; and for this they are greatly feared. They are stout also and fierce, and dreadfull to others.

Their Arts.

They are as vermine of the Woods, for they goe hunting into the Cunnies naked and bare-foot, without any feare. They have a marvellous sight, for at a League off they see any thing, and in the same manner they heare. They guesse verie right ruling themselves by the Sunne, they goe to all parts they list, 200. or 300. leagues through thicke Woods, and misse not one nor; they goe tell much, and always running a gallop, especially with some charges, no Horse is able to hold out with them. They are great fishers and swimmers, they feare no Sea nor waves, continue a day and a night swimming, and the same they doe rowing, and sometimes without meate. They vie also for Weapons Swords of wood, and interlay the ends of them with Palme-tree of sundrie colours and set Plumes on them of diuers colours, chiefly in their feasts and slaughters.

Great Travellers and swiftness.

And these Swords are verie cruell, for they make no wound, but bruise and breake a mans head without having any remedie of cure.

Swords.

§. II.

Of their manner of killing and eating of humane flesh: and of their creating Gentlemen.



All the honours and pleasures of this life, none is so great for this people as to kill and get a name on the heads of their Adversaries, neither are there among them any Feasts, comparable to those which they make at the death of those which they kill with great Ceremonies, which they doe in this manner. Those which being taken in the Warre are appointed to die, come presently from thence with a token, which is a small cord about his necke; and if hee bee a man that may runne away, he hath one handed to his necke vnder his chinne. And before they come to the Townes that are by the way, they paint their eie-lids, eie-browes, and their beards, polling them after fashion, and enlumping them with Yellow feathers so well placed that yee can see no haire; which makes them so gallant as the Spaniards in their rich Apparell, and so they goe flaring their victorie whereby fouer they passe. When they come to their owne Countrey, the women came out to receive them, shewing altogether and striking themselves on the mouth which is a common entertainment among them; without any other vexation, or imprisonment, except that they wearie about the necke a round collar like a cord of a good bignesse, as hard as a sticke. In this collar they beginne to weave a great manie fathomes of small cord as long as a womans haire, fastened aboue with a certaine knot, and loose vnderneath, and so it goeth from eare to eare behind the backe, horrible to looke on. And if it be on the Frontier where hee may runne away, they put him in stead of shackles below the knees a string of threed twined verie hard, which is too weake for any Knife; but that they haue Keepers that goe not one moment from him, whether hee goe out the houses, to the Woods, or by the Fields, for he hath liberty for all this, and commonly the keeper is one that iguien him for wife, and also for to dress his meate, with the which if his Masters doe give him no meate as the custome is, he taketh a Bow and Arrowes and shooteth at the first Henne hee seeth, or at a Ducke be it wholesome, and none doth contradi him, and he waxeth fat, neither breaking therefore his sleepe, his laughter, or his pleasure as the rest, and some are as contented though they are to bee eaten, that in no wile they will consent to be ransomed for to serue; for they say that it is a wretched thing to die, and lie stinking, and eaten with Wormes. These women are commonly faithfull in their charge, for they receive honour thereby, and therefore manie times they are young, and daughters of the chiefs, especially if their brothers are to be the slayers. For those which haue not this interest manie times, affect them in such manner, that not only they give them leave to runne away, but they also doe goe with them, neither haue the women any other punishment if they bee taken againe, then a few strokes, and sometimes they are eaten of those same to whom they gave life.

Gentle cruell keeper.

Effull preparation and solemnity.

The time when he shall die being determined, the women beginne to make vessels, that is, Bowles, Traies, and Pots for the Wines, so great that euen one will hold a pipe. This being ready, as well the principall as the rest doe send their Messengers to invite others from sundrie places against such a Moore one tennor or twelue leagues from thence, for the which none doth excuse himselfe. The guests doe come in *Mogates* or troups with their wives and children, and all of them doe enter the Towne with Dancers; and all the time the people are gathering together, there is Wine for the guests, for without it all the other entertainments are nothing worth. The people being assembled, the Feasts beginne some daies before according to the

the number, and certaine ceremonies preceding, and euerie one lasteth a day. First, they haue for this certaine cords of Cotton-wooll of a reasonable bignesse, not twisted but wouen of a verie fine worke, it is a thing among them of great esteeme, and none hath them but some principall men, and according to their finesse and workmanship, and their taking pleasure, it is to be beleued that they are not made in a year: these are always verie lately kept, and are carried to the place with great feist & great noise in certain traies where a Master of these things doth set two knots within from that which one of the pipes doe run in such manner that in the midst there remaineth a noote. These knots are of fine cane, so fine that few are found that can make them, for some of them haue ten calls about five crooking over the other five, as if one should croffe the fingers of the right hand over the left, & after they die them with the tawater of a white clay like lime, & let them drie.

On the second day they bring a great number of burdens of wilde Canes or Reeds as long as Lances or more, and at night they let them on fire in a round heape, the points vpward leaning one to another, and so they make a great and faire high bonie-fire, round about the which are men and women dancing with sheaves of arrowes at their backe, but they goe very swiftly; for hee that is to die, which seeth them better then hee is seene because of the fire, catcheth hold of all that enat he can, and catcheth them, and they being many hee misseeth few times. At the third day they make a dance of men and women, all of them with pipes of Canes, and all of them at once doe stampe on the ground, now with one foot then with the other, all together without missing a stroke; and obseruing the same measure they play on their pipes, and there is no other singing nor speaking; they being many and the Canes some bigger and some smaller, besides the resounding in the Woods, they make a Hel-leeming harmonie, but they able it as if it were the sweetest Musike in the World. And these are their feasts, besides others which they intermingle with many graces and loutchings.

Black Saints.

On the fourth day, they cerue the captiued enemy as soone as the day breakes to wash him as a Ruler, and they wile the time that when they doe returne it may be broad day light, comming is to the Towne, the Prisoner goeth presently with a watchfull eye, for hee knoweth not out of what house or doore a valiant man is to come out to him, that is to catch hold of him behind. For as all their happinesse doth consist in dying valiantly, and the ceremonie that followeth, is now the neereit vnto death, as he which is to lay hold of him, doth shew his forces in ouer-comming him himselfe alone without any other helpe, so he will shew courage and force in resisting him: and sometimes he doth it in such sort, that the first standing aside as wearied in wrestling, another succedeth him which holds himselfe for a valiant man, the which sometimes remaine well beduited, & more they would remaine if at this time the captiue had not his cord or shakles.

This wrestling being ended, he on foot blowing and puffing with rage and wearinesse, with the other that hold him fast, there commeth forth a troupe of Nymphes which doe bring a great new painted bowle, and in it the cords rolled vp, and very white, and this present being set at the feet of the captiue, a cunning old woman in these matters, and Mistress of the troupe beginneth to tune a Song, whom the other doe helpe, the Dittie is according to the ceremonie. And while they sing, the men take the cords and the nooze being put about his necke, they give it another knot neerer to the other great ones, that it may not loase againe, and hauing made of euerie end a coyle, they put them on the woman which alwaies goeth after him with this end to wright, and if the weight be great because the cords are great and long, they give her another to carrie one of the coyles, and if he before was terrible with the collar, he is more now with those two knots so bigge behind about his necke, and therefore one of the verses of the Song saith, *These are those that make the necke of the bird to stretch*, although after other ceremonies, they lay to him in another foot, *If thou hadst beene a Parrot annoying vs, thou wouldest haue died*.

The womans part.

At this time the vessels of wine are set in a rowe, in the middle of a great house, and the house (hauing no partitions though it bee of twentie or thirtie fathome in length) it is full of people; and when they begin to drinke it is a Labyrinth, or a Hell to see and heare them. For those which dance and sing doe continue with great feruentesse all the daies and nights that the wines doe last. For this being the proper feast of the slaughters, in the drinking of the wines are many particularities, which last long, and they make water at euerie stop; and so they continue day and night; they sing, dance, drinke, and speake telling in whoopes through all the house of warres, and after that they did; and as euerie one will be heard in his Historie, euerie one doth speake striving to bee lowdly, beside other noises, without any intermission, not a quarter of an houre. That morning in which they begin to drinke, they paint the captiue by a particular way that they haue for that designe, in this sort, his face being cleane, and all the feathers he hath brought forth, they anoint him with the Milke of a certaine tree that cleaueth very fast, and they cast about it the powder of certaine egge-shells of a certaine wild fowle, and vpon this they paint him with black very faire pictures, and all his bodie to the sole of his foot, and sicke him all with feathers which they haue already cut for that purpose and died redde, and that maketh him to seeme halie as bigge againe, and touching his face it maketh it seeme as much greater, and the eyes so much the smaller, that he remaineth an horrible visage. And in the same manner that they haue painted his face, they adorn the Sword which is of wood, in manner of a Ferula or Palmer,

Their songs, &c.

Adorning of the Captiue.

The fassill
Sword.

but that the head is not to found, but almost three square, and the sides doe almost end in an edge, and the shaft of it which may bee of seven or eight spans is not altogether round. It hath at the head about four fingers broad, and cometh full narrow into the end where it hath certaine pendants, or little beils of diuers coloured feathers, it is a gallant thing and of great esteeme among them, they call it *leguendado* feathers, *one of the Sword*. The last day of the wanes they make in the middle of the place cabins of Palme-boughs, as many as they that shall die, and in that they lodge, without entering any one house, and all the day and the night hee is well served with feasts more then with meate, for they give him no other food but a fruite that hath the favour of Nuts, that the next day he may not haue much bloud.

Crocodiles
scares.

The fifth day in the morning at seven of the clocke, little more or lesse his woman doth there leave him, and goeth home very sad, and speaking for her farewell some pittifull wordes at the leaft faintly. Then they take away his shackles, and passe the cords from his neck to the walke, and standing at the doore of him that must kill him, the slaughterer cometh forth in a dance as white as a Dore, painted with white earth, in a garment which they call a cloke of feathers tied about the brest, upward like the wings of an Angell, so dancing he goeth round about the place, and cometh making very strange countenances with his eyes and bodie, and with his hands he counterfeits the Kite that deireth flesh, and with this Deuillishnes hee cometh to the wretch, which stands with the coard stretched, on both sides hauing one that holdeth him: and the poore wretch if hee find whereunto to throw at him, hee doth it with a good will, and many times they giue him wherewith, for many valiant men doe come out to him, fo nimble in winding their bodie that hee cannot hit them. This being ended there cometh an honorable Iudge, or tickler of the new Kingdome that shall see, and taking the Sword palleth it many times between his legges, putting it now on the one side, now on the other, even in the same manner that the Pipers doe passe between their legges, and after taking it by the middle with both hands hee pointeth as with a thrust to the eyes of the man which is to die; and this being done hee turneth the head of it upward in the same manner that he is to vie it, and putteth it in the hands of the slaughterer, as apt and already with those blessings for to doe his officie they place themselves somewhat to the left side, in such sort that he may hit him with the edge of his Sword in the nape of the necke, for hee striketh at another place.

Hallowing the
Sword.

And their brutishnes is so much, that because they feare no other euill but that which is present, they are as resolute as if they were nothing, as well for to speake, as for to try their courage, for after they take their leave of life, saying, *In a good houre, let me die seeing many are dead, and that besides this his brethren and kinsmen remaine here to renouge them.* And with this the one makes him resolute to discharge, and the other to auoid his bodie, which is all the honour of his death. And they are so nimble in this that many times it is high daies before they are able to kill them, for when he sees the weapon in the aire, sometimes hee drawes his head aside, sometime hee declines his bodie; and in this they are so doughtie, that if those that hold the points of the coards doe giue him hard (as they doe when the slaughterer is slow or weak) hee puls to hard that hee brings them to him, and makes them to slacken in despight, hauing one on each another on the Sword, without any standing still: and as the killer may not deuise them with an offer, and not strike vnder paine of recieving a fillip, they doe foresee their stroke in such sort that come it neuer so low in a strike they floope, and hee so flat that it is a wonder to see it, and so lesse is the taking of the Sword, holding him no more in such sort that hee dooing doe they pul it downe ioyntly with themselves, and they put it vnder the arme pulling by the killers wherein if they did not helpe the other would dispatch him: for they haue in this action many foolish sayings that for to kill a child of five yeere old, they goe to prepared as for to kill some Giant. And with these helpes and encouragements for many times hee striketh till hee hitteth and that is enough, for as soone as he is downe hee giueth him so many blowes till hee bastes his head (though one man was feene that had it so hard that they could neuer breake it, for as they goe bare-head, they haue them so hard that ours in comparison of theirs are like a Pompon, and when they will injure any *White man*, they call him *soft-head*.)

Block-head.

If this which they kill falleth on his backe, and not on his belly they hold it for an euill lucke and prognostication that the killer shall die, and although hee falleth vpon his belly, they haue many ceremonies, which if they be not kept they hold that the killer cannot live, and many of them are so painfull that if any one did suffer their troubles for Gods sake, they would be accounted meritorious, as hereafter shall be said. The poore wretch being dead they carrie him to a bone-fire that they haue ready for the same, and bringing the bodie neere the fire, touching him with the hand, flay off a skinned somewhat thicker then the rinde of an Onion, till hee remaine cleane and whiter then a Calde Blig. Then it is delivered to the Butcher which maketh a hole beneath the flomacke according to their vie, whereby the children first do put in their hands, and pull by the guts vntill the Butcher cutteth where hee listeth, and that which remaineth in the hand of euery one is his part, and the rest is diuided among the Commons except some principal pieces which for great honour are giuen to the guests that are the most principall, which they doe carrie well & thus, so that it may not corrupt, and with them afterward in their countries they make newe edils and drinkings of wine.

The

The killer hauing ended his office, taking of the cloke of feather, and leauing the Sword hee goeth home, where at the doore the same Iudge or tickler that was before with a shooting bow in his hand, that is, one of the points on the lower threshold, the other at the vpper, and pulling by the string as though he would thore, the killer passeth between him so cunningly that hee toucheth in nothing. As soone as he is passed the other loseth the string making then that it grieues him to haue missed him whom hee shot at, as though this hath vertue to make him swift afterward in the warre, and the enemies to misse him. When he is within hee begins to runne through all the houses, and the Sisters and Cousins in the same manner before him, saying my Brother is called N. repeating it through all the Townes, and if the Gentleman hath any good thing hee that goeth takes it from him till they leaue him nothing. This being ended they cast on the ground certaine legges of a certaine Tree, called *Pilan*. Vpon the which hee stands all that day with so much silence as if he had some astonishment in him, and carrying to present thither the head of the dead, they pull out one of his eyes, and with the strings and finewes of it they amant his pulles, and cutting of his mouth whole, they put it on his arme as a Bracelet, and then hee layeth him downe in his Net as a sick man, and certainly hee is sick for feare, that if hee doe not accomplish the Rites perfectly, the foule of the dead will kill him.

Within a few daies they giue him the habit, not in the brest of the Coat which hee hath now, but on his owne skin race him all ouer the bodie with the tooth of a *Cetus*, that is like a Cones tooth, the which as well for their little skill, as because they haue a hard skinn it seemes, that they teare a piece of Parchment, and if hee be valiant, they doe not race him with right tickles but a Croffe in sort that there remaine certaine very fine workes, and some doe cry and grane with the paine. This being ended they haue smal Cole finely ground, and the iuice of *Bromegrass* wherewith they rub the cuts ouerwart, that the put him to great paine and swelling, which is yet a greater torment, while his wounds doe close, which continue some daies, hee lyeth still in his Net without speaking any word, nor asking any thing, and that he may not breake his silence, hee hath neere him water, flower, and certaine fruit like Almonds which they call *Amendans*, for hee eateth neuer fifth nor sixth those daies.

After he is whole, many daies or moneths being passed, they make a great drinking of wines that hee may put off his mourning, and cut his hure which vntill then hee did not, then hee appoints himselfe with blacke, and from thence forward hee remains enabled to kill without any painful ceremony being done to him, and hee also the sweat himselfe honoured and contented, and with a certaine disdaine, as one that hath honour alreadie, and gets it not a new. And so hee doth no more but giue the other a couple of blowes, although the head remaine whole, and hee stirring hee goeth home, and presently they come and cut off his head. And the Mothers with their children about their necke, come to congratulate him, and hanfill him for the warre, flaying his armes with that bloud. These be the exploits, honours and valour whence this people take their names, whereof they boast very much, and they remaine thence forward *Abates*, *Murubabos*, *Miquaras*, which are the names and titles of Gentlemen. And these are the vnhappie Titles of Feasts whereon these wretches doe ground their felicitie and glorie, before they haue any knowne ledge of their Creator.

¶ III. Of the diuersitie of Nations and a Languages, and of the Style and Climate.

IN all this Prouince are many and sundrie Nations of diuers Languages, but one is the principall which comprehendeth some ten Nations of *Indians*. These liue on the South Coast, and in a great part of the Land, all of one Speech, though they differ in some words. This is that which the *Portugals* doe vnderstand, it is easie, eloquent, pleasant, and copious; the difficultie of it is in hauing many comparisons, but of the *Portugals* almost all doe know it in a short time, and the children of the *Portugals* borne here doe speake it better then the *Portugals*, as well men as women, chiefly in the Captainship of Saint Vincent, and with these ten Nations of *Indians* haue the Fathers communication, because they know their Language, and they more tame and well inclined. These were, and are the ancient friends of the *Portugals*, with whose helpe and armes they conquered this Countrey, fighting against their owne kindred, and diuers other Nations very barbarous, and those of this generation were so many that it seemed an impossible thing to extinguish them, but the *Portugals* haue made such harts that they are almost dead, and they vse such means that they diminisheth the Coast, and flie the Land inward, some three hundred, some foure hundred.

The first of this Language are called *Pitiguaras* Lords of *Parayba*, thirte leagues from *Parayba*, and haue the best Brail woode, and are great friends to the *Frenchmen*, and did contract with them vntill now, marrying their Daughters with them, but now in the year 1584. *Parayba* was taken by *James Flores* his Maiesties Generall, driving out the

See before in
M. Quate.Portugals vie of
Saugas.

Pitiguaras.

Speech. Others called *Aguigua*, these doe conuerse with the former. Another Nation liueth in the Maine, enemies to the *Murapiangia*, and of the *Tarapa*, it is a Dwarfish people, low of bodie, but bigge legged and backed, the *Poringals* call these *Pugnos*, and the *Indians* call them *Tapiquiri*, because they are little. Others called *Quingwig*, these doe lue in the Maine of the Bay, verie farre. Others called *Gungig*, these are great Horsemenn, and friends of the former. Others called *Gouari*, doe lue in the Maine of Port *Sauere*, verie fare off. Others called *Aenagwig*, these were Inhabitants of the Countreies of the *Tupinaguins*, and because the *Tupinaguins* remained Lords of the Mountaines, they are called *Tupinaguins*.

Guziter,

Others called *Guaiteaca*, doe lue in the Sea Coast betwene the *Holy Ghost*, and the *Riuer of Iassuare*, they lue in the fields, and will not lue in the Woods, they goe to eate to their Huilbandies, and come to the houles to bed, they haue no other treasures. They lue as the cattrell that feedeth in the fields, and come not to the Houles but to sleepe, they are so swift in running that by footmanship they catch the game. Others called *Ighirawapan*, are enemies to the *Tupinaguins*, they communicate with the *Guaimeires*, when they fight with their enemies, they make great noises striking with certaine sticks vpon others. Others called *Quirigma*, these were Lords of the Countreies of the Bay, and therefore it is called the Bay *Quirigma*. The *Tupinaguins* did expell them out of their Countreies, and remained Lords of them, and the *Tupinaguins* went toward the South. Others called *Mambuco*, in habit in the Maine right against the great *Riuer*. Others called *Canaga*, doe lue right against *Iscueriquare*, betwene the *Holy Ghost* and Port *Sauere*. Others called *Tupawrig*, are enemies of the *Tupinaguins*, and eate vp their Corne fields. Others that dwell about the Maine that goeth toward Saint *Vincent*, are called *Ameuaco*, and were enemies of the *Tupinaguins*. Others called *Nonea*, haue verie great faces. Others called *Apay*, dwell nere the field of the Maine, they are great fingers, and haue another Speech. Others called *Panaguri*, differing from the former. Others also differing called *Begorgya*, Others called *Pirija*, there are a great number of these.

All these Countreies fixe Nations of *Tupinaguins*, which haue the most of them a sundry Language, are a wilde lauage and vntamed people: they are all for the most part enemies of the people that dwell in the Sea Coast neighbouring to the *Poringals*: only a certaine kind of *Tupinaguins*, that lue in the *Riuer of Saint Francis*, and others that dwell nearer are friends of the *Poringals*, and entertaine them verie well when they passe through their Countreies. Of these many are *Christians*, for the Townes of the Fathers married, and serue them for Interpreters, for the remedie of so great a number of people as is lost; and only with these *Tupinaguins*, may some fruit bee gotten, with the rest of the *Tupinaguins* no conuersion can be wrought because of their mutabilitie, and the haueing manie and sundrie verie hard Languages. Only there remaineth one remedie, if the Lord God doe not discouer another, and it is getting some of their children, and making them to learne the Speech of the rest, and seruing for Interpreters may some fruit be gotten, though with great diffcultie, for the Reasones aboue said, and manie other.

The Climate of *Brasil* generally is temperate, of good, delicate, and healthfull aire, where the men lue long en to 90. 100. and more yeeres, and the Countreie is full of old men. Generally it is neither cold nor hot, though from the *Riuer of Iassuare*, vnto Saint *Vincent*, there be colds and heates, but not very great. The Heauens are very pure and cleere, especially by night; the Moone is verie preiudiciall vnto health, and corrupteth the things verie hurt. The morninges are verie healthfull: it hath verie little twilights, as well in the morning as in the euening, for as soone as it is day presently the Sun riseth, and as soone as it is set, it is night. Their Winter beginneth in March, and endeth in August, the Summer beginneth in September, and endeth in Februarie, the nights and daies are all the yeere almost equall.

The Countreie is somewhat melancholicke, outflowing with many waters, as wel of mine *Riuers*, as from the Skie; in it is great store of raine chiefly in Winter, it is full of great Woods that are Greene all the yeere. It is a Hilly Countreie, especially toward the Sea Coast, and from *Pernambuco* vnto the Captainship of the *Holy Ghost*, is verie scarce of stone; but from thence to Saint *Vincent* are verie rough and high Mountaines, of great Quarries of Rockie stone, the food and waters are generally healthfull, light, and of easie digestion. There are few Commodities for apparell, because the Countreie yeeldeth nothing but Cotton-wooll, and of the rest the Countreie is plentifull: especially of Cattell and Sugs.

§. IIII.

Of the Beasts, Land-serpents, Fowles.

The Deere in the *Braslian* tongue is called *Cuacu*: there are some verie great, like faire Horfes, they are well headed, and some haue ten or twelue flags; these are rare, and they are found in the *Riuer of Saint Francis*, and in the Captainship of Saint *Vincent*.

These are called, *Cuacupapa*, they are esteemed of the *Cargos*, who of the shankes and sinowes make the points of their Arrowes, and certaine throwing Balls which they vie for to strike downe beasts and men. There bee other smaller, they haue hornes also, but they are only of one point: besides these there are three or foure kindes, some that feede onely in the Woods, others onely in the plaine fields in heads. They make great account of the skinner, and of the flesh.

The *Tapijets* are the *Elkes*, of whose skinner the leather Targets are made, they are like Kine, much more like a Mule, the tayle is of a finger length, they haue no hornes, they haue a snout of a quarter long, which he shrinketh vp and putteth forth. They swimme and diue verie much, but when they diue they take ground presently vnder water, and going on it they come out in another place, there are great store of them in this Countreie.

There are great store of wilde Boares, and it is the ordinary food of the *Indians* of this Countreie, they haue the nauell on their backe, and out of it there cometh a fent like the fent of little Foxes, and by that fent the Dogs doe hunt them, and they are easily taken.

There are others called *Tayacuira*, that is to say, a Boare that snappeth or grindeeth his teeth, these are bigger then the common, and more rare, and with their tuskes they goare all the beasts they meete.

Others are called *Tayacuira*, that is, a Boare that standeth still and varieth; these doe assault the Dogs, and men: and if they catch them they eate them; they are so fierce, that men are forced to take the trees to escape them, and some doe flay at the foot of the trees some dayes till the man doe come downe; and because they know this tricke of theirs, they goe presently to the trees with their Bowes and Arrowes, and from thence they kill them. There bee also other kinde of Boares, all good meate.

The *Asuts* are like the Conies of *Spain*, chiefly in their teeth: the colour is damne, and draweth toward yellow: they are domestical creatures, so that they goe about the house, and goe out and come in againe to it, they take with their fore-feet all that they eate, and so they carrie it to the mouth, and they eate verie fast, and hide that which they leaue against they be an hungered. Of these there are many kindes, and all are eaten.

The *Pacas* are like Pigs, there are great abundance of them; the flesh is pleasant, but it is *Paca* heauie. They neuer bring forth but one at once. There bee others verie white; these bee rare, they are found in the *Riuer of Saint Francis*.

There are many Ounces, some blacke, some grey, some speckled, it is a verie cruell beast, and feroce; they assault men exceedingly, that euen on the trees they cannot escape them, especially if they be bigge. When they are fierce there is none that dare abide them, especially by night: they kill many beasts at once, they spoile a whole house, or a heard of Swine, and to open a man, or whatsoever beast, it sufficeth to hit him with one of his claws. But the *Indians* are so hardie, that some of them dare close with one of them, and holdeth it fast, and kill it in a field, as they doe their enemies, getting a name, and vying all the ceremonies they doe to their enemies.

They vie the heads for Trumpets, and the *Portugall* women vie the skinner for Rugs or Couerlets, especially of the painted ones, and in the Captainship of Saint *Vincent*.

The *Carigue* are like the Foxes of *Spain*, but they are smaller, as bigge as a Cat, they smell worse then the Foxes of *Spain* themselves, and they are grey as they. They haue a bag from the fore to the hinder feet, with fixe or seuen dugs, and there they carrie their young ones hidden till they can get their owne food, and hath ordinarily fixe or seuen in a litter. This vermine destroyeth the Hens, for it goeth not by day but by night, and climbs the trees and the houles, and no Bird or Hen can escape them.

The *Tamandua* is of notable admiration, it is of the bigneffe of a great Dog, more round then long, and the tayle is twice or thrice as long as the bodie, and so full of haire, that from the heate, raine, cold and winde, hee hath bound him selfe all vnder it, that yee can see nothing of him. The head is small, and hath a thimble inout, no greater mouth then an oyle Cutze, round and not open, the tongue is of three quarters long, and with it he licketh vp the *Ants*, whereof hee only feedes; hee is diligent in seeking of the *Ants*-heapes, and with the clawes hee breaketh them, and cutting out his tongue the *Ants* thicke on it, and so he drawes them in, haueing no more mouth then to hold his tongue full of them; it is of a great fiercenesse, and doth assault many people and beasts. The Dogs doe feare them, and the Dogs exceedingly, and whatsoever they catch, they teare with their clawes; they are not eaten, neither are they good for any

Ant Beare, or Tamandua, a strange shaped beast.

Carigue.

Iscuete, M. Riant calls them Tigres.

Bold winged rous Indians.

Tatu, or Armadillo.
The *Tatu* is the Rhinoceros.

Candacu, or Porcupine.
divers kinds.

Hirax, or Civet Cat.

Aquini, Apes or Monkeys.
Apes & Monkeys.

His Oration.

His Page.

Many kinds of Monkeys.

Their Physick.

Monks & tricks.

Cuati.

Other kinds.

Wilde Cats.

Lagoenon.

any thing but to destroy the Ant-heapes, and they are so many that they will neuer be destroyed altogether.

The *Tatu* is of the bignesse of a Pigge, and of a whitish colour, it hath a very long snout, and the body full of thing, like plates, wherewith he remaineth armed, and it hath certaine pieces hanging downe as the *Badas* haire. These plates are so hard, that no Arrow can pierce them, except it hit him in the flanks; they digge so fast, that it hath chanced seuen and twentie men with Matchlocks not to be able to digge so much as one of these with their snout. But if they cast water in their holes they are presently taken: it is a creature worth the seeing, and they call it an *armed Heaf*, the flesh is like Hennes flesh, or Pigge, very pleasant, of the skin they make Purles, and they are very faire, and laffing, they are made tame, and are bred in the house. Of 10
10

The *Candacu* is the Porcupine of *Africa*, and hath bristles white and blacke, so great, that they are as a panne and a haile, and more, and they cast them like as those of *Africa*. There be other of this, called *Candamiri*, because they are smaller; and they have bristles as the other. There be other smaller, of the bignesse of a Cat, with yellow bristles and blacke at the points. All these bristles have this quality, that entering into the flesh, bee it neuer so little, of it selfe it pierce through the flesh. And for this cause these bristles doe serve the *Indians* for an instrument to bore the eares, for putting neuer so little in them in one night it pierce them through. There be other smaller like *Yrchins* or Hedge-hogs, they have also bristles, but they call them not, all these beasts are of a good flesh and taste.

The *Hirax* is like the *Civet Cat*, though some say it is not; they are of many colours, viz. grey, blacke, and white, they eat nothing but humme, and in this they are so terrible, that bee the hole of the Bee-hive neuer so little they make it so bigge that they may goe in, and when they find the Humme they neuer eat it, till they have called the rest of the young ones, and then the old one going in, he doth nothing but bring out the Humme, and give it to the young ones, a thing of great admiration, and an example of great charitie for men, and that this is so the men of the Countrie doe ascribe.

The *Aquini* are very great Apes, as bigge as a good Dog, blacke, and very ugly, as well the male as the female; they have a great beard only in the lower chap: of these come sometimes a male one to yellow that it draweth toward red, which they say is their King. This hath a white face, and the beard from eare to eare, as cut with the Scissers, and it hath one thing much to be noted, namely, that he goeth into a tree, and maketh so great a noise that it is heard very farre off, in the which he continueth a great while without ceasing, and for this, this kind hath a particular instrument: and the instrument is a certaine hollow thing, as it were made of Parchment, very strong, and so smooth, that it serveth to burnish withall, as big as a Duckes Eggs, and beginneth from the beginning of the gullet, till very neere the palate of the mouth between both the cheekes, and it is so light that alone as it is toucht it moveth as the key of a Virginals. And when this Ape is thus crying he smeth much, and one of the little ones that is to remaine in his place doth cleane many times the some from his beard.

There are others of many kinds, and in great abundance, they are blacke, grey, and yellow; 40
the Country-men say that some of these, when they shoot at them with an Arrow, catch it in their hand, and then come againe, and throw it at the men; and when they are hurt they creeke a certaine lease and chaw it, and thrust it into the wound for to heale them, and because they are alwaies on the trees, and are very swift, when the leape is great, and the little ones cannot passe, one of them lieth ascroffe like a bridge, and the rest passe over him, the tayle serveth him for a hand; and if any be stricken, with his tayle he holdeth fast the bough whereon he is, and so doth hanging, and falleth not.

They have many other qualities that are seene every day, as to take a fiske and beate some body that doth them harme; another found a basket of Eggs, hung it by the cord about his necke, and going to the top of an house, from thence made many mowes at his master that so went to seeke him, and breaking them, did eate them all before him, throwing the shells at his master.

The beast *Cuati* is grey, and like the Badgers of *Portugall*, it hath the snout and clawes very long, it climeth the trees like the Monkie: no Snake, no Egge, no Bird doth escape it, nor any thing that it can get. They are made tame in the houses, but no man can abide them, for they devour all; they will play with little Cats, and whelpes, they are malicious, pleasant, and are apt for many things.

There be other two or three greater kinds, as great Dogges, and have tushes like the wilde Boares of *Portugall*; these devour beastes and men, and when they finde their prey, they compass it about, some in one place, some in another, till they devour it.

Of wilde Cats are many kinds, some blacke, some white, some of a Safan colour, and are very faire for furre. These Cats are very terrible, and swift; they live by prey and by birds, and they assault also the men; some of them are as big as Dogs.

The *Lagoenon* are the Dogs of *Brasil*, they are of a grey colour mingled with white, very swift,

swift, and when they yelp they are like Dogs; they have the tayle very hairy, feed on fruits, and vpon prey, and bite terribly.

The *Tapati* are like the Conies of *Portugall*, and here they doe barke like Dogs, especially by 74.
night, and very often; the *Indians* hold this barking for an euill signe; they breed three or foure at once; they are very rare, for they have many adventures, as birds of rapine, and other beastes that doe eate them.

The *Laguenon* are big as the Foxes of *Portugall*, and haue the same colour of a Foxe, they feed *laguenon* only vpon the Sea-crabs, and among the Sugar-canes, and destroy many of them; they are very sleepe, for they kill them sleeping, they doe no hurt.

The *Baranaca* is of the bignesse of a Cat, like a Ferret; it hath a white stroake and a grey *Baranaca* along the backe, like a croffe, very well made; it feeds vpon birds and their egges, and vpon other things, especially vpon Ambar, and loath it so well, that all the night he goeth by the Seaside to seeke it, and where there is any, hee is the first. It is greatly feared, not because it hath any teeth, or any other defensiu thing, but it hath a certaine venositie so strong, and so euill of Stinking beast. sent, that it doth penetrate the wood, the stones, and all that it encountereth withall, and it is such, that some *Indians* haue died with the stench. And the Dog that cometh neere it escapeh not: and this smell lasteth fiftene, twentie, or more dayes; and it is such, that if it higheth neere some Towne, it is presently dis-inhabited. And that they may not be perceived, they scrape a hole in the ground, and there within they void that venositie, and couer it with 20
earth; and when they are found, that they may not be taken, their defense is to cast out that stench.

The *Priguica* (which they call) of *Brasil*, is worth the seeing; it is like a flag-haire Dog, or a Land-pannell, they are very ugly, and the face is like a womans cuill dreft, his fore and hinder feet are long, hee hath great clawes and cruell, they goe with the breast on the earth, and their young fall to their berber. Though you strike it neuer so fast, it goeth so leasurly, that it hath need of a long time to get vpon a tree, and so they are easily taken; their food is certaine fig-tree leaues, and therefore they cannot be brought to *Portugall*, for as soone as they Simple food. want them they die presently.

In these parts are a great multitude of Rats, and of them are some ten or twelue kinds, some 30
blacke, others yellow, others dunne, all are eaten, and are very fawourie, especially some great ones that are like Conies, and sometimes they are so many, that lighting vpon a fowne field, they vterly destroy it.

Of Land-Snakes and Serpens.

The *Gibya* is a Snake of the greatest that are in this Countrey, and there are some found of 1
twentie foot in length, they are very faire, but more wonderful they are in swallowing the whole Deere; they haue no poison, neither are their teeth great according to the bodie. To take their prey whereon they feed, they vfe this sleight. It layeth it selfe along by the high- 40
ways, and when the prey passeth it leapeh vpon it, and windes it selfe in such order, and cruteth, that it breaketh all his bones, and afterward licketh it, and his licking hath such vertue, so that it is as if he had it all, and then it swallowes it vp whole.

There are others, called *Boytapana*, that is, *Enter of birds Eggs*, it is very blacke, long, and hath a yellow breast; they goe on the tops of trees as it were swimming in the water, and no man can runne so fast on the ground as they on the trees; these destroy the birds, and their egges also.

There are others very bigge and long, called *Caninana*, they are all greene, and of a notable beautie. These also doe eate egges and birds, and kill little children.

There is another, called *Boytapana*, that is, a Snake that hath a long snout, it is very slender, long-snout 50
and long, and feeds only vpon Frogs. The *Indians* obserue foote-fayling with this, that when the woman hath no children, they take this Snake and strike her with it on the hips, and say the shall presently haue children.

There is another, called *Custipia*, they are found only in the *Ram*, it is of a notable bignesse, *Custipia* he smelleth so much, like a Foxe, whersoever he goeth, that there is none can abide it.

There is another, called *Boytapana*, that is, a blacke Snake, it is very long and slender, it smelleth *Boytapana* also very much like a Foxe.

There is another, called *Bom*, because that when it goeth, it crieth *bom, bom*, it is also very great, and doth no hurt.

There is another, called *Boitupacanga*, that is, a Snake that hath prickles in his backe, they are 60
very great, and grosse, the prickles are very venomous, and all men doe auoid and keepe themselves from them.

Lararaca is a name that comprehendeth foure kinds of very venomous Snakes. The first is Snakes that is greatest, called *Lararaca*, that is, great *Lararaca*, and they are of ten spannes long, they haue blue poison, 1
great tushes hidden in the mouth along their gummes, and when they bite they stretch them.

like a finger of the hand: they have their poison in their gummies, their teeth crooked, and a itroke upon them whereby the poison runneth. Others lay, they have it within the tooth, which is hollow within, it hath fo vehement a poison, that in foure and twentieth houres, and lesse, it killeth a man: the poison is very yellow, like Saffran water, they bring forth many young ones at once, one hath bene taken with thirteene in her belly.

There are others, called *Laracaspings*, that is, *that hath the point of the tayle more white then grey*: these are as venomous as Vipers of *Spain*, and have the same colour and fashion.

There are others, called *Laracaspes*, most venomous; it hath a red chaine along the backe, and the breasts, and the rest of the bodie is all grey.

There are other smaller *Laracaspes*, that the greatest is about halfe a yard long, they are of an earthie colour, they have certaine veins in their head like the Vipers, and they make such a noise as they doe.

Carmucuch. The *Carmucuch* is a Snake very hideous and fearefull, and some are of fifteene spannes long: when the *Indians* doe kill them they burie presently the head, because it hath great store of poison: for to catch the prey and the people, it lieth close to a tree, and when it seeth the prey, it casts it selfe upon it, and so killeth it.

Boycinanga. The *Boycinanga* is a Snake, called of the *Bell*, it is of a great poison, but it maketh such a noise with a Bell it hath in his taile, that it catcheth very few; though it be so swift, that they call it, the flying Snake, his length is twelve or thirteene spannes long. There is another, called *Boycinanga*: this also hath a Bell, but smaller, it is blacke, and very venomous.

Ibiraca. The poison of the *Ibiraca* Snake is so vehement, that if it biteth any creature, presently it makes him to vnde blood through all the passages of his bodie, to wit, the eyes, nostrils, mouth, eares, and all open places else of his bodie; it runneth a great while, and if he be not holpen, he empties his blood and dieth.

Ibiboca. The Snake *Ibiboca* is very faire; it hath the head red, white and blacke, and so all the bodie is spotted of these three colours; this is the most venomous of all, it goeth slowly, and lieth in the crannies of the earth, and by another name it is called, the *Snake of the colours*.

Store and fore. The great vehemence that these venomous Snakes about said haue, the great paines they cause, and the many persons that every day doe die of their stinging cannot be exprest: and they are so many in number, that not onely the fields and the woods, but even the houses are full of them, and they are found in the beds, and within the booties, when they put them on. The *Brethren* going to their rest doe find them there wound about the benches feet, and if they be not holpen when they sting, cutting the wound, letting him blood, drinking Vnicorne horn, or *Carima*, or the water of the Snakes-wood, or some other effectfull remedie, in foure and twentieth houres and lesse he dieth, with great crying and paines, and they are so excoffice, that when any person is bitten presently he demandeth confession, and maketh account to die, and so disposeth of his goods.

Carima, a drug so called. There are other Snakes, chiefly these *Laracaspes*, that have a great smell of Muske, and where-soever they bee, they are defriced by the good and fragrant smell they haue.

Musk-snake. There are many Scorpions, that every day are found in their beds, among the bookes, and about the chambers, ordinarily they kill not, but in foure and twentieth houres they cause intolerable paines.

Scorpions. It seemeth that this climate doth flowe in poison, as well for the many Snakes there are, as for the multitude of Scorpions, Spiders, and other vncleane creatures, and the Lizards are so many, that they couer the walls of the house, and the holes are full of them.

Poisonous Region. Of the Fowles that are in the Land, and are thereon sustained. Even as this climate doth flowe in poison, so it seemeth to create beautifulnesse in the birds, and as all the Countrie is full of Groues and Woods, so it is full of most beautifull birds of all colours.

Parots. The Parots in this Countrie are infinite, more then Dawes, or Starlings, or Thrushes, or Sparrows of *Spain*, and so they make a cackling as the birds about said; they destroy them by thousands, they lie in flocks alwaies, and they are so many, that there be landes where there is nothing but Parots; they are eaten, and are very good meate; they are ordinarily very faire, and of many and sundrie colours and kinds, and they almost all speake if they be taught.

Varieties of Parots. The A. W. A. The *Arara* Parots are those that by another name are called *Macas*; it is a great bird, and are very rare, and by the sea-coast they are not found, it is a faire bird in colours; their breasts are red as scarlet; from the middle of the bodie to the taile some are yellow, others greene, and others blue, and through all the bodie they haue scattering, some greene, some yellow and blue feathers, and ordinarily every feather hath three or foure colours, and the taile is very long. These lay but two egges, they breed in the trunks of trees, and in the rocks of stone. The *Indians* esteeme them very much, and of their feathers they make their fine things, and their hangings for their houses, it is a very pleasant bird, they become very tame, and domestical, and speake very well if they be taught.

The

The *Anapora* Parot is most faire; in it all colours are found with great perfection, to wit, red, greene, yellow, blacke, blue, grey, the colour of the *Bullfinch*, and of all these colours it hath the bodie bespckled and spotted. These also doe speake, and they haue another aduantage, that is, they breed in the house, and hatch their young ones, wherefore they are of great esteeme.

The *Aracua* or *Macas* is very faire, it is all blacke, and this blacke sprinkled with greene, which giueth it a great beautie, and when the Sonne shineth on him he is so shining that it is very pleasant to behold; it hath the feet yellow, and the beake and the eyes red; they are of great esteeme for their beautie, for they are very rare, and breed not but very faire within the Land, and of their feathers the *Indians* make their Diademes and Pictures.

10 The Parots *Aurucara* are most beautifull, they are all greene, they haue a cap and a collar of yellow, very faire, and ouer the beake a few feathers of a very cleare blue, which doe beautifie him very much, it hath pinions of the wings red, and the taile feathers red and yellow, sprinkled with greene.

The *Tam* are a kinde of Parot very small, of the bignesse of a Sparrow, they are greene, *Tam*, sprinkled with other diuers colours, they are much esteemed, as well for their beautie, as because they prattle much, and well, and are very tame. They are so small, that they skip euery where on a man, on his hands, his breast, his shoulders and his head; and with his bill he will cleane his teeth, and will take the meate out of the mouth of him that brings them vp, and make many gambols; they are alwaies speaking or singing after their owne fashion.

30 The Parots *Guaracaba*, or *Tellu* birds, neither speake nor play, but are fullen and fat; they are much esteemed, because they are brought from two hundred and three hundred leagues, and are not found but in great mens houses, and they hold them in such esteeme, that they giue the ransom and value of two persons for one of them, and they esteeme them as much as the *Japans* Faulcon, *Gerfaulcon*, &c.

The *Tapi* is of the bignesse of a Pie-annet, the bodie of a fine blacke, and the taile of a very fine yellow, it hath three tufts on the head that are like little horns, when he raiseth them: the eyes are blue, the nee very yellow. It is a very faire bird, and hath a very strong smell when it is angrie. They are very careful in seeking their food, these catcheth not a Spider, Beetle, or

30 Cricker, &c. they are very cleane in a house, and goe about like Pie-annets, they leaue nothing vnloathed. It is dangerous holding them in the hand, for they runne presently to the eyes, and pull them out.

Dangerous to the eyes.

Of the small birds called *Guaimimbique*, there are sundrie kinds, as *Guaracaba*, that is, *Fruit of the Sonne*; by another name, *Guaracaba*, that is, *Couering of the Sonne*; or *Guaracaba*, that is, *The heart of the Sonne*; in the *Antillas* they call it the *risen or smoken bird*, and they lay it sleepeth fixe moneths, and lieth other fixe moneths. It is the finest bird that can be imagined; it hath a cap on his head, to which no proper colour can be giuen, for on whatsoever side ye looke on it, it is with red, greene, blacke, and more colours, all very fine, and shining; and yellow more shining gold.

The Guaimimbique: one sees call it the *Tu-minca*.

40 The bodie is grey; it hath a very long bill, and the tongue twice the length of the bill, they are very swift in flight, and in their flight they make a noise like the Bee, and they rather seeme Bees in their swift flight, then birds, for they alwaies feed flying without sitting on a tree, even as the Bees doe fly sucking the Humme from the flowers. They haue two beginnings of their generation, some are hatched of eggs like other birds, others of little bubbles, and it is a thing to be noted, a little bubble to beginne to conuert it selfe into this little bird, for at one instant it is a bubble and a bird, and so it conuerteth it selfe into this most faire bird, a wonderful thing, and vnkowne to the Philosophers, seeing one liuing creature without corruption is conuerted into another.

Generation.

Note for Philo-sophers.

The bird *Guaracaba eng cia* is of the bignesse of a Gold-finch; it hath the backe and wings blue, and the breast and bellie of a most fine yellow. It hath a yellow Diademe on his head that beautifies him very much. It is a very excellent bird for the Cage, it speaketh many waies re-continuing long in their song, and are of esteeme, and of these for the Cage there be many, and they are, and of diuers and sundrie colours.

Guaracaba eng cia.

The *Tangara* is of the bignesse of a Sparrow, all blacke, the head is of a verie fine Orange-tawne, it singeth not, but it hath a wonderful thing, for it hath like the *Falling sicknesse*, and for this cause the *Indians* doe not esteeme them, for the avoiding of that disease, they haue a kinde of palest him about skipping with a long of a Orange crying that is heard very faire, and when they

Tangara.

Dance.

60 end this feast, crying, and dancing, he that was as dead riseth, and maketh a great noise and crying, and then all goe away, and end their feast. They are so earnest when they doe it, that although they be seene and shot at, they die not away. Of these there be many kinds, and all of them haue accidents.

The bird *Quereina*, is of the most esteemed of the Land, not for the song, but for the beautie

Quereina.

Tucana.

of the feathers; they are a cleare azure in part, and a darke, all the breast is most fine red, the wings almost blacke; they are so esteemed, that the *Indians* doe flay them, and give two or three persons for the skinned of them, and with the feathers they make their Pictures, *Diademes*, and other fine things.

Guirapanga.

The *Thucana* is of the bignesse of a Pie, it is all blacke except the breast, which is all yellow; with a round red circle; the bill is a large spanne long, verie great, yellow, and within is red, so smooth and shining, that it seemeth to be varnished; they are made tame, and bredde in the houses, are good to eat, and the feathers are esteemed because they are faire.

Macacua.

The *Guirapanga* is white, and not being very big it crieth so loud, that it sounds like a Bell, and it is heard halfe a league, and their ringing is like the ringing of Bells.

The *Macacua* is greater than any Henne of *Portugall*, it resembleth the *Fasant*, and so the *Portugall* doe call it; it hath three skinned one ouer another, and much flesh, and, and verie fatuorie, they lay twice a yeere, and at euery time thirteene or fiftene egges, they goe alwaies on the ground, but when they see any people they flye to the trees, and at night when they goe to roost as Hennes doe. When they sit on the trees, they put not their feet on the boughs, but the flukes of their legs, and most on the fore part. There bee many kindes of these, and they are easily shot at.

Among them there is one of the smallest, that hath many properties; when it singeth it forthwith rime, it crieth so loud, that it is incredible of so small a bird, and the reason is, because the gullet is verie great. It beginneth at the mouth and cometh out at the breast betweene the skinned and the flesh, and reacheth to the fundament, and returneth againe and entrench into the crop, and then it proceedeth as other birds, and doubtless like a Trumpet with his turnings. They runne after any bodie pecking him and playing like a little whelp, if they see it upon Hennes egges, it it teereth them, and bringeth vp the young chickens, and if it see a Hen with chickens, it do persecutes her, till it takes them from her and broodes them, and brings them vp.

Muta.

Had egges.

The Hen *Muta* is very demittall, it hath a combe like the Cocks, spotted with white and blacke, the egges are great and very white, like a Goose egges, so hard that knocking the one with the other, they ring like Iron, and of them they make their *Muracas*, that is, their Bells; any Dog that eateth the bones of it dieth, and vnto men it doeth no hurt at all.

Dogs poison.

Tutu.

In this Countrey there are many kindes of Partridges, which though they are not like in all 30 things to those of *Spain*, yet are they very like in colour, taste, and in the abundance.

Turtles innumerable.

In this Countrey are many kindes of Turtle-does, Stares, and Black-birds, and Pigeons of many sorts, and all these birds are like to them of *Portugall*; and the Pigeons and Turtle-does are in such abundance, that in certaine fields farre within the Land they are so many, that when they rise they hinder the light of the Sinne, and make a noise like a thunder; they lay so many egges, and so white, that a very farre off yee may see the fields white with egges, as if it were snow; and seruing the *Indians* for meate as they doe, they cannot be diminished; rather from thence at certaine times it seemeth they runne ouer all the parts of this Province.

Ostriches.

Asina.

Hutic med.

cinable.

In this Countrey are many Ostriches, called *Asinas*, but they keep only within the Land. The *Asina* is a fowle of rapine, great, and crieth that it is heard halfe a league and more, 40 and all blacke, hath faire eyes, the beake bigger than a Cocks, upon this beake it hath a little horn of a spanne in length, the men of this Countrey say that this Horne is very medicinale for those that are taken in their speech, as hath bene proved, hanging it about the necke of a gile that did not speake, which spake presently.

There be many other fowles of rapine, to wit, Eagles, Faulcons, Gof-hawkes, Merlines, and Tarfells, and many other, but they are all ordinarily so wilde, that they will flie at any thing, neither will they come to hand, or stoop to lure.

§. V.

of the Brazilian Trees for fruit, medicine, and other uses; and their Herbes of rare operations.

Acacia, a kinde of Chelnu.

The Trees *Acacia*, are very great and faire, they call the leafe at their times, and the flower groweth in the fringes, which makes certaine points like fingers, and in the said points there groweth a red flower of a good smell, and after it groweth a Chelnu, and from the Chelnu commeth an Apple as big as a great Apple, or a Pippin, it is a very faire fruit, and some are yellow, others red, and it is all iuicy. They are good for hot weather, they coole verie much, and laying the iuice upon a white cloth it neuer getteth off till the cloth be warme. 60 The Chelnu is as good or better then those of *Portugall*, they are eaten roasted, and raw laid in water as blanch Almonds, and of them they make *Marchpanes*, and sweet meates as of Almonds. The timber of this tree is little worth, enen for the fire, it yeeldeth of it selfe a certain gumme good to paint and write, and there is great store. With the baake they dye their yame, and

and the vessels that serues them for Pots. This being stamped and boyled with some Copper, till the third part of the water be consumed, is a fouraine remedy for old sores, and they heale quickly. There bee so many of these trees as of Chelnuts in *Portugall*, they growe about these Woods, and they gather many quarters of these Chelnuts, and the fruit in their season satisfie all men. Of these *Acacia* doe the *Indians* make Wine.

There is great abundance of the trees *Mangaba*, especially in the Bay, for in other places they are rare, in making they are like the bark of *Anafaga*, and in the leafe with those of *Frexo*, they are very pleasant trees, and haue alwaies greene leaues. They yeeld fruit twice a yeere, the first in a knob, for then they doe not flower, but the very knob is the fruit; this season ended, 10 which lasteth two or three moneths, it giueth another bearing, first the flower, which is altogether like the *Isellamine*, and of as good a smell, but more quick; the fruit is as big as an Apricock, yellow and spotted with some spots of blacke; within it hath some kernels, but all is eaten, or sucked as the Seruaes of *Portugall*. They are of a very good taste, and healthfull, and so light that eaters they neuer lo many, it seemeth they eat no fruit at all. They ripen not on the tree, but fall to the ground, and from thence they gather them already ripe, or gathering them greene they lay them to ripen. The *Indians* make Wine of them. The tree and the fruit it selfe being greene, is full of white Milke, and cleaueth to the hands, and is bitter.

The fruit *Muracuge* groweth on certaine trees, very high and like the wilde Pearre-trees of *Portugall*. It hath a very long stalk, they are gathered greene, and are layd to ripen, and being ripe they are very pleasant and of an easie digestion. When they are to gather them, they cut 10 gathering downe the tree, because they are very high, and if this destruction were not, there would be more abundance, but therefore they are rare, the trunk hath great abundance of white Milke, and it congealeth, it may serue for Sealing-waxe if they will vie it.

Of the *Araca* trees are great abundance, of many sorts; the fruit is certaine small Peares, 20 yellow, red, or greene; they are pleasant, vnoathsome, toothsome, because they haue little taste of sowre, they yeeld fruit almost all the yeere.

This *Ombu* is a great tree not very high, but well spread; the fruit is like white Plums, yet 30 low and round, and therefore the *Portugall* doe call it a Plum. It catcheth the teeth to fall, and the *Indians* that doe eat it doe loie them. The roots of this tree are eaten, and are very pleasant, and 40 more toothsome then the *Abalancia*, for they are sweeter, and the sweetnes thereof is like Sugar, they are cold and healthfull, and they are giuen to the sick of a Feauer, and it serueth for water to them that goe inward to the Land, for they haue no other.

The *Lacayaga* is of the greatest and fairest of this Countrey; it beareth a fruit like a Pot, as big as a great Bowle, as thicke as two fingers, with a couer vpon it, and within it is full of 50 certaine Chelnuts like vnto the *Myrabolaner*; and it seemes they are the same of *India*, when they are already in season, that couer doth open and the fruit falleth. If any doe eat much of it green, he catcheth all the haire he hath on his body; roasted it is a good fruit. They vie the huskes for *Cups*, and they are laiting; the timber of this tree is very hard, it doth not rotte, they esteeme it for the Axel-trees of the Sugar-mills.

60 *Aratien* is a tree of the bignesse of an Orange tree and greater, the leafe is like a Citron tree or a Lymond tree, it is a faire and pleasant tree, it beareth a fruit as bigge as Pine apples; and they haue a good smell, and a reasonable taste, it is a fruit that losetheth not.

Of these Trees are many kindes, and one of them called *Aratien panama*. If they eat much of the fruit it pouth a cold poison, and doth much hurt. Of the roots of these trees they make boyes for the Nets, and they are so light as any Corkes.

There be two sorts of *Pepusa*, one of them beares a fruit as big as a good Orange, and so they haue the rinde thicke like an Orange; within this rinde there is nothing but Hunnie so cleare and sweet as any Sugar, in quantitie of an egge, and mingled with it, it hath the pippens or kernels.

50 The other *Pepusa* is timber, of the heauiest of this Countrey, in *Portugall* it is called *Setim*, it hath very fine wanes, it lasteth long and doth not rotte.

On the tree *Labaticaba* groweth a fruit of the bignesse of a Lymond of *Sytil*, the rinde and taste is like a sowrith Grape, from the roote of the tree through all the body vnto the vtmost 60 bough or sprig, is a rare fruit, it is onely found within the Land in the Captainship of *S. Vincent*. The *Indians* doe make of this fruit a kinde of Wine, and they boyle it like the wine of Grapes.

In this *Brasill* are many Coco-nuts, excellent like those of *India*; these are ordinarily let, and growe not in the Woods, but in Gardens, and in their Farms. And there are more then 20 kinde of Palme trees, and almost all doe beare fruit, but not for good as the Cocos: with some of these Palme trees they couer their houses.

60 Besides these *Brasill* trees there are many other that yeeld sundry fruits, whereof they make profit, and many Nations of the *Indians* sustaine themselves, together with the Hunnie, whereof there is great abundance, and with their hunting, for they haue no other sustenance.

In the maine of the Captainship of Saint Vincent vnto *Paraguay*, are many and great Woods of Pine trees, euen like vnto them of *Portugall*, which beare Apples and Kernels; the Apples are 70

not so long but rounder and greater, the kernels are greater and are not so hot, but of a good temperature and whollome.

Cubæra is very great and esteemed for the Balm that it hath; to get this Balm they prick the bark of the tree, and lay a little Cotton wool to the cuts, and from certaine to certaine dayes they goe to gather the Oyle that it hath distilled. The *Portugals* call it *Balm*, because it is very like to the true Balm of the Vineyards of *Engedi*, it serueth for greene wounds, and taketh away all the scarrs: it smellth very well, and of it, and of the bark of the tree they make Beades, and other smelling things. The Woods where they growe doe smell well, and the beards doe goe and rubbe on this tree, it seemeth to bee to heale them of some diseases. The Timber is of the best of this Countrey, because it is very strong and heuie, and some of it is of biggnesse, that of them they make the Beames, Axle-trees, and Steers or Vices for their Sugar-Mills, these are very rare, and are found chiefly in the *Captainship of the Holy Ghost*.

Cupaba is a Fig-tree, commonly very high, thicke and big, it hath much oile within; to get it they cut the tree in the middle, where it hath the vent, and thereat hath this oile in so great abundance, that some of them doe yeeld a quartre of oile and more, it is very cleare, of the colour of oile, it is much set by for wounds, and taketh away all the scarrs. It serueth also for lights, and burne well, the beards knowing the vertue thereof doe come and rubbe themselves therat. These are great trees, the wood is good for nothing.

The *Ambayba* Fig-trees are not very great, and are not found in the true Woods but in Coppices, where some lowing hath bene; the bark of this tree scraping it on the inside, and crushing those scrapings in the wound, laying them on it, and binding it with the bark of it, doth heale in a short time. There is great abundance of them, and are much esteemed for their great vertue, the leaves are rough, and serueth to smoothe any wood, the timber serueth for nothing.

The Fig-tree which they call of *Beth Ambayunga* is found in *Taperas*; it yeelds a certaine Oyle that serueth for lights, it hath great efficacy, as *Monard* writeth, and the leaves are much macked with the Oyle, it taketh away the Populations, and the Collicke. To get this Oyle, they lay it in the Sunne some dayes, and stampe it, and feruie it, and presently that Oyle cometh on the top, which is gathered for the effect aforesaid.

Of the trees *Ighacameri* there are many in *Saint Vincent*: they beare a certaine fruit as good as Quinces, as honest like a Pannet or a Pot, they haue within certaine small seeds; they are the only remedie for the bloody Fluxe.

The *Igeges* yeeldeth the Masticke, smellth very much for a good while: they notch the tree in some places, and in an instant it stillet a white liquor that doth congeale; it serueth for Plasters in cold diseases, and to perfume, it serueth also in stead of incense.

There is another tree of this kinde, called *Igaueca*, that is, *Masticke as hard as stone*, and so it seemeth rather *Gumme-anime* then Masticke, and it is so hard and shining that it seemeth Glasse; it serueth to glasse the earthen vessell, and for this it is much esteemed among the *Indians*, and it serueth also for cold diseases.

There is a River betwene *Port Securo* and the *Ilets*, that cometh from more then three hundred leagues within the Mayne, it bringeth great store of Rozen, which is the Gumme-anime it selfe, which the *Indians* doe call *Igaueca*, and the *Portugals*, *White incense*; it hath the same effects that the Incense.

Caryopacha is like to the Peach-trees of *Portugall* in the leafe; the leaues doe distill a kinde of liquor like the Fig-trees of *Spain*, which is the only remedie for wounds both greene and old, and for the Poxe, and it taketh away all the scarrs from the wounds, if they prick the bark of it, it yeeldeth great store of Bird-lime, wherewith they catch the small birds.

There is great abundance of the trees *Cacoda*, the leaues of these chewed and layd to the Pock-sore drye and heale it in such manner, that it neuer cometh againe, and it seemeth that the wood hath the same effect that the *China* wood, and that of the *Amul* here for the same so distill. Of the flower they make a Conserue for those that are sicke of the Poxe.

The wood *Cacombocorandiba* is like that of *China*, it is taken in the same manner that the other, and it healeth the loosenesse, the Poxe, and other diseases of cold, it is grey, and hath the pith very hard as the wood of *China*.

It is long since *Laurandiba* was found, and it is, as some *Indians* doe say, called of the *Indians* *Betele*. The Rivers and their borders are full of these trees, the leaues are the only remedie for the sicknesses of the Liuer, and many in this *Brasil* haue already bene cured of most grievous diseases of the Liuer, with the eating of them.

There is another tree called also *Betele*, it is smaller and of a round leafe, the roots of it are an excellent remedie for the tooth-ake, putting it in the hollow place of them, it biteth like Ginger. 62 They say also, that in this *Brasil* is the tree of the *Cassia filida*, it is vnkowne to the *Indians*, the *Spaniards* doe vnderstand it, and say it is as good as that of *India*. The *Anda* trees are faire and great, and the wood serueth for all things, of their fruit they make an Oyle, wherewith the *Indians* doe anoint themselves, and the women their haire; and it ferueth

ueth also for wounds, and drieth vhen vp presently, and they make many gallant things about the legs and body, painting themselves with this Oyle.

The *Moxeriquiba* tree is found within the Mayne, in the fields, it is small, beareth a fruit as big as an Orange, and within it hath certaine kernels, and of it altogether they make an Oyle to anoint themselves, the bark serueth to kill fish, and euery beast that drinketh the water where it is cast, dieth.

The *Amambura* is small, beareth a red fruit, and of it they make a red oile to anoint themselves.

The *Adabuyria* is five or fixe spannes in length, the fruit is like Almonds and blacke, and so is the Oyle, which they esteeme very much, and anoint themselves with it in their infirmities.

The *Lamaba* tree is very faire, of a pleasant greene; euery month it changeth the leafe, and is like a Walnut-leafe, the trees are great, and the timber pleasant to worke; the fruit is like great Oranges, and is like Quinces, or russet Peares; the taile is like Quinces: it is a good medicine for the Laske of all sores. Of this fruit is made a blacke Inke; when it is made it is white, and anointing themselves therewith it stayneth not presently, but within a few houres the partie remaineth as blacke as any leat. It is much esteemed of the *Indians*, with this they make on their bodies round Hofs and Doublets all cut, and they giue certaine strokes in the face, eares, nose, chinne, armes, legs, and the same doe the women, and they become very gallant. This is their apparel; as well on the weeke as on the Feast day, adding some feathers to it, wherewith they adorne themselves, and other Jewels made of bone: this colour lasteth on the body nine dayes till blacke, and after remaineth nothing; it maketh the skinn very hard, and to make the painting the fruit is to be gathered greene, for being ripe it will not doe it.

The tree *Spachaga* beareth a fruit like the *Spanish Strawberry*, and within it hath a beane as hard as a stick, which is the seed; they are of the best Beads that can be, for they are very equall and very blacke, and they haue a glasse like leat, the huske that couereth these Beades, is more bitter then Aloes, it serueth for Sops, and it walketh better then the best Sops in *Portugall*.

A certaine tree groweth in the fields and the Mayne of the *Bay*, in dry places where no water is, very great and broad; it hath certaine holes in the branches, as long as an arme, that are full of water, that in Winter nor Summer neuer runneth ooe, neither is it knowne whence it serueth not only for a Fountaine, but also for a great maine River: and it happeneth five hundred persons to come to the foot of it, and there is harbour for them all, they drinke and wash all that they will, and they neuer want water; it is very fauourous and cleare, and a great remedie for them that traell into the Mayne, when they can finde no other water.

In this Countrey of *Brasil* are Groves, wherein are found trees of great biggnesse and length, wherof they make very great Canoas, of leuen or eight spannes broad in hollownesse, and of fiftie spannes and more in length, which beare a load like a great Barke, and doe carrie twentie or thirtie Rowers of a tide; they make likewise great Beames for the Sugar-mills. There are many sorts of wood incorruptible that putting it in the ground it neuer rotteth, and others let in water are euery day greener and stronger. There is a holy wood of certaine white warts, wherof are made very faire Bed-heads and rich. The *Brasil* wood wherof the red Inke is made, and other woods of diuers colours, wherof diuers Inkes of great esteeme are made, and all turned and carued workes. There be smelling woods, as the *Laurandiba*, and other kinds of great price and esteeme, there are found white Sandalos or Dices, in great quantity. The wood of *Aquilia*, and in great abundance, that ships are made of it. Cedars; wood of *Angelim*, and the Nutmeg tree, though these woods are not so fine, and of so great smell as those of *India*, yet they want but a little, and are of great price and esteeme.

Of the Herbes that yeeld fruit, and are eaten.

THE ordinary food of this Countrey, that serueth for Bread, is called *Mandioca*, and they are certaine rootes like Carrots, though they are greater and longer: these shoot out certaine stemples or branches, and growe to the height of fiftene spannes. Their branches are very tender, and haue a white pith within, and at euery spanne it hath certaine ioynts, and of this biggnesse they are broken, and set in the ground as much as is sufficient for to hold them vp and with in fixe or nine monthes haue big roots, that they serue for food. This *Mandioca* containeth many kinds in it selfe, and all are eaten, and they are preferred vnder the earth three, foure, or vnto eight yeeres, and needs no seasoning, for they doe no more but take them out and make fresh meate euery day, and the longer they are vnder the earth the bigger they growe, and yeeld the more.

It hath some things worth the noting, that is, man except, all creatures desire to eate it raw, The iuyce is so fateneth them, and nourisheth them exceedingly; but if it is scrouled, they doe poison, drinke that water alone by itselfe, they haue no more life then while it cometh to the stomacke. Of these rootes crushed and grated they make a Mele that is eaten, it is also layd in

Reepe till it corrupt, and then cleasned and cruſhed, they make alſo a Flowre, and certaine Cakes like childrens very white and cleane. This roote after it is ſteeped in water, made in balls with the hands, they ſet it upon ladders at the ſmoake, where it drieth in ſuch manner that it is kept without corrupting, as long as they liſt, and after ſcraped and ſlamped in certaine great trays, and ſifted, there remaineth a Flowre whiter then of Wheat, of the which being mingled in a certaine quantitie with the raw, they make a certaine Biſquet, which they call *Of the warre*, and it ſerueth the *Indians* and the *Portugals* by Sea, and when they goe to warre, as Biſket. Another Biſket bread is made of very water of the Greene *Mandioca*, if they let it congeale, and dry it at the Sunne, or at the fire: this is aboue all moſt white, and ſo pleaſant and delicate, that it is not made for euery one. Of this *Mandioca* dried at the ſmoake they make many ſorts of breads, which they call *Mingao*, to heal ſhull and delicate that they giue them to them that are ſicke of a Feauer, in ſtead of Caudles and Reſtoratiues, and of the ſame they make Cakes, Simnels, Frutteries, little Pyes, Cheef-cakes of Sugar, &c. And mingled with the flower of Millet, or of Rice, they make leaſened bread, that it ſeemeth of Wheat. This ſame *Mandioca* dried at the ſmoake, is a great remedie againſt poiſon, chiefly of Snakes, Of this *Mandioca* there is one which they call *Ayup*, which conſtayneth vnder it ſelte many kindes. This killeth not raw, and boyled or roiled is of a good taſte, and of it they make Flowres or Cakes, &c. The *Indians* makes Wines of it, and it is ſo freſh and medicinale for the Liuer, that to it is attributed not to haue among any diſeaſed of the Liuer. A certaine kinde of *Tapioca* doe eate the poiſonous *Mandioca* raw, and it doth them no hurt, becauſe they are brought vp with it.

Other kindes.

Nana.

The boughs of this herbe or tree, is the ſeed it ſelfe, for the ſtalke of it are planted, the leaues in time of need boyled doe ſerue for food.

The herbe *Nana* is very common, it is like the herbe Aloes, and hath ſuch leaues, but not ſo thicke, and all round about full of very ſharpe prickles; in the middleſt of this herbe groweth a fruit like a Pine-apple, all full of flowers of diuers colours, and very faire, and at the foot growe foure or fiue ſprigs, which are planted; the fruit is very ſmelling, pleaſant and one of the beſt of the world, very full of iuyce, and pleaſant; it hath the taſte of a Mellon, though better and more ſmelling, it is good for them that are troubled with the Stone, and it is very preiudiciall for Feaures. The *Indians* doe make Wine of this fruit, very ſtrong, and of a good taſte, the huſke walteeth much the Iron, at the dreſſing of it, and the iuyce taketh away the ſpottes from the clothes. There is ſo great abundance of this fruit, that they fat their Hogs with it, and regard it not for the great abundance, they are alſo kept preferred, and raw they helpe the Sea-ſicke at Sea, and with Wine in the morning they are medicinale.

Pacaba, Adams Tree.

Pacaba is the Fig-tree which they call *Adams*, it is neither tree nor herbe, for on one ſide it becometh very bigge, and groweth to twenty quarters long, the ſtalke is very ſoft and full of pores; the leaues that it hath are moſt faire, and ſome a fathome long and more, all of them raced like the Veluet of *Braganca*, ſo ſmooth that they write on them, and ſo Greene, coole, and freſh, that one ſicke of a Feauer lying downe vpon them, the Feauer is mitigated with their cooleneſſe. They are very freſh for to driſſe the houſes, and the Churches. This herbe beareth in euery foot many imps, and euery one of them beareth a cluſter of a certaine fruit like figs, which hath ſometimes about two hundred, and when they are ripe, the foot is cut whereon the cluſter hangeth, and the reſt doe growe and of it they goe multiplying *ad infinitum*, the fruit is laid to ripen, and becometh very yellow, of a good taſte, and healthfull, eſpecially for the ſicke of a Feauer, and for him that ſpiteth blood, and roſted they are very pleaſant and healthfull. It is an ordinary fruit whereof the Gardens are full, and there is of them all the yeere.

Murucua.

The herbes *Murucua* are very faire, eſpecially in their flowers: they runne vpon a wall, and vp the trees like Iue, the leaues beaten with a little Verdigreale is an onely remedie for old vicers, and the Poxe, it beareth a round fruit like Oranges, other like Egges, ſome yellow, ſome blacke, and of other diuers colours and kindes. Within they haue a certaine ſubſtance of kernels and iuyce with a certaine ſlime that couereth them, and altogether is eaten, it is of a good taſte, and it is ſometimes tart, and it is a fruit of good account.

Many other Brazilian plants.

In this Country are many other kindes of fruits, as Dew-berries, blacke and red, Potatoes, and other rootes which they call *Mangara*, another called *Cara*, that is like to Turneps, and the ſtones of the earth. Of the Potatoes they make bread, and diuers ſweet meats, the *Indians* haue many other Pulſes, viz. Beanes, more healthfull and better then thoſe of *Portugall*, and in great abundance, many kindes of Pumpions, and ſome ſo big, that they vie them for vellets to carie water, and they hold two peckes or more, French Beanes of many kindes, they are toothſome, and like to them of *Portugall*, Mill of many ſorts, and of it they make Bread, Wine, and it is eaten roiled, and with it they facen their Horſes, Swine, and Hennes, and there are certaine *Tamaobas*, that are like Cabiges, and they cauſe to purge. And an herbe called *Iambig*, the onely remedie for them that are ſicke of the Liuer, and the Stone, there are alſo many ſorts of Pepper, that giue a good taſte in the eating.

Iteiguen.

Iteiguen is the *Mechanica* of the *Aniſter*, they are certaine rootes, long like Radice, but of a good

a good bigneſſe, they ſerue for a purge, this roote is taken beaten in wine or water for the Ague: it is taken preſerued in Sugar like Marmalate, it is boyled with a Henne, cauſeth great thirſt, but is profitable and of great operation.

Catapaya, or *Pigaya* is profitable for the bloudie Fluxe; the ſtalke is a quarter long, and the roote of another, or more, it hath only foure or fiue leaues, it ſmelleth much whereſoeuer it is, but the ſmell is ſtrong and terrible, this roote beaten, and put in water all night at the deaw, and in the morning in this water with the ſame roote beaten and ſtrained be drunke, onely the water, it cauſeth preſently to purge in ſuch fort, that the laſke ceaſeth altogether.

For the bloody Fluxe.

It is but a little while ſince the herbe *Catapaya* was found, it is an onely remedie for whatſoeuer poiſon, eſpecially of Snakes, and ſo it is called the *Snakes herbe*, and it is as good a remedie as the Vincoine and Bada, Bezar ſtone, or Coco of *Maldina*; nothing profreth but the roote, which is ſlender, and in the middleſt maketh a knot like a button, this beaten, and put in water and drunke, it killeth the poiſon of Snakes; It is alſo a great remedie for the wounds with the Arrowes that are poiſoned, when any is hurt he remaineth feareleſſe and ſecure, drinking the water of this roote, it is alſo a great remedie for the Feauer, continuing it and drinking of it ſome morning,

A remedie for poiſon.

this herbe ſmelleth like the Fig-tree leaues of *Syane*. The herbe *Tyrugui* or *Tarugui* is a principall remedie for the bloudie Fluxe, the roots are all aged, the branches very ſlender, the leaues are like Baſill; the flowers are red, and draw ſomewhat to a ruddie colour, and they growe in the very points. Of this there is great abundance, when it is gathered it is yellow, and being dried it turneth white, it is taken in the ſame manner that the former. The *Indians* perfume themſelues with this herbe when they are ſicke, that they may not die, and for a certaine ſickenſſe that is common in the Country, and it is called the ſickenſſe of the worme, it is a great remedie; it ſerueth to kill the worme in the Oxen and Swine, and for Empoſtumes. This herbe is as withered all night, and as aſleepe, and as ſoone as the ſunne riſeth, it openeth againe, and ſhuttereth againe when it is ſet.

Tyrugui or Tarugui. For the bloody Fluxe.

The herbe *Embuguacu* ſerueth much for the Fluxe of blood, eſpecially in women; the roots are very long, and ſome of thirtie or fortie fathome, it hath a ſtrong bark, whereof very ſtrong Cordes are made, and Cables for ſhips, and they are long laſting, for in the water it waxeth Greene. This being taken, to wit, the bark of it, and perſuming the partie in the place of the

* Perhaps the worne in the fundament mentioned by Sir R. Bacon. Embuguacu. For the Fluxe of blood.

Fluxe, it ceaſeth preſently. *Caaſteinga* is a ſmall herbe, hath few leaues, which it putteth forth euen from the ground, white vnderſide, and Greene aboue, beares a flower as big as a huſt. Nut; the roots and the leaues ſlamped are an excellent remedie for whatſoeuer wound, they vie the leaſe alſo vnſlamped, which being laid to the wound cleaueth faſt, and healeth it.

Coboura ſerueth for old ſores that haue already no other remedie, it is laid beaten and burnt in the wound, and eateth preſently all the Canker, and bringeth a new ſkinne, it is alſo laid to, onely the leaſe beaten to ſkinne the place.

Caaſteinga. For wounds. Coboura. For wounds.

The *Holy herbe* ſerueth for diuers diſeaſes, as wounds, and coughs, the rheume, &c. and principally it ſerueth for the ſicke of the head, the ſtomacke, and for the ſhortneſſe of breath, or the Chincough. In this Country they make certaine Coffines of Palme-tree leaues, and being full of this herbe dried and ſetting it on fire at the one end, they put the other in the mouth and drinke the ſmoake, it is one of the delicacies and dainties of this Country, and all the Countrymen, and euen the *Portugals* are euen loſt for it, and it is their great vice, to bee all day and all night laid in their Nets, to drinke this ſmoake, and are drunke with it as if it were with wine.

The Holy herbe, or Tobacco. For lungy diſeaſes.

Caraguapaya is the Murke tree of *Portugall*, and beſides other good properties that it hath, like the *Broomrape*, the ſeed of it is the onely remedie for the Body-wormes, and ordinarily they that eate it doe void them preſently.

For the worme.

Camaraſtimbae is like to the Syllus of *Portugall*, it is boyled in water, and the ſaid water is the onely remedie for ſcabbes, the poxe, and new wounds, and when the wounds are cured with the leaues of the Fig-tree ſpoken of in the title of the Trees, they waſh it with the water of this herbe, whoſe flower is moſt faire, it ſeemeth a yellow and red lilly-flower, and ſmelleth of Muſke, and of theſe they make Pot-boughs and Noſe-gayes for the Altars.

Aipo is the very Smaledge of *Portugall*, and hath the vertues, it is found onely about the Sea-coaſt, eſpecially in the Riuer of *Iauarise*, and for this cauſe it is ſharper, and not ſo ſweet in the taſte as that of *Portugall*, it may be becauſe of the Seas.

Camaraſtimbae. For ſcabbes, and the Poxe.

There is great ſtore of Meade-mallow in this Country, it hath the ſame effects, it hath certaine flowers as big as a Tetter, of a very faire red, that they ſeeme Roſes of *Portugall*.

Meade-Mallow.

Caraguata is a certaine kinde of thittle, they beare a certaine fruit of a finger long and yellow, and they make the lips to bliſter, boyled or roiled they doe no harme, but any woman with child that ſearcheth themſelues preſently about her child ordinarily. There be other *Caraguatas*, that beare certaine leaues like Flgs very long, of two or three fathoms, and beare a certaine Hartichoke like the *Nana*, but they taſte not well; theſe leaues laid in Reepe doe yeeld a very fine Flaxe, vnto the threed to loewe withall, and for ſpining lines.

Caraguata.

It cauſeth to bliſter.

Timbo are certaine wonderfull herbes, that growe from the earth like a ſtring vnto the high-
eſt

Timbo. Baſe for ſpining.

elf top of the Mulberie trees, where they are, and some growe close to the tree like Iues: they are very strong, and serue for bindings, and some are as big as a mans leg, and winde them neuer so hard they neuer breake, the barke of these is very fine poison, and serueth for a baite to kill the fish, and it is so strong, that in the Riuers wherein it is cast it leaueh not a fish alive as farre as it hath his vertue, and of these there be many sorts, and profitable as well for binders, as for to kill fishes.

Other herbes there be also that serue for medicines, as are Sow-thistles, Purcelane, Beets, Endiue, *Auencola*, Basil, and of all there is great abundance, though these herbes haue not the perfection of those of *Spaine*; there want no wilde Mulberies white and blacke, like those of *Portugall*, and great store of good Parsley, about the fildes, whereof a good conserue is made; they 10 want no Pot-flowers.

Of smelling herbes in this Countrey there are many, Mintes, or wilde Sage, especially in *Pirraingia*, they smell not so well as those of *Portugall*, they haue also certaine *French* Mallows, with certaine faire and pleasant flowers which Iser for *Nof-gaies*. Many Lillies there are, not so fine nor so lord as those of the Kingdome, and some where ones are also found.

Sleeping herb.
An hie to
called.

There groweth here in the Spring, an herbe that sleepeth, and is like the *Mages* of *Portugall*, and as that doth wither and sleepe after Sun-set, and when it riseth it openeth againe, and sheweth her beautie; the smell is somewhat strange. There is also another tree that sleepeth in the same manner, and beareth certaine fine flowers, but they haue no great smell.

Blue wine: See
M. H. C. C. C. C.
Oxianes Rela-
tions.

The *Quicke herbe* is of a good height, and hath boughes, and certaine jagged leaues, of a pleasant green, it is called *Quicke herbe*, because it is so quicke and sensible, that as soone as it is touched with the hand or with any other thing, presently it hangeth the head, and withereth as if they had done it great iniurie, and within a little while it cometh to his perfection, and as many times it is touched, it withereth, and cometh againe to himselfe as before.

Brilliant herb:
small one.

Many other herbes there be like *Origano*, and many other sundrie flowers, but it seemeth that this Climate, either for the many waters, or because of the Sunne, infuseth no smell in the herbes, rather it seemes to take it away.

Of the Canes.

In this Countrey are many sorts of Canes, and *Tenacura* is as big as a mans thigh; others which haue ioynts a fathome long, others whereof they make their Arrowes, and are esteemed. Others so long that they haue three or foure Lances in length, these growe among the Woods, and as there are many, so there are many and long beds of Canes of many leagues, and as they growe among the trees, they goe to seeke the Sunne, and therefore are so long.

¶ V I.

Of the Fishes that swimme in the salt water: also Shell-fishes, Trees and Fowles of the Sea: of Riuers and the Creatures which live therein; and the Beasts and Plants brought thither out of Portugall.

Oxe-fish, Ma-
nate.

The Oxe-fish in these parts is a Royall fish, esteemed above all other fishes, very healthfull in eating, and of a good taste, either salted or fresh: And it rather seemeth Beefe than Fish, and some doubts there were, because it was eaten on fish dayes: the fish is all grained like Beefe, and is cut in slices, and they dreffe it at the smoake like Bacon, or hangd Beefe. In the taste, if it be eaten or foddren with Cabidge, or other herbes, it tasteth like Beefe, and dreft in fowce it tasteth like Mutton; and roasted, both in smell, taste, and fatnesse it is like Porke, and eat it also.

The Fish in his making leemeth a land creature, and chiefly an Oxe, the head is altogether of 50 an Oxe, with skinn and haire, eares, eyes, cheekes and tongue; the eyes are exceeding small for the bodie it hath, he shutteth and openeth them when hee listeth, which other fishes doe not: ouer the ventis hath two skinnies wherewith he cloeth them, and by them he breatheth, and it cannot be long vnder water without breathing, it hath no more nor other finnes but the taile: which is all round and close; the bodie is of a great bignesse, all full of yellow haire, it hath two armes of a cubite long, with two hands like round peeles, and on them he hath five fingers all close one to another, and every finger hath his nayle like a mans nayle. Vnder these armes the female haue two paps, wherewith shee bringeth vp her young; the beareth but one at once: the inward part and the inward of this fish are like an Oxe, with luer, and lights, &c. In the head ouer the eyes were the braines it hath two stones of a good bignesse, white and heauie, 60 they are of great esteeme, and are the onely remede for the Stone: for beaten to powder and drunke in wine or water it cauleth to void the stone, as it happened that giuing it to a person to drinke, it auinge other many experiences, within one houre hee voided a stone as bigge as an Almond, and remained found, being before at the point of death. The bones of this fish are all made

like and white like Iuxie. They make of it great store of * Butter, they take two leaues as from a hogge; and the moit of the Butter it hath in the taile, which being of a yard or more in length, it melteth into Butter, it hath a good taste, and for to dreffe or drie fish, and for light. It is verie good also for Medicines, as the Hogges Grease, it is white and smelleth well, it hath no smell of fish. This fish is taken with Harping-Irons; it is found in the salt Riuers, neere the fresh water: it feedeth on an herbe that groweth by the borders, and within the Riuers, and where this herbe groweth, and neere the Springs of fresh water, whereof hee onely drinketh. They are verie great, some weigh tenne, others fifteene hundred, and such a fish hath bene taken, that an hundred men could not get it out of the water, but they broke it vp there where it was killed.

The fish *Beijupira* is like the Sturgeon of *Portugall*, and so it is held and esteemed of heere as a royall fish: it is very healthfull, fat, and of a good taste, they bee infinite, and some of their rowes are a span in compasse: these fishes are taken in the broad Sea, with a hooke and line, it is six or seuen spannes long; the bodie is round, blacke on the backe and the belly white.

The Oxe-fish is like the *Tennies* of *Spaine*, as well in bignesse as in making, inward as outward; it is verie fat, it hath sometime betweene leafe and leafe coules of fat as thicke as a *Portugall* 4 Teltre; they are cut in backes and bellies like the *Tennies*, and of them is made great store and verie good * Butter, it hath leaues like a Hogge, is a fish esteemed and of a good taste, it seuereth well the name of Oxe fish, as well in his beautie, as his bignesse, the eyes are properly like 50 an Oxe, and therefore it hath this name.

The fish *Camarapi* is also a royall fish and esteemed in these parts, the graine of it all in flakes, encircled with fat and grease, and of a good taste, it hath many bones through all the bodie, and is dangerous in eating, it hath a finne on the backe, which it carries alwaies raised upwards, it is so two or three quarters long, the fish is long of twelue and thirteene quarters in length, and of a good bignesse, and two men haue much adoe to lift vp one of them, they are taken with Harping-Irons, there are many of them, and much * Oile is made of them.

This wilde fish, which the *Indians* call *Pirramon*, (that is, a fish that iurath), the reason is, because whersoever it is, is heard by his noising; it is of a good bignesse, about eight or nine spannes, it is of a good taste, and esteemed; it hath in the mouth two bones as broad as a hand, exceeding 30 strange, with them they breake the Wilkes wherof they feed, the *Indians* esteeme the stones and weare them about their neckes as a Jewell.

There are many other fishes of sundrie kinds, that are not in *Spaine*, and commonly of a good taste and healthfull. Of the fishes of *Portugall* in these parts are also many, to wit, a fish called *Tainha*, and a great multitude, and it hath bene tried that the *Tainha* being fresh, and laid to the finging of a Snake is another *Vnicorne*. There want no Sea-breames, a fish called *Chuberos*, it is like a Mackerill, *Pargos*, or great Sea-breames, *Serges*, other Sea-breames, *Garassas*, *Darados* the Needle-fish, Cod-fishes, but these are rare, Pilghards like them of *Spaine*, are found at sometimes in the Riuier of *Lamurio*, and the most parts of the South, *Scates*, and *Rayes*; these *Rayes* some haue in their mouth two bones, and breake with them the Wilkes.

All these fishes are so healthfull that in these parts they are eaten after Milke, after flesh, and all a whole Lent without Oile or Vinegar, and it cauleth no scabs nor other disteailes as in *Europe*, but rather it is against the sicke, though they haue a Feuer, or be very weakes.

Because this Coast is so full of many Bays, Nookes, and Creekes, there came great store of Whales to these Conues chiefly from May to September, when they spawne and bring vp their young, and also because they come to the great store of fish that at this time there is in this Creeke. They are sometime so many that we may see foure or fiftie together, men doe say that they doe cast the Amber that they find in the Sea, and wherof they also feed, and therefore is some of it found in this Coast; others doe say that the Sea it selfe doth cast it on the shoares with great tempests, and commonly it is found after a great storme, and all the beasts doe eate of this 50 Amber, and great diligence is needfull after the tempests that they may not find it eaten. It is very dangerous to faile in small Barkes along this Coast, for besides other dangers, the Whales ouerwhelme many, if they heare any ringing, they are so feared as Horses when they heare the sound of a Drumme, and are as fierce as Lions, many runne vpon the shoare, and great store of Oile is made of them. They haue the head open, and there they breathe, and call at once great store of water, and scatter it so in the Aire as it were a great shower.

There is great store of the Sword-fishes, they are great and fierce, for they haue knowt like a Sword, all full of teeth round about, verie sharpe, and as bigge as Dogges teeth or bigger; they are a man dead or more, and the length is according to the greatneste of the fish. Some of these finnows or Swords are of eight or ten spannes long; with these they make a cruell battell with wonderful thing: the Shakes resort to the blood, and lye in such sort till the death, and so many are found dead and cut in pieces. With this knowt also they catch the fishes wherof they feed. The *Indians* vse these finnows when they are young for to beate their children, and to feare them when they are disobedient vnto them.

* Or Grease,
or Oile: so al-
ter, *Melagre* in
the *Portugall*
word.

Beijupira.

The Oxe-fish.

* Or foure
finlines a
piece.

* Or Grease

Camarapi.

* Or Butter.

The wilde fish.

The Whale.

Ambergris.

The Sword fish.

Whales.

A Tortoise.

In this Coast are many Tortoises; there are many taken, whereof there are cofers, boxes for the hoatts, cups, &c. These Tortoises doe lay their eggs in the sands, and they lay 200. or 300. eggs at a time, they are as bigge as lins eggs, verie white and round as balles; they hide these eggs in the sand, and when the young are hatch, presently they goe to the water, where they are nourished, the eggs also are eaten. They have this propertie, that though you boile & roast them the white is ever soft, the inwards are like a Hogg's, and they have vents where through they breathe. They have another particularitie, that when yee turne them on their belly, they turne presently to the Sea, neither can they live or otherwise. Some of them are so bigge that of their shels they make whole Targets, and one was taken upon this Coast so bigge, that twentie men could not lift, nor poile it from the ground.

Tubonout, or Sharkes.

Upon this Coast are many sorts of Sharkes, and in it are found five or sixen kinds of them; it is a very fierce and cruell fish, and kills many persons, especially those that swimme. The Ruters are full of them; they are so cruell that it happened one to runne after an *Indian* that went in a Boate, and put him in such a fraight, that the young man leaping ashore, the Sharkes leapt after him thinking to have caught him, and fell on drie land where they killed him. In the broad Sea where also are many, they kill them with Snarres, and Harping Irons, and they are so eager, greedie, and leue fish, and they are so devouring, that they find in their bellies, skinnies, pieces of cloth, shirts and breeches that fall from the Sallers, they goe ordinarily accompanied with certaine verie faire fishes of diuers colours called *Pelegmes*. They make great store of Oile of them; and the *Indians* vye the teeth in their Arrows, because they are verie sharpe, cruell, and venomous, and verie seldom, or with great difficultie are they healed that are hurt with them.

Pelegmes.

The flying fish.

The flying fishes are ordinarily of a spanne long or little more, it hath the eyes verie faire, of a certaine verie gallant picture, that beautifies it much, and doe seeme precious tokens, the head is also very faire, it hath wings like R-re-mice, but of a silver hue; they are much persecuted of the other fishes, and for to escape they fly in flocks, like Stares, or Sparrowes, but they flye not verie high, they are also good to eat, when they flye they glad the Sallers, and many times they fall in the ship, and come in at the Cabin windows.

Bats and *Tonnes*, are two kinds of Porpoises. Of these fishes there are great abundance, as in *Europe*.

Soles and Salmonets.

A little red fish very dainty in Spain.

Of the venomous fishes.

Toad fish deadly.

They find also in this Coast Salmonets, but they are rare, and not so esteemed, nor of so good a taste as those of *Europe*. The Soles of these parts are verie rare, they have this propertie, that when they are to be boiled or fried they beate them, and the more strokes they give them, the softer they are, and the better to eat, and if they beate them not, they are loft and nothing worth.

As in this Countrey of *Brazil* are many Snakes, and venomous Wormes, whereof wee will speake hereafter, there are likewise many fishes verie venomous.

The Toad fish, in their Language, *Amoyen*, is a small fish, a spanne long, painted, it hath faire eyes, taking it out of the water it smothereth verie much, and cutteth the hookes, and out of the water it swellmeth much, all the poision lies in the skinnie, and flaying they eat it: but eating it with the skinnie it killeth. It chanced a young man to eat one with the skinnie, who died almost suddenly; the *Father* said, I will eat the fish that killed my Sonne, and eating of it died also presently, it is a great poision for Rats, for those that eat of it doe die presently.

There is another kind of Toad fish of the same fashion that the other, but it hath many cruell prickles, as a Hedge-hogge; it smothereth, and swelleth out of the water; the skinnie also killeth, especially the prickles, because they are verie venomous, flaying it, it is eaten, and it is good for the bloody Fluxes. There is another Toad fish, called in their tongue, *linga*, it is three square, and the bodie kish, that all of it is like a Dagger; it is faire, it hath the eyes bluish, it is eaten flayed; the poision consisteth in the skinnie, livers, guts, and bones, whatsoever creature doth eat it, dieth.

Purague, or Torpedo. See lobin.

Caramuru.

Amotie.

Purague is like the Scate, it hath fish vertue that if any touch it, he remaineth shacking as one that hath the Palsie, and touching it with a stick, or other thing it benumeth presently him that toucheth it, and while he holdeth the sticke over him, the arme that holdeth the stick is benumbed, and alleys; it is taken with fue-nets, and with casting Nets it maketh all the bodie tremble, and benumeth with the paine, but being dead it is eaten, and it hath no poision.

The *Caramuru* are like the Sea Snakes of *Portugall*, of ten or fifteene spans long, very fat, and roasted taile like *Pigge*; they have fangs teeth, and many men are maimed by their bittings, and the hand or foot where they were bitten, doe rot away. It hath our all the bodie many prickles. The Countermen say that they engender with the Snakes; for they finde them many times knit with them, and many in the lands tarrying for the Sea Snakes.

Amotie is like the Toad fish, it is full of prickles, and thrusts himselfe under the sand along the shore, and pricketh the foot or hand underneath that toucheth it, and it hath no other remedie but only by fire.

A fish so called.

Amoye curub is round and of the bignesse of the *Bugallas* of Spain, and are very venomous, it hath the bodie full of Wartes, and therefore it is called *Curub*, that is to say, a Wart in their Language.

Terepangna, is a Snake that lieth in the Sea; her manner of living is to lie very still, and whatsoever living thing that toucheth it; remaineth so fast sticking to it that in no wite it can stirre, and so he receiveth and sustains himselfe. Sometimes it cometh out of the Sea, and becometh very small, and as soone as it is toucht it sticketh fast, and if they goe with the other hand to lofe themselves, they remaine also fast by it, and then it becometh as bigge as a great Cable, and to carrieth the person to the Sea, and eateth it; and because it cleaveth to fast, it is called *Terepangna*, that is to say, a thing that cleaveth fast.

Finally, there are many kinds of verie venomous fishes in the Sea, that have so vehement a poision, that ordinarily none escape that eateth or toucheth them.

The *Mermen*, or men of the Sea, are called in their language: *Papage*; the men of the countrey are so afraid of them, that many of them die only with the thought of them, & none that feeth them escape. Some that died already, being demanded the cause said, that they had seene this Monster; they properly are like men, of a good stature, but their eyes are very hollow. The Female are like women, they have long haire, and are beautiful; these Monsters are found in the barts of the fresh Rivers in *laguap*, seven or eight leagues from the Bay have many bin found, & in the year 82. an *Indian* going to fish, was chased by one, and fleeing in a Canoe told it to his Master. The Master for to animate the *Indian*, would needs goe see the Monster, & being carelesse with one hand out of the Canoe, it catcht hold of him, and carried him away, and hee was neuer seene againe, and in the same yeere died an *Indian* of *Franciscus Lorenzo Cayro*. In Port *Sacra* are some seene, which have killed some *Indians* already, the manner of their killing is to embrace themselves with the person so strongly, kissing, and grasping it hard to it selfe that they crush it in pieces remaining whole, and when they perceive it dead, they give some fishings in shew of sorrow, and letting them goe they runne away, and if they carry any they eat only the eyes, the nose, the points of the fingers and toes, and prieve members, and so ordinarily they are found on the sands with these fishes mifling.

The Sea of these parts are very plentiful of *Cuttles*, this kind of fish hath a hood dwiaies full of very blacke Inke: this is their defence from the greater fishes, for when they come to catch them they cast that Inke before their eyes, and the water becometh very blacke, and then hee goes his waie. They take them with shooting at them, but they baite time first, they are also taken with lights by night. For to eat them they beate them, and the more, the softer they are, and of better taste.

Apula is a shell-fish like the joint of a Cane: it is rare, it is eaten, and drinking it falling in Powder, a soveraigne remedie for the Milt or Spleene.

In these parts are infinite of the *Sea-fomes*, and are great, as broad as a hat; they have many folds wherewith they catch the fish, and resemble the *Barberie* Purles, they are not eaten; if they sting any one, they cause great paines, and cause to weepe, and so laid an *Indian* that was stung with one of them, that he had received many wounds with Arrows, but never wept till then; they are neuer seene but in neape tides (or flow waters), therefore the *Portugals* call them *Apula mortis*, or *Dead-water*.

The *Crabs* are a kind of Crab found in the mire, and they are infinite, and the food of all this Countrey, chiefly for the slaves of *Guinea*, and the *Indians* of the Countrey, they have a good taste, upon them is good drinking cold water. They have a particularitie to be noted, that when they cast their shell they goe into their holes, and there they are two or three months, and casting the shell, moutnes and feet, they come foorth, and they grow againe as before.

Gnathimus is a kind of Crabs fo great, that a mans legge will goe into their mouth. They are good to eat; when it doth thunder they come out of their holes, and make fo great a noise one with the other, that men have gone out with their weapons, thinking they had bene enemies; if they doe eat a certaine herbe, whoe ever eateth them then dieth, these are of the Land, but keepe in holes neere the Sea side.

The *Aratu* Crabs keepe in the trunks of the trees, that grow in the Oowes of the Sea, when they find a Cockle that gapeth, they seeke presently some little stone, and very cunningly put it into the Cockle: the Cockle shutteth presently, and not being able because of the little stone it hath within, they wish their mouths doe take out the fish and eat it.

There are ten or twelve kinds of Crabs in this Countrey, and as I have said, they are so many in number, and so healthfull, that all are eaten, especially of the *Indians*, &c.

The Oysters are many, and some are very great, and the meate is as broad as the palme of the hand; in these are some Pearles found very rich, and other smaller are also very fine Pearles found. The *Indians* in old time came to the Sea for Oysters, and got so many that they made great Hills by the continuance of time grew great: Groves of Trees and very thicke and high, and the *Portugals* discovered some, and every day goe discovering others anew, and of these shels they make houses, and of one only heape was part of the Colledge of the Bay made, the Palaces of the Gouvernor, and many other buildings, and yet it is not ended, the lime is very white, good for to garnish and lime

Terepangna.
Seeing
Sea Snake.

Mermen, or
Monsters of
the Sea.

Of the Shell-
fishes, Cuttle
fishes.

Apula.
Sea-fomes.

Sea Crabs.

Gnathimus.

Aratu.

Ten or twelve
kinds of crabs.
Oysters.

Note far lime.

lime withall; if it bee in the raine it becometh blacke, and for to keepe water in Cisternes it is not so fure, but for the rest as good as the stone in *Spaines*.

Mufcles. There want no Mufcles in this Countrey; they feare the *Indians* and the *Portugals* for Spooones and Knives, they have a faire filver colour; in them is found fome feed Pearle; there is a small kind of them, whereon the *Sea-gulls* doe feed, and because they cannot breake them, they haue fuch a naturall instinct that taking them vp into the Aire, they let them fall so many times till they breake it, and then they eat them.

Perewinkles. The *Perewinkles* are very taftefull, and good in this Countrey, and fome feed Pearle is found in them, and foof the *Perewinkles*, and of the Mufcles there is great store, of many and fundrie kinds.

Winkles. The greatest *Winkles* which are called *Quatagapaga*, that is, a great *Winkle*, are much esteemed of the *Indians*, for of them they make their Truipets, Furnitures, Beades, Brooches, Earrings, and Gloues for the children, and they are of such esteeme among them, that for one they will giue any one person that they haue captiue: and the *Portugals* gaue in olde time a Crowne for one: they are as white as Iuorie, and many of them are of two quarters broad, and one in length.

Piraguas. The *Piraguas* are also eaten, and of the shells they make their Beades: and for so many fathoms they giue a portion. Of these the *Sea* catcheth vp sometimes great heapes, a wonderful thing. Of *Winkles* and *Skilpols* there is great quantitie in this Countrey, very faire, and to be esteemed, of fundrie kinds.

White Corall. They find great store of white stone Corall vnder water, it groweth like small Trees all in leaues, and Canes as the red Corall of *Indies*; and if this also were lo, there would be great riches in this Countrey, for the great abundance there is of it, it is very white, it is gotten with difficultie, they make lime of it alio.

Prawnes. There are great multitudes of *Prawnes*, because this Coast is almost all enuioured with shelves, and Rocks; there are also many *Sea-spruffs*, and other Monsters found in the Concauites of the Rocks, great *Crawfishes* or Crabbes like those of *Europe*, it seemes there bee none in these parts.

Of the Trees that grow in salt-water. The *Mangro* Trees are like the Swallowes, or *Willowes* of *Europe*, there is so great quantitie of them in the Armes or creeks that the *Sea* maketh within the Land, that many leagues of the Land is of these Trees, that are watered with the tides. We trauelled 1 day leagues, and whole daies in the Rivers wher these Trees are, and they are all waies Greene, faire and pleasant, and of many kinds. The wood is good to burne, and for to build houses, it is very heauie and hard as Iron; of the barke they make Inke, and it smeueth to tame Leather, and they are of many kinds. A certaine kind of them doe cast certaine twigs from the top of their length some times as long as a Luncce, till they come to the water, and then they cast many branches and rootes, and these branches remaine fast in the earth, and while they are Greene these twigs are tender, and because they are hollow within, they make good Flutes of them. In these Creekes are a certaine kind of Gnats called *Mareyas*, as small as Hennes Lice, they bite in such sort, that they leaue such a Wheale, smart and itching that a man cannot helpe himselfe, for euen through the clothes they pricke, and it is a good penance, and mortification to suffer them on a Morning, or an Evening; there is no other remedie to defend themselves from them, but to anoint themselves with dirt, or to make a great fire and smoke.

Gnats. In these Creekes are many Crabs, Oystlers, and Water Rats, and there is one kind of these Rats, a monstrous thing, for all the day they sleepe, and wake all night.

In these Creekes the Parrots breeds, which are so many in number, and make such a noise, that it seemeth the noise of Sparrowes, or Dawes.

On the Sands they finde great store of Parsley, as good and better, then that of *Portugal* wherof alio they make Cousiers.

Birds that doe feed, and are found in the salt water.

Guaingai. The Bird *Guaingai* is white, of the bignesse of the Cranes of *Portugal*; they are extreme white, and haue verie long feete, the bill verie cruell and sharpe, and verie faire, of a verie fine yellow, the legges are also verie long, betwene Red and Yellow. On the necke it hath the finest Plume Feathers that can be found, and they are like the Estrildges Feathers of *Africa*.

Caripra. Caripra by another name *Forked-tayles*, are many; they are called *Forked-tayles*, because their tale is diuided in the middle; the *Indians* make great account of the Feathers for the feathering of their Arrowes, and say that they last long, at sometimes they are verie fat, the fat is good for the looseness. These Birds doe vie to bring newes a land of the ships, and they are so certaine in this that verie fildome they faile, for when they are seene, ordinarily within twentie or thirtie daies the ships do come.

GUAICA

Guaica is properly the *Sea-mew* of *Portugal*, their ordinarie food are Cockles, and because they are hard, and they cannot breake them, they take them in their bill, and letting them fall many times they breake them and eat them; of these *Sea-mewes* there are an infinite number of kinds, that the Trees and the strands are full of them.

Guaicamaron is called in *Portugal* *Scauld-pate*, it is called *Guaicamaron*, that is, a Bird that hath death's accidents, and that dieth and liueth againe, as though it had the falling sicknes, and these fis are so great that many times the *Indians* doe find them along the strands, and take them in their hands, and thinking they are dead doe fling them away, and they assoone as they fall doe rise and flie away, they are white and faire, and there are other kinds of these that haue the same accidents.

Calamar. The *Calamar* are as bigge as Turtle-doues, or Pigeons; the men of the Countrey say, that they lay their Eggs in the Sea, and there they hatch, and breed their young; they flie not, but with their wings and feet they swimme very swiftly, they forebush Greene calmes and showres, and in calme weather they are so many along the shippes that the Mariners cannot tell what to doe, they are euen the very spite it selfe, and melancholy.

Ayga. The *Ayga* are as bigge as a *Pye-anet*, more white then red, they haue a faire colour of white bespotted with red, the bill is long and like a Spooone. For to catch the fish, it hath this light, it striketh with the foot in the water, and stretching out his neck, tarteth for the fish and catcheth it, and therefore the *Indians* lay it hath humane knowledge.

Cocouris. The *Cocouris* is small and gray, it hath faire eies with a verie faire red circle, it hath a strange note, for he that heareth it thinketh it is of a verie great bird, it beeing verie small; for it singeth with the mouth, and justly behind it maketh a noise lo founding, loud and strong, though not swelling verie well, that it is a wonder, it maketh this sweete Muike two houres before day, and at Evening till the Evening twilight be done, and ordinarily when it singeth, forebusheth faire weather.

Guaia. The *Guaia* is as bigge as a *Pye-anet*, it hath a long bill with a crooked point, and his feet of a *Guaia* quarter or span long, when it is hatched, it is blacke, and after becometh gray, when it is alreadie doth flie, it becometh whiter then any Dove, afterward it turneth to a bright red, yet at length it becometh redder then Scarlet it kille, in this colour he continueth till his death, they are many in quantitie, but they haue no other kind. They breed well in houses, their food is fish, fish, and other things: their food must be alwaies in water, the *Indians* esteeme greatly the Feathers of these, and of them they make their Diademes, Fringes wherewith they cover the Swords they kill withall, and they make Bracelets to wear on their armes, and fasten them to their haire like Rose buds, and these are their Jewels, and Chaines of Gold wherewith they adorn themselves in their Feasts, and they so much esteeme, yea, they being so much giuen to thers. These birds giue many times the enemies they haue for to eat in change for their Feathers. It is a faire thing to behold, and if the Sunne doth shine on them vpon the Sands, or in the Aire, it is a faire thing to behold. Many other birds there are that doe feed on the Sea, as *Heard-swines*, *Cormorants*, and a certaine kinde of *Eagles* (which are our *Asperalles*) which would be tedious to recite.

The maine Rivers wherewith this Province is watered are innumerable, and some verie great, and haue verie faire barres, not wanting in the Rivers, Brookes and Fontaines, wherof the Countrey is verie plentifull, and the waters ordinarily are verie faire, cleere and healthfull, and plentifull of infinite fishes of fundrie kinds, of the which some are of an exceeding greatnesse, and of great value, and verie healthfull, and are giuen vnto the sick for Medicines. These fishes doe the *Indians* catch with Nets, but ordinarily with Hooke and Line. Among these there is a roayall fish of a good taste and fauour, that is verie like the *Sturgeon* of *Spaines*, this is called *lau*, they are of fourteene and fiftene quarters long, and sometimes bigger, and verie fat, and they make Butter (or Grease) of them. And at sometimes the fish is so much, they fat their Hogges with it. In the small Creekes are manie *Skrimpes*, and some of a quarter and more in length, and of a verie good taste and fauour.

Fresh water Snakes (and Creatures of the water.)

The Snake *Cucunjabu* is the greatest, or of the greatest that are in *Brasil*, notable as well for greatnesse as beaurtie, some are taken of five and twentie or thirtie foote long, and a yard in at the head and endeth in the Tail; it hath Teeth like a Dogge, and layeth hold on a man, Cow, whole. And after the hath it in her belly, she lets her selfe rot, and the Ratens and Crows doe eat her all, so that there remaineth nothing but the bones, and afterward it breedeth new flesh againe, and reneweth as before it was. The reason wherof is (say the men of the Countrey) because while it putrieth it hath the head in the mire, and hauing life in the noddle they liue againe; and because this is knowne alreadie, when they finde them putriued, they seeke out the head

Guaica

Guaicamaron

Calamar, or Sea-spraffer

Ayga

Cocouris

Of the fresh Rivers, and the things that in them are.

Cucunjabu a green Snake was wonderfull

head and kill it. The manner of their feeding is to waite for their prey, either beaſts or people laid along by the waies, and when it paſſeth, it winds it ſelfe about it, and killeth and eateth it. After they are full they deepe in ſuch ſorts, that ſometimes they cut two or three pieces of their Taile, they not waking, as hath happened that after they had cut two pieces of the Taile of one of theſe, the next day they found her dead with two wild Bores in her belly; and it was about twelve yards and an halfe long.

Manima. The Snake *Manima* keepeth alwaies in the water, it is yet greater then the other aboveſaid; it is much painted, and from his Piſtures do the *Gentiles of Braſil* take the painting of themſelves, That *Indians* holds himſelfe for bleſſed, that it doth ſhew it ſelfe vnto ſaying, they ſhall live long, ſeeing the *Manima* did ſhew it ſelfe vnto him.

Many other kinds of Snakes there be in the Rivers of freſh water, which I leave for breuitie ſake, and becauſe there is nothing in particular that can be ſaid of them.

Water Liceards, iacard or Cicouids. The *iacare* *Licards* are of a notable greaſtneſſe, and ſome are as bigge as Dogges, their ſnowt is like a Dogge, and ſo haue they their Teeth verie long, they haue ouer all the bodie certaine plates like an armed Horſe, and when they arme themſelves, there is no Arrow can pierce them, they are painted of diuers colours, they doe no hurt to the people, but rather they take them eaſily with Snakes, ſome haue bene taken of fifteene quarters (or ſpanes) long, and the *Indians* eſteeme them much, and hold them for eſtate as the *Rimbalu*, that is, Dogges, or any other thing of eſtate. They keepe in the water, and on the land, they lay Egges as bigge as Geefe, and ſo hard that ſtriking one againſt another, they tingle like Iron. Where theſe doe haunt they are preſently perceived, by the great cries they giue; the ſiſth of theſe ſmelleth very much, eſpecially his Coſts of Muſke, and they are of eſteeme, their dung hath ſome vertue, eſpecially it is good for the *Ledias*.

Hard Egges. The *Iaguarucu* is a beaſt greater than any Oxe, it hath Teeth of a great quarter long, they keepe in and out of the water, and doe kill men; they are rare; ſome of them are found in the River of Saint *France*, and in *Paraguay*.

The *Atacape* are Woolles ſmaller, but much more hurtfull, for they come out of the water to watch for men, and being verie ſwift they kill ſome perſons and eat them.

Iaguarucu. A great Dogge. This ſeruent ſome kind of the *Hyppopotamus*, *Atacape*, *Iaguarucu*, *Iaguaropetia*, *Basipina*.

The *Iaguaropetia* are the true *Atters* of *Portugall*. There is another ſmall beaſt of the ſiſth of it called *Zarigueniu*, theſe haue rich Skinnies for Fures; and of theſe 30 water beaſts, there are many other kinds; ſome doe no hurt, others are verie fierce.

The *Basipina* are a certaine kind of *Mermen* as bigge as children, for they differ nothing from them, of theſe there are many and doe no harme.

Water hogge. There be many of the water Hogges *Capiguaru*, and are of the bigneſſe of land-hogges, but they differ in faſhions; in the rooſe of the mouth it hath a very great ſtone that doth ſerue him for great Teeth. This the *Indians* hold for a Iewell for their children, ſonnes and daughters. It hath no taile, they continue long vnder water, but they lodge on the Land, and in it they bring vp their young; their foodes is graſſe, and fruites that they find along the Riuer.

In the freſh Rivers of wetters are many kinde of *Iſta* Scallops, great and ſmall, ſome are ſo bigge as good Sines, and ſerue to ſit their meale with them; other are ſmaller, and ſerue for 40 Spoones, all of theſe are long, and of a ſiluer colour, in them are ſome Peſtales.

In the Rivers are found many of the *Capadars*, (a Sea bird ſo called) and they are ſo many in number, that the *Tapias* doe feede fat in a certaine time of the yeere with the Egges, and doe ſeeke for them as for ſome other daintie food.

Guararici. Men dyer with beeing it.

There want no Frogges in the Rivers, Fontaines, Puddles, and Lakes, and they are of many kinds eſpecially theſe *Guararici*. The feare that the *Indians* haue thereof is a wonderful thing, that of the only hearing it they die, and tell them neuer ſo much they haue no other remedie, but let themſelves die, ſo great is the imagination and apprehenſion that they take of the hearing it ſing, and whatſoeuer *Indian* that heareth it dieth, for they ſay it doth caſt from it ſelfe a brightneſſe like a lightning.

All theſe maine Rivers haue fo great and ſo thicke Woods on the one ſide and the other, that they faile many leagues by them and ſee no ground, on either ſide, in them are many things to be told, which I omit for breuitie ſake.

Of the Beasts, Trees and Herbes, that came from Portugall, and doe grow and breed in Braſil.

This *Braſil* is alreadie another *Portugall*, and not ſpeaking of *China*, which is much more temperate and healthfull, without great heates or colds, where the men doe live long, with few ſickneſſes, as the Collicke, of the Liuer, the Head, the Breſt, Scabs, nor any other Diſeaſe of *Pickellies*, Neither ſpeaking of the Sea, which hath great force of ſill, and wholeſome, nor of the things of the Land, which God hath giuen to this Nation, nor of many other commodities which the men haue to paſſe their liues withall; though the commoditie of houſes is not great, 10

for the moſt of them are of mud walls, and thatched, though now they beginne to make buildings of lime and ſtone, and tile, neither are the commodities for apparell many, becauſe the Countrey yeeldeth no other cloth but Corton-wooll. In this place the people are in great need, eſpecially from the Riuer of *Iacuru*, wrote Saint Vincent, for want of ſhips to bring Merchandize and Clothe, but in the moſt Captainſhips they are provided of all kinde of clothings and Silkes, and the men goe well appareled, and wear many Silkes and Vnitos. But it is alreadie 10 *Portugall* as I ſaid for the many Commodities that from thence doe come vnto us.

In this Pronounce is a good breed of the Horſes, and there be alreadie great abundance of them and very good Iennets of a great price, that are worth 300. and 300. Ducks and more, and there is alreadie running at the Geefe, at the Ring, at Canes, and other Sports and Skirmiſhes, 10 from hence they beginne to prouide *Angola* of Horſes whereof they ſtand in great want.

Though this Countrey hath weake paſtures, and in *Pari Secura* is an Herbe that killeth the beaſts if they doe eate it, notwithstanding there is a great number of them alreadie, and all *Braſil* is full of great Heards, and ſome haue 300. ſome a 1000. heads, eſpecially in the fields of *Piratinanga*, becauſe it hath good paſtures, and are like to them of *Portugall*, and it is a pleaſant thing to ſee the young breed that is there.

The Swine doe like verie well heere, and they beginne to haue great multitudes, and heere it is the beſt fiſh of all yea, better then Hennes fiſh, and it is giuen to the ſicke, and hath a very good reliſh and taſte.

Vnto the Riuer of *Lauauria* are many ſheeps found alreadie, and *Weather*, and they fatten ſo much that they burſt with fatneſſe if it is not ſhorne ſo good fiſh as in *Portugall*.

The Goates are yet but few, but yet they like well in this Countrey, and doe multiply verie much, and in a ſhort time there will be a great multitude.

The Hennes are infinite, and greater then in the Realme of *Portugall*, and becauſe the Countrey is temperate they breed well, and the *Indians* doe eſteeme them, and breed them within the Maine, three hundred and foure hundred leagues, the fiſh here is not ſo good as in the Realme.

The Hennes of *Peru*, like well in this Countrey, and there is great abundance of them, and there is no Banquet where they are not a diſh.

The Geefe doe like well in this Countrey, and are in great abundance, there is alſo here another kind of the Countrey it ſelfe, and are farre greater and faire.

The Dogges haue multiplied much in this Countrey, and are of many kindes; they are eſteemed here alſo of the *Portugall* which brought them, as of the *Indians* that eſteeme them above all the things they haue: becauſe they helpe them in their hunting, and are domeſtick creatures, and ſo the women doe carrie them on their backe from one place to another, and nourish them as Children, and giue them ſucke at the breaſt.

Trees with prickles, as Oranges, Pomecitrons, Limons * of both kinds, of ſundry ſorts do grow well in this Countrey, which almoſt all the yeere haue fruit, and there are ſo great Oranges and Pomecitron Groves, that euen among the Woods theſe grow, and the abundance is ſo great of thoſe things that they are not let by. They haue a great enemy, the Ants, notwithstanding there is great abundance, without euer being watered, and as there wanteth no Sugar, they make infinite Conſerues, to wit, of Citrons, Limons, the flowers, &c.

The Fig-trees grow verie well heere, and there be many kindes, as long Figgies, blacke Figgies, Figge-Dates, and many other kinds, to the Riuer of *Lauauria*, that are hotter ground, they yeild two crops in the yeere.

In the Riuer of *Lauauria* and Saint Vincent, in the fields of *Piratinanga*, doe grow many Quinces, and yeild foure crops a yeere, one after another, and there are men that with verie few Quince Trees doe gather, ten, and twelve thouſand Quinces, and here they make great ſtore of Marmelets and verie ſhortly will thoſe of the Iland of *Madera* be ſpared.

There are many ſorts of Grapes, as *Ferriads*, *Boues*, *Balfard*, *Greene*, and *Gallizian Grapes*, and many other. To the Riuer of *Lauauria* they haue all the yeere Grapes, if they will haue them, for if they cut them euery moneth, they beare euery moneth Grapes ſuccuſſfully. In the Riuer of *Lauauria* eſpecially in *Piratinanga*, are Vineyards, and are ſo laden that they bow to the ground, they yeild but one crop. They beginne alreadie to make Wine, though with trouble to preſerue it, for in wood the Worme doth preterly eate throw, and earthen veſſels they haue none, but ſeeke remedies of their owne, and doe continue it, and in a ſhort ſpace they will haue many Wines.

In the Riuer of *Lauauria* and *Piratinanga*, are many Roles; one, Damaske Roles, whereof they diſtill great ſtore of Role-water, and Conſerue of Roles for to purge, and not to purge, for of the other they haue not, they ſeeke the Damaske Roles in water, and ſtraining them they make Conſerue of Roles very good wherewith they doe not purge.

Muske Melons want not in many Captain ſhips, and are good and fine, many Gourds whereof they make Conſerues, many Beets whereof they make it alſo, Cabbages, Cowcumbers, Raddiſhes, Turneps, Muſtard, Mintes, Coriander, Onion, Fennell, Peale, Leekes, and 10

Horſes,

Kine,

Swine,

Sheepe,

Goates,

Hennes,

Turkies,

Geefe and Ducks,

Dogges,

Tree,

* For one kind are called by many, as were the Female.

Fig-trees,

Quinces,

Vine,

Roles,

Plants and Herbes,

Gar-

Wheate.

That is sure
butch and are
ba e.
k N e e that
the *Aqueque*
con sistent is.
buffs.
Smelling
herbs.
I An herbe fo
celled.
Vermine
infida.

Garlicke, Borrage, and other Pulses which were brought from *Portugall*, and grow well in this Countrey.

In the River of *Jamuary*, and fields of *Piratinga*, groweth Wheate, they vie it not because they have no Horle-mills, nor Water-mills, and they have also great trouble in the gathering of it, for because of the many waters, and ranknesse of the ground it commeth altogether, and it multiplieth so much, that one Corne beareth fixtie and eighte Eares, and some bearing two, others grow anew, and it multiplieth almost in infinitum. Of lesse then a 1 quarter of Barley that a man sowed, in the field of *Piratinga*, hee gathered fixtie and odde k *Aqueque*, and if men would give themselves to this commoditie, the Countrey would be verie rich and plentifull. There are many sorts of *Brasill*, and Gilliflowres Yellow, and Red, and doe grow well in *Piratinga*, and other smelling herbes, as the 1 Onion *Jeffe*, &c.

About all this, *Brasill* hath one commoditie for men to live, that in it doe live disorderly, that there are but few Horles or Flies, but among the *Indians*, and *Guinea Moores* there are some Lice, but there want no Liceas, Dorres, Waspes, Flies, and Gnats of so many kinds, and so cruell and venomous, that stinging any person, the place swelleth for three or foure dayes, especially in the fresh men, which have their blood fresh and tender, with the good Bread, Wine and delicate fare of *Portugall*.

CHAP. II.

Articles touching the dutie of the Kings Maiestie our Lord, and to the common good of all the estate of Brasill. Written (as is thought) by the Ambassador of the former Treatise.

The first Article.



T greatly behooveth for the vniuersall good, and preferuacion of the estate of *Brasill*, that the King our Lord doe take all the Capitaneiships for his, satisfying the Lordships. For as the Tenthies are all his Maiesties, and the Lordships have no more then the tenth, which is verie little, at the least in the Capitaneiships of the *Holy Ghost*, *Saint Vincent*, *Port Secure*, and the Isles, the said Capitaneiships are neuer prouided, neither have Powder, Bullet, or Calceuer, &c. for to defend themselves from the enemies, and whatsoever *French* or *English* shippes that goeth thither, doth put them in such danger, that either they must give them entrance, and traffick with them, or leaue them the Towne and goe to the Woods, as now it was scene in the Capitaneiships of the *Holy Ghost*, and *Saint Vincent*, and being the Kings they be otherwise prouided, making Fortresses in the barres for their defence, at the least in those of the *Holy Ghost*, and the River of *Jamuary*, as it was done in that of *Saint Vincent*, in the which shippes may come in at any hour, and in this manner will haue a delight to dwell, and labour in them the which now doe live in trouble and complaints, seeing themselves so disauoured, and in any danger of warre they rather thinke how to flee away, and escape with their Wives and Children, then how to defend the Countrey, whole safetie, preferuacion, and augmenting importeth so much, as is notorious to the good of all *Persa*.

Weaknesse of the *Portugals* in *Brasill* how much and whence.

The second Article.

It seemeth necessarie that in *Brasill* there be a Court Royall, where many causes may be determined, as there is in *Persa*, *New Spaine*, and in all his Maiesties Prouinces.

The first reason that for this is offered, is, that the people whereof at the first this Countrey was inhabited, commonly were banished for facts committed in *Portugall*. And as at the beginning there was no Iustice Royall in it, at the least in the Capitaneiships, and Lands of the Lords, all of them were, but only Capitaines and Iudges, placed by the Lords of them, there was little regard of Iustice, as well in them which ruled, the which had authoritie for to kill, hang, &c. and as they had no Science, nor peraduenture Conscience, ruled rather by humane respects, so friendships, hatreds, and proper gains, then by direct reason, as in the *subdria*, the which as there was no Iustice but of Gossips, (as the speech is) did live at large as they listed, having no bodie to contradieth them, and though the Kings afterward did take & reserve the Iustice to themselves sending Governours, and generall Iudges, and though there came many men of more qualitie to continue the inhabiting of the Countrey, notwithstanding a great part of that first libertie and licence remained still, with the which many evils were and are committed without punishment. For many of them have alreadie so much power with their riches (gained God knoweth how) that I know not whether those that now doe rule dare meddle with them, bee it that they feare their power and might, or because *fero omnes diligunt munera*: and the Iustices that went, and will not be interceded but beare the Rod upright, let them prepare themselves to suffer troubles in this Countrey.

The second reason is, that many Sutes may here be determined definitiuelly, in the which are delayings of many yeeres, without any obtaing of Iustice by Appeals and Grievances to *Portugall*. Now if the Governour (as many times it happeneth) will put himselfe in the office of

30

the generall Iudge, and with his power binds his hands, all goes topsieturue, without any ciuill peace in the Countrey, but rather a continual confusion, and perturbation and the matter cometh to this point, that the Governour apprehendeth the lauge himselfe (as alreadie it hath hapned) and lendeth him to *Portugall*, and in the meane while the Iustice of the Countrey remaineth in the hands of him that cannot admit it, and in stead of reason entreatie, affection, or passion, and then nothing is done but what the Governour listeth. The same behoueth, and peraduenture more, to that which appertaineth to his Majesties goods, wherein are difficult matters, and haue need of a man of knowledge and conscience, for to decide them.

The third reason is, that there may learned men of conscience bee there for to determine the Iustice of warre, for want of that haue many beene made in *Brasill*, against all Iustice, which was a great cause of the destruction of the men of the Countrey, and so all the Coast is almost vnhabited. And although the Kings past commended this greatly, and commanded that no warre should be held lawfull, but that which should be made by order of the Governour generall, hee taking first counsell with the Bishop, and Fathers of the company, and experienced persons of the Countrey, and of good consciences, and the Iustice of the warre being determined by them, notwithstanding many times it is not done with such examination as the cause requireth: and so either the Fathers of the company are not called thereunto, or if they be called, it is for a complement of Iustice: and they haue more regard to the hope of the profit that is offered them, of getting of slaves in the said warre, then vnto the Iustice of it, and to the common good, and danger they put themselves in, for sometimes they fare euill in the boyle, with the death of many *Christians*, both *Portugals* and *Indians*. With these warres especially all the Coast of *Pernambuco*, which beginneth from the River of *Saint France* thitherward, which are fiftie leagues, and the greatest part of the Maines disinhabited, having before a most copious number of *Indians*: and to now the Captaneiship wanteth *Indian* friends, to help them to defend, and it is, euery day wasted, slaine, and exten of the *Indians* *Pitignares* of *Paraba*, which before were their friends, whom they did also great iniustice to.

Teftures com-
plaint for not
being call'd
to counsell of
warre.

Depopulati-
ons.

The third Article is about the Kings Customes Accounts, &c.

His Majestie hath a great obligation to the *Indians* of *Brasill*, to aide them with all corporall and spirituall remedie. For almost all those of this Coast are almost consumed with sicknesses, 30 warres and tyrannies of the *Portugals*, and those which escaped, went into the Maines to their kindred, and neither haue these their liues there. For when the ranfomes of slaves did end, which were held for lawfull, they inuented Armies for to goe to the Maines to bring them, then to the Sea for to ferue themselves of them perpetually.

The fourth
Article.
Wast of the
Indians by
Portugals.

These companies are made in this manner, three or foure or more persons doe joyne, and euerie one of them doe put in so much stocke, and aske licence of the Governour to goe into the Maines to bring free *Indians*, the Governour grants it, with his order, to wit, that they bring them without any force or deceit, but with their owne good will, declaring to them, that they come to ferue the *Portugals*, and to help them in their labours, Sugar-mills and other works. Having this Licence, the Venturers doe ioine people to send into the Maines, to wit, Interpreters, and other persons, that sometimes come to fiftie or fixtie with their pieces and their weapons, and with many *Indian* Archers both free and bond, that doth carrie their burdens of the ranfome and the vituals, and with helpe if by deceit they cannot bring the people they goe to ferue, they may bring it by force.

With this Licence in this manner they depart, and neuer keepe the order set downe, as it is manifest and alloe openly confesse without contradiction, for presently when they are departed they say, that if that should be declared vnto them there, that certaine it is, that no *Indian* will come, and therefore they must vie deceits and force, for they haue no other meanes to moue them from their Countreies, and with this purpose they goe, without any regard of the order, neither of them that goe to the Maines, nor of the Iustices when they come from thence, and so they vie these Licences, without any examining of them. Now when they come to the Townes of the *Indians*, that are within the Maines, 100. and 200. leagues, they beginne presently their deceits, saying that they come for them by commandement of the Governour, that they may come to enjoy the good things of the Sea, and that they shall bee together in their Villages by themselves, and at their will (without making any manner of reparticion) and that from thence they shall helpe the *Portugals* in their warres, and other things. Other willes they tell them that the Governour, and the Fathers of the company doe send for them for to bee in the Churches of their kinsmen, which doe learne the things of God, naming some ancient principal *Indians*, whom they much esteeme, and hold as Fathers, and that they will be with them, and for this there hath bene some of these Interpreters, that ordained among themselves one, whom they fauoured to be a 60

Portugals wily
manner of
wronging the
Natiues.

Rather of the company, with a shauen crowne, and a long habit to deceiue them more easily. When their deceits, & other such doe not preuaile, they vie violence, labouring to kill some, that doe hinder this coming, for the which it hath hapned to put poison in the vessels of their wine, with many other inuentions, wherewith they feare them. As once, that coming alreadie by the way, because one of the principal *Indians* did shew to come with an euill will, and did impart it

R R R R

with

Manifest in-
juries.Who now are
the *Catholics*?Vnchristian
Anchristian
wickedness.Effects of ty-
rannie.

Conuincing.

Rerueing.

Diuerting.

Inuerting.

Aduerting.

Auering.

with the rest, it is said that they tooke for a remedie two or three to remaine being with him alone, and being asleepe they choaked him with a Towell, and gaue out, that hee died finally, because he would not come. Other whiles they kill some of other Nations, that are by the way, all to the end, that those which they bring doe not goe backe, and in this manner they bring (like a number of them, without prouision of necessarie food, and by the way with hunger and euill vsage, a great part of them doe die, and those that doe come are in such a case, and so weak, that it is needfull before they come into the houles, the Fathers of the company to goe about the Woodes christening the children at their Mothers breasts that they may not die vn- baptizd, and others they find halfe dead, and full of flies, that the Mothers haue left, as not able to bring them.

Being come to the Sea those that scape aliuie, hauing promised them that they will put them in Townes, at their owne will, presently the venturers doe diuide them among themselves, and many times they separate fathers from children, wiuies from husbands, brethren from brethren, &c. and euery one carrieth his part to their places, some one hundred, another two hundred, another thirtie, &c. euery one according to the stocke he putteth in. Besides this, they giue their share to the men that went to bring them (for this is the money they pay them withall) to one foure, to another ten &c. and as many of these haue no lands for to maintaine them, they sell them presently to others, and so they haue marked and sold a great number to these and other Captaine-ships, and as the poore men doe fee themselves deceived, and toiled with ouer-much labour, with pure grieue they die, and some runne away and goe euert to their enemies, willing rather to be eaten of them, then to abide such vsage among the *Portugals*, and in this sort of 30 40 50 60

These vexations and tyrannies, are the cause that the *Indians* lose the patience, which alwaies they haue had exceeding, and doe kill some *Portugals*. Now in the Maine of the Bay the *Tapaya* a people which alwaies had great friendship with the *Portugals*, and gaue them passage through their Countries, and aide to bring the *Indians* aboue said, did rise with the decreits and los of certaine *Portugals*, that went thither with title of bringing Saltpetre, and killed some eighteen or twentie of them. Some of the Maine of the Captainship of the *Holy Ghost*, did kill 30 certain *Indians* that certaine *Mestizos* did carrie with them, going thither to play their accustomed pranks, for within their owne houses they would haue killed them, and the Mungrels escaped by flight, and with this that people is already an enemy of the *Portugals*. The Maine of the Riuer of *Lanauare* with such other lyes did reuolt, being before our great friends, and killed some *Portugals*, hauing a little before a Father of the company gone thither at the request of the Inhabitants of the Citie, and had bene sixe moneths with them, confirming them in the friendship of the *Portugals*, and preaching the faith vnto them and brought from diuers and remote places some 600. soules which now are *Christians*, baptized almost all in their Towne with a Church made within the Riuer of *Lanauare*, which are great helpe for the defence of that Citie, and they helpe euery one to doe their worke: and many other remaying moued for to follow 40 their Kinmen, with this reuolting all ceased, and so there as also in other places, the gates vnto Conuersion are altogether shut vp.

To the Maine of the Bay, twice the Fathers of the company haue gone at their owne cost, (with helpe of the *Indians* christened, which doe teach,) to bring some people for to furnish the Churches, which begins to diminish, and to preach the Law of God vnto them. And there they found of this Soule-lesse people, that were in the Townes of the *Indians*, as in their owne houles, and the Fathers bringing some number of *Indians*, which came from verie farre to become *Christians*. These *Portugals* laboured by all means possible to diuvert them. Sometimes preaching to the *Indians*, that the Fathers brought them deceived, and that heere they would take away their Customes, as the drinking of their Wines, their ma- 50 ny Wines, and whip their children, &c. the which is an vse and custome among these prattlers for to discredit the Fathers. Not being able to preuaile by this meanes, they tooke another way and did contract with some other *Indians*, of the principallite of those that remained there, that they should sell them those which the Fathers carried, giuing them great ranlomes for them, and with this they pretended to take them away perforce, before their eyes, so that it was needfull the Fathers to bid the *Indians* to defend themselves, and with this remedie they left them. O- 60 thers came to the high-ways and did steale them that the Fathers brought, as one *Mestizo* which tooke some twentie and odd, and transported them by another way, taking wife and children, brethren, and all the Family from a principall *Indian*, and left him alone because he was fore hurt in one foot, and was not able to goe.

With these larrings of these men of this trade, the *Indians* know not whom to trust, nor whom to beleue, and by the fame that they heare already of the vsage that is done here to theirs, that come to the Sea. For this cause a great principall *Indian* of the Mountaine of *Rari*, that is from hence about two hundred leagues, where now is the greatest force of people, that escaped from

from the tyrannies, sent hitherto Some of his to see how it went, and being true that which the Fathers had said, that he should make heere some prouision for food sowing fine grounds, and to returne thither with some Father for him and for all his Family: for to come and recieue the law of God. The Some came, and finding the truth, and seeing the vsage that is done to theirs in the Sugar-works, and other labours of the *Portugals*, he presently husbanded some grounds in one of the Townes of the *Christians*, that are in protection, and doctrine of the Fathers, with a determination to goe and bring his Father as he commanded him. Many other of this Fort did leaue their Fathers, being moued in that Mountaine, but with feare of these assaults aboue said they dare not come. Likewise they haue here no grounds fitting for their maintenance, for it is all occupied by the *Portugals*. Besides this the Nation of the *Tapaya*, which haue diuers Languages, doe not agree well in the Sea Coast, for ordinarily they liue here of the Mountaine, and in their owne Country they might haue the Euangelicall Law preached vnto them.

All the aboue said well considered, it seemed necessary that his Maiestie should forbid these aduenturings, sending a commandement, that none might goe thither without expresse warrant of his Maiestie, vnder great penalties, the which with effect might be executed, and that neither the Gouernours might giue any licence for them, seeing how they which carrie the said Licences neuer keepe, nor will keep the order giuen them as aforesaid. For all men know and say, that if it be kept, neuer will any *Indian* come from the Maine, as vntill now none came but deceived, and this being to publicke, and daily, and not the fault of one or two particular men, but a common vse of all the Country, that it passeth before the eyes of the Iudices, neuer vntill this houre did the Gouernours forbid them, rather past by it not punishing any of them that so brought them, nor redressing the poore *Indians*. These aduenturings taken away, the Fathers would aduenture themselves to goe among them, to preach the faith of Iesus Christ, and make a Christianitie, and in time, *Portugals* or *Spaniards*, might goe thither, but such as were men of a good conscience with order from his Maiestie, that might inhabit, and helpe in the conuersion, and in this manner, by the grace of God all that people would be subiect to the yoke of the faith, and obedience of the King our Lord.

The *Indians* that are brought from the Maine, and are in the power of the *Portugals*, and all that are by the Coast of *Brasil*, as well free as slaues, haue no kind of doctrine by obligation, that is imposed vpon them; for neither Bishops, nor Curates haue any care of it, bearing themselves vpon the Fathers of the company, and in thirty foure yeres since that the company was sent to these parts by the King *Don Iohn* the third, no Curate in all *Brasil* did euer say Masse in respect of the *Indians*, or slaues borne in the Country; only they baptize the children with their offerings, and those that are already growne they need no more preparation, then to bring them to be baptized, without giuing them any other knowledge of the faith, & so it happeneth by their ignorance, that not only they recieue not the grace of Baptisme, but also sometimes not the character. It is pittie to see the little regard that is had in this, being the principall dutie of the King our Lord.

The Fathers of the company since they entred in to *Brasil*, tooke this matter effectually, and in all places where they haue houles, there is alwaies a particular Masse said for the slaues all Sundayes and Feast dayes, catechizing them euery day, and sometime Morning and Euening: They labour to learne the Country Language, and instruct them in the matters of faith, and law of God, they baptize, marrie, and doe thirreue, and administer other Sacraments vnto euery one. But because they cannot accomplish all, and many doe perish in want for the Curates take no care of them as if they were not their sheepe) it is necessary that his Maiestie doe provide in this some more effectuall remedies.

The first remedie offered was, that his Maiestie should command to make a Catechisme in that *Brasilian* Language, which is vnto all in the Riuer *Marayon*, vnto the Riuer of *Plate*, and should be imprinted such his Majesties cost, and to enioyne euery Curate to haue it, and to teach by it. For though the most of them haue not the language, they may notwithstanding learne to read it very well, and to teach by the Booke, as at the beginning, and euen now some Fathers of the company doe, that the *Indians* hearing him read will vnderstand, &c.

It is very necessary that his Maiestie doe command to examine the Iudice that these *Portugals* haue to frize themselves of these free *Indians* they bring from the Maine in the manner aboue said, for although they hold them with a title of free, they haue no libertie but in name, for in truth they are more then Captiues, according to the vsage they haue. For first, as touching the soules, they care not for their doctrine, nor that they be baptized, married, or liue, like *Christians*, they haue no other respect but of their seruice, as of any other brute beaſt, and so let them liue in adulterie, without hearing Masse, or shirring, and many die without Baptisme. As touching their bodies, their labours are immoderate and perpetual by night and by day, contrary to the nature of these *Indians*, which are furnished with very little labour in their Countries. If they fall sicke they haue then the life care of them then of their slaues, for of these because they cost them their money, they haue more regard, as if slaues, all their heere, not let- 60 ting them goe to another Maſter or place, though it be to the Churches of their kinlmen, that are

Peuering.

Animaduer-
ting.The ſitt Arti-
cle.Note.
Subuerting.Catechisme in
the *Brasilian*
Tongue.The first Ar-
ticle.Slaueing of the
Indians.

Christians, where they may be better instructed in matters of the faith, and of their saluations; and if they doe goe to a y place, though it be to the said Churches, they labour by themselves, and by the Iustices, to bring them againe, as indeede they doe bring, and put them in Irons, as though they were flaves. Whence ariseth a great scandall to the *Indians* Christian, their kin- men, some of the which, as yet are tender Plants in the faith, forsake the Churches and flee with their familie about the woods, grieved with the injuries that are done to theirs, especially in matter of Iberie, which they so much esteeme, and for feare they will doe the like with them, and so wandering are lost and neuer there againe; and truth it is, that it were not for the continual care and vigilance that the Fathers of the compaigne haue ouer them, and the loue the *Indians* doe beare them, because they are their masters; and seeing that for their defence they are hated of the *Portugals*, and murmured at, they had not continued, so not these three small towne or Christians of the Baye, wherein may be about 2500. foules, which only escaped of eleven Churches, that there were, wherein were gathered more then 20000. nor other Townes like- wise of Christians, that are about the Captaine shippes. Neither had Governours nor Captaines sufficed for to haue sustained them (as the experience hath shewen) for they would not haue suf- fered such vexation, though they had died for it, as others did already at the beginning, running away and dying, wherewith the coast was disinhabited.

Wicked man- stealing.

Not only doe the *Portugals* serue themselves of the free *Indians* aboue said, which they bring from the maine; but they sell them also to others, and they say with title of free, but the price is such, that a lawfull slave is sold no deerer, and so the goods, that without them was worth. I put the case 2000. Duckets, with them they give it for 4000. and these that doe buy it, doe take already mattership of them, as of slaves, that cost them their money, and so from hand to hand their captiuitie increaseth, and though they say that they are serued of them, as of hired men, the pay for their seruice is nothing; for it they give a cotten garment to one or two of the principall- est of them, which they were in their seruice, they doe not neither is it possible to give it to 100. or 200. that they keep, as they themselves confesse; with the like viages many of the *Indians* either cate earth till they kill themselves, or let themselves dye easily with meere grieft and idleness. And because jointly with this the punishments they give them are like the flaves, and these buyings and sellings are not vnd particularly betwene one or two persons fearely, but it is an vice and custome in all the Countrey, without any iustice looking in- to. Finally, they are not only serued of them all their life, but they give them also in mar- iages to Sonnes and Daughters as a dowrie; and at their deaths they remaine in their wids with the name of free, but bound to serue their children perpetually, whom they leaue them vnto as *hereditarie woe*, and to the heires goe to law about them, and haue iudgements, as if they were lawfull slaves.

The tenth Article.

As touching the iustice that is vied with the *Indians*, the King our Lord is to understand, that although his Maiestie as all the Kings his predecessors doe recommend alwaies this matter of the *Indians* to the Governours aboue all as their principall dutie, with very effectfull words, notwithstanding the iustice that vntill now hath bene in *Brasil* toward them was none or very little, as it is plainly seene by the assaults, robberies, captiuities, and other vexations that al- ways we doe doo to them, and euen now are done. Against the *Indians* was alwaies a rigorous iustice, they have already bene hanged, hewen in pieces, quartered, their hands cut, mipped with hot pners, and let in the mouth of peeces, and shot away the *Indians* for killing or helping to kill some *Portugall* (which peraduenture had well deserved at their hands) but hauing perions, not a few in *Brasil*, as alwaies there were, and yet there are, notoriously infamous for robbing, stealing, branding, selling, and killing many *Indians*, neuer vntill this time was there any thow of punishment, and it is to be feared, seeing it wanteth on earth, that it will come from heuen on all the inhabitants of *Brasil*.

The tenth Article.

The eighth Article is touching the *Indians* exceeding seruices without reward. The ninth Article is to prevent their total destruction, which cannot but follow the practise of *Portugals* in making flaves of them by fowling quarrels, and intercepting themselves on one side, by burning, &c.

The tenth Article.

All the coast of *Brasil* doth want and is destitute of Priests that may be Curates for the foules, for in the Bay except three or foure that doe serue in the high Church, and one that serueth for Curate in one Parish, that did learne in the college of the Compaigne: there are no Priests that know how to doe their office and their customes and lues are much blemished, for many of them came (impended from *Portugall* for grievous crimes, and also for incorrigible; and here as they want Priests they are presently enabled and made curates of foules, and although in the three Col- leges of the compaigne that are in this Countrey, Sc. in the Bay, *Pernambuco*, and the Riuer of *Iannarie*, are ordinarie lectures of matters of conscience, there is no Priest that will heare it, and as they are most ignorant, they doubt nothing, and so they absolve and dispense more then Popes with great losse of the foules; and such there was, that did dispense with a parishioner of his to communicate after he had drunk, whereby may be coniectured what the rest will doe. And with this they doe other follies and misbehaviors in the celebrating of the mass: before the people, that they

they seeme altogether fooles. And their life is pittifull, for finally their care is to fill them- selves with money, meate, and drinke, and to follow the lusts of the flesh, with a great scandall of the seculars.

Those are very rare, and may be told with the finger through all the coast, which doe liue a life worthe the Priests function, and those which the Bishop banish from hence for their faults or suspensions to the Riuer of *Iannarie*, presently they are there received by the Ruler, as now he did particularly to one that being a Friar come from *Portugall* expelled from the Order for in- corrigible, and afterward hee was enabled here by the Bishop, hee was put in the visitation, be- cause he was not shrouen in three yeeres, celebrating almost euery day, and this being another time commanded by the Bishop in his Court, and brought to the estate that he came in from *Portugall*, expelled his Order, and banished from his Bishopricke, and his life infamous and vnde- lous to all the Secular, the Ruler enabled him presently in the Riuer of *Iannarie*, (not without great scandall of the good) not only for fellow-helpers of the Curate of that Countrey, but also for a Preacher. And the Prelates say they doe all this because they haue no other, whom to giue the Parishes vnto, which are many.

CHAP. III.

20 Extracts out of the Historie of IOHN LERIVS * a Frenchman, who liued in *Brasil* with Monf. VILLAGAGNON, Ann. 1557. and 58.

§. I.

Of the Beasts, and other liuing creatures, and Plants, of *Brasil*.

30 Before I proceed any further, presently in the beginning of this Chapter, I thought good briefly to admonish the Reader, that no liuing creatures of the kinde of four-footed beasts are found in all the *Brasilian* world, altogether like vnto ours in shape: and that the *Tapirosum* vnto us, but very seldom, to bring them vp tame at home. But, that I may generally describe the wilde beasts, which the *Barbarians* call *Soo*. I determined to beginne with them which are applied to the vie of man. It seemeth, that that is to be set in the first place, which also is most common: they call *Tapiroussou*, of a reddish, and long shaggy haire, greatly resembling a Kow in bignesse and shape: yet, seeing it wanteth homes, and hath a shorter necke, with longer and hanging eares, and more withered and slender legs, with an whole hoofe, very like vnto the hoofe of an Asse, a man may rightly say, it participateth the nature of the Kow, and Asse. Notwithstanding it differeth very much from either, both because it hath a very short tale (here the Reader is by the way to be admonished, that very many beasts are bred in *America*, which haue no tale at all) and hath much sharper teeth: nor may any danger be therefore procured vnto men by this beast, seeing it wile to repose safely rather in flight, then in strength. The *Barbarians* kill them, as also many others, shooting them through with Arrows, or vnto catch them in hollow trench, or with other manner of Traps and Gins ingeniously and cunningly made.

But that wilde beast is greatly esteemed by the *Barbarians*, by reason of the skinn, which as soone as they haue taken away, cutting the backe of the hide in a round circle, they dree it in the Sunne, and fashion it like vnto a Target of the bignesse of the bottom of an indifferent traffell. wherewith they repell the Arrows of the enemies, recuied in the warres. And the skinned in the Sunne becommeth so hard, that I easily beleue that it cannot be pierced through with the stroke of any weapon, although it be cast with great violence. I carefully desired to bring two such Targets into *France*, but the famine so oppressed vs returning, that all the pro- vision of victuall being spent, not excepting Monkeys and Parots, and other liuing creatures, or the same kinde, which we brought with vs out of that Countrey, those two Targets, being laid vp on the coales, were also eaten to expell hunger: vnto the which the rest of the skinned that were in the ship (as I shall declare in their proper place) were added.

60 Moreover, the flesh of the *Tapiroussou*, commeth almost neere vnto the taste of Beefe: this because the *Barbarians* broyle after their manner, and in their Countrey language call it, *Boucanare*. But because I haue now vnto that word, and that hereafter it shall be often repeated, lest the Reader should any longer remaine doubtfull, occasion being offered, I will declare what this thing is.

* Lerius with other Proce- dures were ac- P. II. his request to M. Caley to *Brasil*, he there found yung and pretending E- n g e l i c a l re- formati- on, from which he after apostatized. The Story is long, which I had by mee wholly transcribed, but store hath bred a store, and the most of it I haue omitted; as also all *P. II. Voyages* thither, and in the parts, of *Statius* in his parts, though I am long- lished, and re- die for the Pre- dic.

CHAP. IV. Beasts are bred in *America* al- together va- like vnto ours. The wilde beast *Tapiroussou*, which is re- sem- bled as a Kow, and an Asse. Most *American* beasts without tales. Targets of the hide of the wilde beast *Tapiroussou*, greivous fa- mine. The taste of the flesh of the *Tapiroussou*.

The monstrous bull of a Bird.

Parus a Bird with a red breast.
Quercus, a Bird of a testaceous colour.
Gonimachus, a very little bird.

The variety of the American Birds.

The doragot of the Barbarians who obscure the singing of a Bird.
American Bees.

Tri, Honi, Teia, black Wax.

Araneus, Butte-fly.

The Barbarian most delicious of revenge.
Land Crabs.

a ring of red feathers, which being taken away, the *Barbarians* use it for ornament of the cheeks and other parts of the body. And it is highly esteemed with them, because they use it when they intend to dance. From thence it hath taken the name *Toucan-robustace*, that is, a Feather to dance with. Yet notwithstanding, they have such store of them, that they refuse not to change them for our Merchandise. The bill of this Bird exceedeth the rest of the body in length, whereof as a Crane beak is not to be compared, and therefore it is to be accounted the most monstrous bill of the whole world.

There is another of the bignesse and colour of a Black-bird, except the beak, which is as red as Ox-blood; this, the *Barbarians* take away after the same manner that they did the former, and call the Bird *Pamus*.

There is also another of the bignesse of an Owzell, with all the Feathers of a scarlet colour, this they call *Quampian*. But one very little Bird is not to be omitted, of no less admiration than finalness, which the *Barbarians* call *Gonimachus*, with white and shining Feathers: it exceedeth not a drone Bee, or Beetle in bignesse, yet maketh wonderful melody in singing. Sitting upon that great *Milum* which the *Barbarians* call *Anasi*, or other low plants, the singing so loud, that unless the feeble you would scarce believe that so loud, and so sweet melody could proceede from that small body. She is not inferior to our Nightingale.

But because I cannot particularly describe all the *American Birds*, which differ not a little from ours, not only in kind, but also in variety of colour, as rose colour, red, violet, white, all-colour, purple, &c. I will at length describe one, which the *Barbarians* use to observe and esteem, and which they will not once hurt her, but suffer them not to escape unrewarded who doe her more often in the night than in the day, with a mournfull voyce, and beleeve that she is sent from their friends and kindred, vnto them, and also declareth good lucke, and especially, that she encourageth and admonisheth them to behave themselves valiantly in the warres against their enemies. Besides, they verily thinke that if they rightly observe these designations, it shall come to passe, that they should vanquish their Enemies, even in this life, and after death, their souls should flye beyond the Mountains, to their ancestors, perpetually to dance there.

I chanced once to lodge in a Village, named *Ypse* by the French men, there, in the night I heard those Birds, not singing, but making a lamentable noise. I saw the *Barbarians*, most attentive, and being ignorant of the whole matter, reproved their folly. But, when I found a little upon a French man standing by me, a certaine old man feverently enough restrained me with these words: *bold your peace, lest you hinder vs, who attentively hearken to the happy tidings of our ancestors. For, as often as we heare these Birds, so often also are we cheered, and our strength necessarily increase.*

The *American Bees* differing from ours, are like vnto the lesser black-flies wherewith we are troubled in the time of Summer, and make their honey combs in the hole of a rotten tree. The *Barbarians* are skillful to gather hony and waxe. Being gathered, intermingled, they call it *Teia*, or *Teia*, for *Teia* significth hony, and *Teia* waxe. The hony being secured, they eat it after our manner, but keepe the waxe which resembleth the blackness of Pitch made into lumps of the bignesse of a mans arme. Yet, not that they make Torches or Candles therewith, for there is no other use of a Candle with them, then of a certaine wood which sendeth forth a most cleere and bright flame. But they chiefly vie that Wax to stop those huge canes, wherein they put their Feathers, lest they should be eaten, and gnawed with the Butter-flies, which also we will describe in this place.

They are called *Araneus* by the *Barbarians*, of the bignesse of Grasshoppers, they also come in great multitudes to the fire as Creeteks doe, and if they finde any thing they eat it, but especially they so gnaw leather doublets and shoes, that they whollie consume the superficies and upper graine thereof. But, if we negligently let vp Hennes, or other meates of that kinde, in the morning the bare bones were found without flesh.

The *Barbarians* being stung with Scorpions apply bruised Scorpions to the wound, if they can get them. Moreover, as we have elsewhere said, that they are most desirous of revenge, nay, I might almost say, that they are made against all hurtfull things, so that if vnwares they stumble at a stone, they bite them after the manner of mad Dogges, and diligently seek out all living creatures hurtfull vnto them, and verterly roote them out as much as they can.

The Countrey of *America* hath all Land Crabs, and fennie places, and if any one goe thither he may see them flying hither and thither: they convey themselves into the bodies and rootes of trees, out of the which they cannot safely be drawne, for they pinch the fingers and hands of such as takethem, with their claws. They are farre leaner then the Sea Crabs, but because they smell of the Lumper rootes, they are not pleasing to the taste.

His discourse of *America* fishes I have omitted, except this which you shall now heare. I will not omit a storie which I heard reported by a *Barbarian*. When, saith he, on a certaine day, I was carried

carried in a Boate with certaine others, in a verie calme Sea, a certaine huge fishooke hold with the hand on the brim of the Boate, and in my judgement, it would either have ourt turned it, or gotten vp into it. I feeling that, I cut off the hand with a sickle which I had in a readinesse, so that it fell into the Boate, and it had fine fingers verie like vnto ours; besides, for paine which that fish felt, putting the head about water, which was like vnto the head of a man, it squeaked a little, and made a certaine noise.

First, because the Brazil tree is the most famous of all that soile (from whence also that Countrey hath taken the name) especially for the colour which our Dyers make therewith, I will describe it in this place. This Tree therefore is called by the *Barbarians*, *Arabouan*, and equallith to our Oaks in height and plentie of Boughes. Some of these are found, the thicke knesse whereof containeth full as much as three men can fathom.

After what manner that Timber vseth to be brought into the Shippes, I thought good in this place to describe. But first you are to vnderstand, that except the Merchants were helped by the Inhabitants, they could scarce lade a Ship with that Timber within a year, both for the hardnesse, and therefore the difficultie in cutting, and also chiefly, because that Countrey wanteth all liuening Beasts, and therefore it is to be carried upon the shoulders of men. The *Barbarians* being hired for Garments, Shirts, Cappes, Knives, and other Merchandises, doe not only cut, cleare, and make round that Timber, but also laying it vpon their bare shoulders, carrie it into the Shippes, and sometime in most cumbersome places, lying three or foure miles distant from the wood to the thore. But I expressly say, that the *Barbarians*, since the French men and Portugall came vnto them, cut their Brazil trees, for before that time (as farre as I vnderstood from the elder fort) they had no other way of felling them, save that they ouerthrow them by putting fire vnto them. Moreover, because I knowe howe thinke that the timber which is brought vnto vs, hath the thicke knesse of the trees, I purposely added, that the *Barbarians* made it round, that they might the more easily carrie the same.

Furthermore, it hath bin obserued by me, for so long time as I liued in *America*, and vfed a cleare fire through the benefit of this wood, that this kinde of wood was nothing moist, which vually hatheneth to most of the other kindes of wood: nay, that it was dry as it were by nature, and being kindled, yieldeth very little smoke. One of our men desired to waite out the fire, and being kindled, put the ashes of the Brazil wood into the lye, whereby they were so furiously dried with a red colour, that although they were washed, they neuer changed the same, and being so dried with that colour, we were to put them on.

Because our *Toucanimambaulty* doe not meately wonder, when they see French men, and other strangers coming farre off from remote Countreies, take so much paines to carrie backe their Shippes laden with their *Arabouan*, and it is to say, the Brazil or red wood: Therefore a certaine elderly man of the *Barbarians*, sometimes questioned me in this manner, concerning that matter: *What meanest thou, that you Maix and Petos (that is French men and Portugall) come so farre to fetch Wood? doth your Countrey yeelde you no wood for the fire? Then said I, it yeeldeth full surely, and that in great plentie, but not of that kinde of trees, such as yours are; especially Brazil, which our men carrie 40 from hence, not to burne, as you suppose, but for to dye. Here he presently excepting: But haue you, said he, neede of so great plentie of that wood? Yes surely, said I, for seeinge one Merchant with vs possesseth more Scarlet Cloathes, more Knives and Sifters, and more Looking-glasse (admirable heuene and familiar examples vnto him) then all those which were euer brought thither vnto you: he only will buy all the Brazil, to the end that many Shippes might returne laden from hence. Altho the *Barbarian* say tell me strange and wonderfull things. Then presently remembering what he had heard, he proceeded to demand further questions of me. But, saith he, that great rich man of whom you make report, doth he not dye? He doth, said I, as also other men doe. There, then (as these *Barbarians* loue to comment, and doe not absurdly finish their intended speech without interuention euen vnto the end) he began to demand of me: *Wherfore, saith he, is heare of those goods which this man leaue when he dieth? His children, said I, if he haue any: if he haue none, his brethren, sisters, 50 or his next kindred.**

When I had said this, surely (saith that my discrete old fellow) hereby I easily perceiue, that you Maix (that is French men) are notable fooles. For, what neede you so greatly to ruse and vnmoleste your selves in sailing ouer the Sea, in passing wherof (as being here arrived you report to vs) you Iustaine so many miseries? Is it, forsooth, that you might get riches for your children, or luing kinnefolke? Is not the Earth, which hath nourished vs, sufficient also to maintain them? we surely haue both children, and also kinnefolke, and them, as you see, we loue dearely; but seeing we confidently hope, that it shall come to passe, that after our death, the same Earth which nourished vs, shall also releeue and cherishe them, therein we repose our selves, and rest content.

But that I may present the description of the *American Trees*, foure or fise kindes of Palme trees are found there among which, that is accounted most common, which they call *Gerau*, and another also named *Tri*: notwithstanding, as I saw none of their fruites, so, as I thinke, I ate none. *Tri* bringeth forth a round fruit like Damascens in the shape of a large cluter of fo

The report of a *Barbarian*, concerning a fish with hands and countenance resembling the shape of a man.

chap. 3.
Ox-bearce, Ox-bearce, Ox-bearce, and most exquisite fruit which grow in the American Isle.
Arabouan, the Brazil tree, and the forme thereof.

The Countrey of *America* wanteth all beasts of burden. The *Barbarians* cut the timber and carry it into the Shippes.

The ancient manner of felling trees, among the *Barbarians*. The use of the Brazil wood dye here of a red colour.

The conference of a certaine *Barbarian* with the Author.

An excellent discourse delivered by *Barbarians*.

Four or fise kindes of the Palme in *America*.

A rendell or young branch in the top of the Palmeto to be eaten.

Ayri, a thorny kind of berry

Assai, a kind of wood or a most thinking fuel.

Very many *American* trees bear poisonous fruits.

The tree *Choyne* of whole fruits the *Barbarians* make their *Masas*.

Sabaic whole fruit is properly used for the making of vessels.

This is a kind of *Coco*, *Asion*, a fruit to be eaten.

Paco-are, a rendell fruit.

Paco, a long apple.

Paco, a Figure in a tree.

The leaves of *Paco-are*, are or an huge bigness. The *Barbarians* like it like the *Waj*.

Petabik leaves sound like.

great weight, that it may hardly be lifted up with one hand, but the kernell only is of the bignesse of a Cherrie, and may be eaten. Besides, in the top of these Palmeto, there is a certaine white young tendrell or branch, which we cut off, to cate the same: *Philippus* who was troubled with the haemorrhoids, affirmed, that it was a remedy for that disease, the warrantable truth whereof I leave to the Physicians.

There is also another tree, called by the *Barbarians* *Ayri*, which although it be very like the Palmeto in leaves, with the flake armed on every side with thornes and prickles, resembling the points of needles. The fruit is of an indifferent bignesse, in the middle whereof there is a kernell of the whitenesse of Snow, which yet is not to be eaten; and this I suppose to be a kind of Ebony; for besides that it is of a black colour, and of such hardnesse, that the *Barbarians* partly use it for the making of their clubs and arrows (which I will more at large describe when I shall treat of their wars) it is also imoached, and made very bright, and lastly, is so heane, that being cast into the water, it presently sinketh to the bottom.

They have diuers coloured woods, and diuers of differing scent: one smelling like a rosy another called *Assai*, of the most stinking (smell of Garlick), which no man is able to endure, while it is hewed or burnt: it hath leaves not much unlike the leaves of our Apple trees: but the fruit thereof (which cometh neere in shape to the rough shell of a Chestnut) and especially the kernell, is so venomous, that to him that eateth it, it resembleth the effect of the most strong and deadly poison. Nowwithstanding our *Barbarians* highly esteeme that fruit, because they make their Rattles of it. Here also it is to be considered, that *Brazil* (as we shall hereafter speake) beare excellent apples of very many kinds, about which also with trees, which surely yeelde very goodly fruites, yet vnknown to be eaten. Especially on the shore there are many small shrubbes, the apples whereof being very like unto our Country Medlars, are dangerously eaten. Therefore, when the *Barbarians* see the *French* men, and other strangers coming to gather those apples, often vnder the word *Tyachi*, in their Country language, they admonish them to abstaine from them.

The tree called by the *Barbarians* *Choyne*, is of an indifferent height, with leaves of the shape and greenesse of a Bay leaf, with Apples of the bignesse of a chindeal, cometh neere vnto the shape of the *Edridges* eggs, which surely are no meate. Or these the *Toupinambantia*, by reason of the hardnesse of the shell, piercing some of them through whole, in long in and brach wherewith they make their *Maraca* or Rattles: they also nollow and diuide them into halues, for cups and other small vessels.

Sabaic is also numbered among the *Brazilian* trees, having an apple bigger then both a mans fist, and imitating the forme of a cup: in the bottom whereof certaine small kernells are found, like unto Almonds, and almost they resemble the very taile of Almonds.

Moreover, there is a tree in those Countries, or the height of our Seruise tree, whose apple the *Barbarians* name *Asion*, of the bignesse and shape of an Hens egge, which when it is ripe, inclining to the colour of Gold, like vnto a Quince, is not onely profitably eaten, but also yeeldeth some what a tart iuce, not vnpleasant to the taile, which most comfortably cooleth those that are inflamed with heat.

Paco-are, is a shrub, of ten or twelve foote high, with a stocke sometimes of the thicknesse of a mans thigh, which notwithstanding is so tender, that it may be cut downe at one stroke with a Sword: the *Barbarians* call the apple *Paco*, of the length of a mans leade, not unlike a Cucumber in shape, and of the same colour also, when it cometh to ripenesse. But these apples grow, for the most part, twentie or fixe and twenty clotte together, on every bough, which the *Americans* gathering, carry them into their cottages, of to great a weight as they are able to beare with one hand. And as touching the goodnesse of this apple, when it is ripe, the knop being plucked off after the manner of a trell gathered Figge, it seemeth clotte and full of clustres: whereby it cometh to passe, that to them that eat it, it resembleth the Figge, whereupon, we called it a Figge: but in taile it excelleth the most delicate *Massilian* Figges; and therefore not vnworthily it may be reckoned among the best fruites of all that coast. The forme of the leaves of *Paco-are*, is not unlike the leaves of water-Sorrell, but they are of so great a bignesse, that commonly the length is extended to six fete, and the breadth about two: whereby it cometh to passe, that I cannot be perswaded by any meane to beleuee that in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, there are leaves of so great length and breadth. For, although I heard certaine *Apocryphal* writers affirming, that he had seen a leafe of *Petrus* of the breadth of an Elle and a quarter, that is (for this Plant is round) whole circumference contained in compasse three Elles and three quarters: yet this largenesse can nothing neere to the greatness of our *Paco-are*. It is true surely that the thicknesse of those leaves answere not the length, nay, they are very slender, yet daily lifted vp, to that the middle ribbe only beareth the violence of the most vehement winde, wherewith that Country is very often troubled; but the rest is so iagged and cut aunder, that to him that beholdeth them a farr off, these shrubs are supposed to be decked with Edridges feathers.

As

As touching the Bombast Cotton-shrubs, which grow vp to an indifferent height, they are found in great number, in *Brazil*: they yeeld floweres, like the little yellow bells or boddies of Cucumbers: but when the Apple is formed, it cometh not onely verie neere vnto the Maile of Beech, but also being ripe, diuideth it selfe into fiue parts, which yeeld Bombast Cotton in flocks of the bignesse of a ball, which the *Barbarians* call *Amon-ion*. In the midst of those flocks certaine blacke graines are found, close ioined and verie much pressed together, after the forme of a mans Kidney, the greatnesse of which compaction exceedeth not a Beane. Moreover, the *Barbarians* women are not vnskillfull in gathering and spinning that Bombast Cotton: for of it they make their beds.

Reeds often grow in the Woods, of the bignesse of a mans legge: but as I said before of *Pachira*, they are so tender, that while they are yet standing, any one of them may be cut downe with one stroke of a Sword, yet being drie, they are of such hardnesse, that when they are cleue, and fashioned after the manner of the Surgeons Lances, the *Barbarians* to head their Arrows therewith, that they ouerthrow wilde beasts flat to the ground at one blow.

Masticke also groweth in this our *America* among the briues and bulbes, which together, almost, with infinite other odoriferous herbes and flowers, perfume the earth with a most sweet and pleasant scent. The Trees are neuer spoiled of their leaves, being not troubled with the cold, they flourish all the whole Yeere, as the Woods vie to doe with vs in the month of May.

The plant which bringeth forth the fruit *Ananas*, is like in forme vnto the Flowre-deluce, with crooked bending leaves, diuided round about, cometh neere vnto *Aloe*, of the same felure with the greater Thistle, but the Apple which is of the bignesse of an indifferent Melon, and of the shape of a Pine Apple, bending to no part, groweth after the manner of our Artichoke.

Those *Ananas* when they are come to full ripenesse, are of a golden colour imitating bile, and yeeldeth the smell of the fruit of the *Indian* Bramble, so that by the smell they were easily found of vs, wandering in the Woods and other places where they grow: they are of so sweet and pleasant taile, that none of our preferred fruits excell them. Therefore I thinke it to be the best fruit of all *America*. I sometimes wrung one of them, out of which I drew a Cruse of iuce, which vnto me, seemed nothing inferior vnto the Wine which they call *Malmsey*.

Lastly, as I haue said, that among the *Americans*, no foure-footed beasts, birds, fishes, nor any liuing creatures, in all things resemble ours: so I now affirme, as much as I could finde by experience wandering through the Woods and Fields, that there are no Trees, or Herbes, and lastly no fruits, which are not unlike to ours, except these three Plants, *Purilane*, *Basill Royall*, and *Fearne*, which grow in certaine places.

¶ I I.

Of the Warre, Battails, Fortitude, and Weapons of the Barbarians: and of their Religion.

Although our *Toupinambantia* *Toupinanguin* make immortal warre against diuers bordering Nations, after the manner of all the rest of the *Barbarians*. Nowwithstanding, they contend not by warre to enlarge their bounds (for they possesse more Lands then they need) or think of the getting of Riches, by the spoiles, ranfomes, and armes of the conquered. For as they all confesse, they are prouoked through no other affection then that they might most feruently auenge the death of their Parents and Friends long since taken, and deuoured by the enemy. Moreover, when war is first proclaimed betwene certaine of these people, all of them agreeing in this, that the enemy vnto whom iniurie is done, will perpetually continue on the reuenging of the same, and therefore that it is to be attributed to cowardise, if being brought into their power, they suffer him to escape unpunished: their enemies are so inueterate, and of such continuance, that they can neuer be reconciled each to other.

But the manner whereby our *Toupinambantia* assemble, being ready to goe to the warres, is thus, as much as I could obserue. Although they haue no Kings or Princes among them, but are almost equal in dignitie, yet this is giuen them by nature (which also was most exactly in former times obserued by the *Lacedemonians*) that they admire and reuerence the elder fort whom they call *Petereu Picheb*, for their experience of things: therefore in euery Village no contemptible feruence and obedience is performed vnto them. These occasions being offered, either walking or sitting in their Cotton hanging beds, exhort the rest with these, or the like words.

What (say they) speaking by turne, without interruption of speech) were our Ancestors who not only fought against so many enemies, but also vanquished, slue and deuoured them, an Example vnto vs, that we should perpetually lie lurking here at home? Shall we suffer our Nation, *Americans*.

S I I I 2.

The Bombast Cotton trees.

American Bombast Cotton.

Reeds, where with the *Barbarians* head their Arrows.

Trees continually flourishing in *America*.

The Plant *Ananas*, and the leaves thereof.

Ananas the most excellent fruit of all *America*.

All the trees, herbes, & fruits of *America* (except three) differ from ours.

chap. 34. For what cause the *Americans* make warres.

The *Barbarians* cannot be reconciled to their enemies.

Senatus. The *Americans* yeeld obedience to the elder fort.

The Oration of the elder

which in former times was so great a terror to all the rest, that they could not in any sort endure their fight, to be so much reproach'd as our great disgrace, that our enemies should assault us by warre even in our owne houses? Shall we through our cowardize cause, that the Margatates and Peros ergate (that is, the wicked Nations) assault us first? Then that Orator clapping his shoulders and buttocks with his hands, added these words with exclamation: *Erma, Erma, Toupinambaulti, Cennomssiu Tan, Tan, &c.* that is to say, My Countreimen, and most valiant young men, we are not to doe; but rather let vs prepare vs for the fight, and bequeath our selues to death and slaughter, or avenge our people.

With these Orations therefore of the elders, which sometimes are prolonged for six hours, the hearers who most attentively hearken, so that they forget not so much as one syllable, being increased both in strength and courage, speaking each to other in euery Village, assemble as speedily as they may, at the prefixed place in great multitudes. But before we bring our *Toupinambaulti* to the Battaille, we are to declare with what Weapons they are furnished.

These a kind of
or wooden
Club.

And first surely, they have *Tacapes*, that is, Clubs, or Swords made some of redde, and some of blacke wood: they are commonly of the length of five or sixe feete, round at the ends, or of an ouall shape, of the breadth of a foote, and of the thickness of a Thumbe in the middle, but the edges are verie finely sharpen'd, for they are made of verie heauie wood, such as Boxe is, and are little inferior to the edge of a verie sharpe Axe: so that I easily beleue, that one *Toupinambaultian* armed with such a Clubbe, and enraged with furie, would be able to put two of our Countrey Fencers to much trouble, and dnuie them to their shifts.

Orapats, a Bow.

Moreover, they have Bowes, which they call *Orapats*, made of the same kinde of wood, to wit, redde and blacke: and they exceed ours so much in length and thickness, that none of our men is able either to bend or vnbend them: insomuch as they are of necessity to vie all their strength for the bending of the Bowes of Children of cennye years old. They vie the herbe called *Tecow*, for string, which although it bee verie slender, yet is it of so great a strength, that it may indure the force of an Horfe, their Arrows are of the length of an Ell, made with three ioynts; the middle part consisting of a Cane or Reede, and the other two of blacke wood: and those pieces are so aptly bound together with certaine barks of Trees, that they could not bee more firmly glued. They apply two little feathers vnto them, of the length of a foote, which they binde together with a Cotton Thread, because Glue is not in vie with them: they apply ioyne verie sharpe bones to the ends, sometimes a piece of a drie Reed, of the length of a mans hand, cut smooth after the manner of a Surgeons Lance: and sometimes the verie end of the tale of the fish *Raye*, which as I haue elsewhere said, is verie venomous. But, since the *Frenchmen* and the *Portingals* came into those Countreies, the *Barbarians*, after their manner haue accustomed to strengthen their Arrows with Iron Leads, or at the least, with verie sharpe Nails.

We haue already spoken what their dexterity is, in handling their Clubs: but as touching the Bowes, I hope that all they who haue seene the *Barbarians*, will confirme that with their naked armes, they shoot to speedily, and to certainly, that (bee it spoken by the *Englishmen*) I enue, who are yet accounted the most skillfull Archers) putting their Arrows in the hand wherewith they hold their Bow, twelue may sooner bee shot by them, then fixe by the *Englishmen*.

The American
most skillfull
Archers.

Targets of
Leather.

Lastly, they haue Targets of the Hide of *Tapirossu*, which I mentioned before, broad, plaine, and round, like to the bottom of a *Germane* Dumme, with these they cover not themselves in fight, after the manner that our Souldiers vse, but fighting, receive the Arrows of the Enemies with them. So these are all the Weapons of the *Americans*: for they couer not their bodies with their Armour: but contrariely (excepting their Caps of Feathers, Bracelets, and other little attire, wherewith as aforesaid, they decke their bodies, if they were bare) so that, being about to goe vnto the battaille, they would presently put it off, fearing least they might be intangled and incumbered therewith.

The Barbarians
like vnto
Iron Swords.

If they receiue Iron Swords from vs, as I gaue one to a certaine *Manissat* of mine, they presently cast away the sheathes: they had the like also receiuing Knives, delighting in the brightness of them, and thought them more seruicable for the cutting of the boughes of Trees, then for fight.

The elder
Barbarians
Captains of the
Archie.

Eight or tenne thousand people being gathered together after the manner which hath bene spoken, with no small number of women, not to fight, but to carrie their bagge and baggage, and provision of victuall assembling vnto the Campe, they of the elder sort, who haue laine and discomur'd the greatest number of enemies, haue the chiefe command and conducting of the forces: who being their Leaders, they prepare themselves for the iourne. And although they goe without order, yet when they march trooping, the most valiant men keeping the Front of the Armie, it is a wonder how well all that whole multitude conuey themselves

selues without Tribunes, and Quarter-masters, so that at the found of the Trumpet they vie speedily assemble in battell array.

But these are some, who with hornes, which they call *Leubia*, of the length of an elle and an half, and of the thickness of our Countrey Spears, of the breadth an hand at the lower end like a trumpet, asse the Souldiers, both going out of their Countrey, and when the Campe is remoued. Some also carrie Whistles made of the bones of their enemies, laine and deuoured in former time, wherewith they continually pipe by the way, that they might stirre vp the minde of their companions, and increase their desire to kill the enemies in like manner. But, if which often happeneth, they please to vndertake a Voyage against the *Enemie*, by Boat, they pass along the shoares, and commit not themselves vnto the open Sea. They order themselves in their Boats, which they call *Tes*, every one whereof consisteth of the backe of one tree, taken off, and appointed to this vse, yet are they of such length, that every one of them may receiue fiftie men. Standing therefore aloft, their manner, they drive the Boats forward with an Oare, as we doe on both sides, which they hold in the middle. Moreover, their Boats being they are plaine, are rowed with very little trouble: yet is there no vife of them, in the maine Sea, or in a tempestiue Air. But, our *Barbarians*, going a warraie, in a great calme, you may see a flect consisting of fixte such Boats. And they passe the Seas with so swift a motion, that they are presently gone out of sight. So, these are the Armies of the *Toupinenquios*, both by Sea, and Land.

The Barbarians
keeping to order,
yet march
without con-
tention.
Leubia, huge
hornes,
Whistles of
mens bones,

Yet, a Boat of
the backe of a
tree.

Being furnished after this manner, they sometimes goe fiftie miles into the Enemies borders. And first they vse this stratagem. All the most valiant, leaue the rest with the women and carriages, one or two dayes Iourney behind them: they approach with great silence, and possesse the Woods, lying in wait to entrappe the *Enemie*, for whom they do diligently watch, that oftentimes they lie hid there, for foure and twentie houres. And if they let vpon the *Enemie* vnawares, as many men, women and children as they meete with, are not only brought away, but also laine by the Enemies returning into their Countrey, and put vpon *Bowen* in pieces, and at length deuoured. And they surprize them so much the more easily, because the Villages (for they haue no Cities) are not compassed with walls, and the Cottages (which yet are foure score or an hundred paces long) haue no Doore, but in their head they let the boughs of Palmes, or the stalks of the herbe *Tanda* at their Gates. Yet they haue now learned to fortifie and intrench certaine Villages round about, which ligger vpon the Enemies, with poles of Palmes, of sixe foot long, besides they strengthen the entrances with wooden flakes sharpe at the end: if therefore the Enemies will assault those Villages by night, which is common with them, then, the Inhabitants of the Village issue softly *Knave* vpon them, whereby it cometh to passe, that whether they fight, or flee, they neuer escape, but are ouerthrowne through the paine of their wounded feete, who are presently scolded and eaten by the Inhabitants.

The first
Army
of the
Barbarians.

But, if they desire to fight in open warre, bringing forth their forces on both sides. it is scarce credible, how cruell and horrible the battell is: whereof my selfe was a beholder, and therefore can iustly make report thereof. I, with another *Frenchman*, some what more curiously, to our great danger, determined to accompanie our *Barbarians* going to the warres: for if we had bene taken, or hurt by the *Margatates*, we had certainly bene deuoured. They being foure thousand men in number, fought with the *Enemie* neere vnto the shoare, with such fierceness, that they would haue overcome euen the most furious and outrageous.

The *Toupinambaulti*, as loone as they saw the *Enemie*, brake out into so great and loude howling and exclamation, as they who here hunt Wolves, make no out-cryes comparable with those: for the clamour ioyned pierced the aire, that thunder then could scarce haue bene heard. But, coming neerer, they doubled their cry, and blew their Hornes, and lastly, whistled with their Pipes, the one threatened the other, and in a bruary showed the bones of their dead Enemies: and also the teeth, wherof some wore them hanging about their neckes, strung vpon a threed about two elles long: and lastly, they terrified the beholders with their speckles. But, when they came to ioyne battell, matters fell out farre worle: for, a multitude of Arrows was shot on both sides, like whirling Flames in number. Such as were wounded, who were not lew, stoutly plucked the Arrows out of their bodies, which they bit like made Dogs, and yet abstayned not therefore from the battell. For this Nation is so fierce and cruell, that so long as they haue any little strength, they fight continually, and neuer beate themselves to flight: we withdrawing our selues a little from the conflict, were contented with that spectacle. In the meane space, I protest, who haue diuers times here seene mightie Armies both of horse and foot ordered in battell array, that I was neuer so much delighted in seeing the Legions or footmen in their glittering Armour, as in beholding these *Toupinambaulti*, while they were fighting. For besides that they were pleasantly seene whistling, leaping, and very speedily and nimbly gathering themselves round in a ring: a very thicke cloude of Arrows was mercurially added: the feathers wherof being rote-colour, blue, red, green, and of other such like colours, gaue a radiant lustre in the Sunne; their garments also, Caps, Bracelets, and other ornaments of feathers, which made a wonderfull glittering shewe in the eyes of the beholders.

The howling
and exclamation
of the
Barbarians
cometh to
the effect,
The howling
of the bones
of the dead.

The Barbarians
are exceeding
fierce.

The bodies &
weapons of
the Barbarians
decked with
feathers.

The occasion
of declaring
the true God
vnto the Bar-
barians.

to vs, spoke thus. What meaneth this custome, which you now vied, when taking of your caps, you all kept silence, I saw one, that spake to whom appertained that speech which he made to any of you that are present, or to some that are absent? There felty taking that occasion offered, that I might speake vnto them concerning the true worship of God, Icing besides the largesse of that village, & the great reflow of people I also perceived the *Barbarians* more attentive then they were wont. I intreated our Interpreter that he would declare my speech vnto them in their Language, that they might conceiue the same. Then beginning with the question of the old man, I answered that our Prayers were directed vnto God: and that although he could not see him, he had not only plainly heard vs, but also did apparently know whatsoever we had hid in our hearts. From thence comming to the Creation of the World, I first of all laboured to teach them, that among the creatures God made man the most noble and excellent, that he should furnish the more endeavour to extoll the glorie of his Creator. And that we lured in that we worshipped him, were deluded by his hand from infinite dangers of a very long *Navigation*, in to walk a Sea, and depending vpon his helpe, were freed from all feare of *Agiens*, both in this life and in the life to come. Wherefore, if they would reiect the delusions of their *Cerachers*, and that barbarous custome of deuouring mans flesh, they should undoubtedly obtaine the same gifts of God, which they saw we had. Moreover, we added many things concerning the corruption and fall of Mankind, that we might prepare their minds vnto Christ, applying Reasons and Examples to their capacitie, as much as might be. Now when they had harkened vnto vs about the space of two hours with great attention and admiration: one of them reuerent for his authentic and yeeres, discouraged after this manner: *Surely, you haue beene told vs wonderfull and excellent things; and such as we haue neuer heard before, and certainly your speech hath brought into my memories, what we haue often heard our Grandfathers report: To wit, that euen from ancient time, and from many Moons since, as we cannot now remember, a certaine Maier (that is a Frenchman, or a stranger of any other Nation) came into these Countreies, attired after your manner, and hauing a beard. And that hee, to the end he might draw them to the obedience of your God, made such a speech vnto them, as you delivered vnto vs this day. But, as we are reported vnto vs by tradition from our Fathers, they will not give credit to his words. Therefore, presently another succeeded, who gave them a Sword, in token of a curse. Hereupon, followed many amongst vs, and from that time, we haue not ceased to exercise crueltie one towards another, through mutual slaughter. But now, after we haue accustomed our felmes to these outrages by continuall use, if we should now suddenly forsake our ancient custome, wee should become a laughing stocke, and derision, to the neighbouring Nations.*

The Barbarians
hearing speech
of the true
God, were
astonished.
Attention of a
Barbarian much
wonder to be
noted.

Heere we testified with great vehemencie and earnest speech, that it was so farre off, that they ought to be moued with the scottes of the borders, that contariely, if they seriously worshipped that Creator both of Heauem and Earth, they should carrie away the victorie from all those, who for that cause, should willingly be troublefome vnto them. Lastly, the Lord gaue that efficacie to our words, that not only many *Barbarians* afterwards promised to frame their liues according to that Law which they had learned of vs, and that they would neuer eat the flesh of their flaine enemies any more; but also according to this conference, kneeling on the ground, gaue thanks with vs, vnto God. That Prayer which was made vnto God, by one of our men, with a loud voice, in the middle of their assembly, was presently expounded vnto them by our Interpreter: and so they brought vs to sleepe in those hanging beds of Bombast Cotton. But sleepe had not yet taken vs, when, behold, we heare these *Barbarians* singing and crying out together, that they were to take vengeance on their Enemies, and that more should be eaten then before. Behold the inconstancie of this miserable people, and the lamentable example of humane nature. Yet surely, I persuade my selfe, if *Plagagans* had neuer recoiled from the true Religion, and that wee had stayed longer in those Countreies, it would haue happened, that at length, some should haue bene wonne vnto Christ.

The Barbarians
promise to em-
brace the wor-
ship of God, &
are ptefent in
Prayers.

The Barbarians
acknowledge
their own igno-
rance and
blindness.

Another time I being with three *Sauages*, and singing the 104. Psalm, at the request of one of them I declared the sense and antiquite thereof, for many thousand Moones. Whereat he cryed *Tee*, how happy are you *Maier*, who know for many secrets, which are hid from vs poore miserable men. Afterward, one of them togatified mee, presented mee with a certaine little beele, which he carried, called *Aguui*, speaking vnto mee in these words. Heere, take you this, because you haue sung sweetly. I haue willingly added this digression, to the intent I might declare that the Barbarous *Americans*, although outrageous against their enemies, are not yet so rude that they cannot discern those things which they heare, with iudgement. Nay, I dare affirm, that they are more apt in framing fables, then our Countreie Peasants are, and very many of them also, who esteeme highly of themselves.

§. III.

Of their Marriages, Education of Children, Politie, Hospitality,
Diseases, Physicians, Funerals and La-
mentations.

IN Marriages, these degrees of Consanguinitie only, are observed: none of them taketh his Mother, Sister, or Daughter to wife: no regard is had of the *skit*: the Vncle marrieth the Niece, and so consequently. Neuertheless, as shall be hereafter spoken in the *American Dialogue*, no man may marrie the Daughter or Sister of his *Ancress*. And he is called *Ancress*, whose familiaritie with any one is so great, that both their goods are common. There is no place for Rites or Ceremonies. He who desireth a Wife, or a Virgin, being certainly persuaded of the good will of her whom he loveth, goeth to her Parents, or if he haue none, to her next Kindred, and asketh them whether they will marrie their Daughter vnto him? If they consent, he presently bringeth her home, without giuing her any assurance of Dowrie and so keepeth her for his lawfull Wife. And if he suffer the repulse, he giueth our his Sute without any perturbation of mind. But it is to be noted, that Polygamy is vniual with them, and therefore it is lawfull for a man to marrie as many Wives, as he shall think good. Nay, the more Wives that any one hath the more valiant and generous hee is esteemed. Among the rest I saw one, who had eight at home, and hee often spoke very much of them in commendation of himselfe. But this is chudly to be wondered at, that in so great multitude of Wives although one be beloued of the Husband about the rest, the other manner take it grievously, or become jealous, or openly murmur. Therefore they lue most quietly and with great agreement, wearing their Cotton beds, looking to the affaires of the house, making Gardens and planting Rootes.

The degrees
of Consan-
guinitie.

Polygamy.

The wonder-
full agreement
betweene the
American wo-
men.

The *Sauages*
abhorre adul-
terie.
Single women
loue,

They loath adulterous women, that lie with the Husbans power either to kill the adulterer, or at the least, to put her away with great ignominy and reproach. This felony is true, that they are not very careful of preferring the chastitie of unmarried women: nay, they easily prostitute them to any man. So that (as I haue already said) I haue seene very many in diuers Villages deflowered by the *Newfrian* Interpreters, who yet were not reproachfully disgraced for the same.

I haue observed that the younger sort both men and women are not very much giuen to lust: and I would our Countreie people could moderate themselves aswell in this behalfe. But that I may attribute no more vnto them then is meere, I remember, that often in their brawling they vied to object this reproach *Tyure*, that is, *Buggereri*, one vnto another, whereby women may conjecture, that that hainous and abominable wickednesse reigneth among them. The women great with child, abstaine only from the greater burthens, and performe the other accustomed duties. And surely the women much exceed the men in labour, for the men (saue that sometimes in the Morning, neerer at noone, they place certaine Trees to make Gardens) spend the time in warfare, hunting, fishing, making of wooden Clubs, Bowes, Arrowes, and other things of that kinde. As touching the trauell of women; I and another *Frenchman* lodging in a certaine Village, about midnight heard a great out-ry of a woman, and supposing she had bene surprised by the cruel beast *Ancanans*, we arose, and ran vnto her, and found the woman in trauell, to whom the Husband performed the office of a Midwife: he resusiting the Infanc in his armes, out the navel string alunder with his teeth, but pressed downe the Navel for they esteeme the beaue of children to consist in the flatnesse of the Nose: the new borne Infanc is presently washed, and painted by the Father with colours blacke and red: then, not being wrapped in swaddling clothes at all, it is put into a Cotton hanging bedde. But if it be a Male child, the Father will giue him a little wooden Sword, a small Bow and little Arrowes, presently after his birth, and lay them in the bedde with the child, and kissing the little Babe will speake vnto him in these words. *My Sonne, when thou art come to mans estate, be valiant: to take revenge of those enemies.* As touching the giuing of names, I remember that hee of whom I now spoke, was named by the Father *Orapucan*, which word signifieth a Bow and Bow string: for the word is also observed in others.

The *American*
men per-
forme the of-
fices of Mid-
wives.

The little
Infants
Gawages
to play with.
What the
manner
is of giuing
American
names.

The food of
Infants.

Their nourishment, beside the Mothers Milke, is chewed Meale, and euery most tender kinde of meate. The woman lately deliuered hath downe two daies only, or three daies at the most. Afterward putting the little child in a Cotton Scarffe, shee either goeth to the Garden, or to dispatch her other businesse.

This opinion hath preuailed with vs, that little children would haue crooked legges, vntill they were carefully wrapped and bound in swaddling clouts: But, I thinke, that the *Barbarians* nothing regard these things: who at the new borne Infancs naked, and withoutal in their Cotton beds) whole children outstretching, goe most straight and vpright of all the men in the World.

The American Infants are very clean with-out the use of linen clothes

In what things the Barbarians bulie themselves.

Naturall chastitaffie is observed in the American Marriages. The purgation of the American women.

The Barbarian like peaceably together.

The punishments on murderers among the Barbarians. Leuit. 24. 17. 18.

After what manner the Villages and American families are ordered.

What grounds the American peculiarly possess.

How the American women spin the cotton

World. The Mothers who both want linen, and also vie not the helpe of leaues for these seruices (whereof notwithstanding they have great plentie) to diligently wipe the hinder parts of the Infants with small chips of wood, that they are continually free from all filth. The elder fort also observe the same manner, whom also (disfiguring a lide into this filthy matter) I thought good to mention, that they vie to make water in their houles, and yet no euill nor stinking labour ariseth from thence; although they flie bright almost continually with often fire, and are strewd with land: but as often as they doe their euilnest, they vie to goe apart farre from the Houles.

Moreover, proceeding to speake of the Marriage of the *Tupinambians*, as far as I have heard, and modestie will permit, I ascribe (contrarie to that which some have forged) that the men observing naturall chastitaffie, doe no where openly company with their Wives.

This is especially worth the noting, that for the space of an whole yeere, while we liued in those Countries, we neuer saw any woman having the flowers. I thinke that they diuert that Fluxe by some meane vnkowne to vs. For I saw Maidens of twelue yeeres olde, whose sides were cut by their Mothers, from the arme-hole downe to the knee, with a very sharpe tuske of a certaine beaft. And the young Charles gnawing with their Teeth through extremitie of paine, bleed very much: I conjecture that they prevented their monthly Fluxe by this remedie.

As touching the Police of the *Barbarians*, it is scarce credible how well they agree among themselves, being guided only by the light of Nature. Nor may this be spoken, but to their great shame, where are intruded in diuine and humane Lawes, which yet is to bee vnderstood of them who are of the same kindred, or of the Confederates: for how they becaue themselves towards their enemies, it hath bene already by vs declared. Yet if any contention arise betweene certaine persons among them (which very seldom happeneth), for in the whole space of a yeere, while I liued among them it was my chance twice only to see them brawling) the beholders care not to pacifie the strife: but suffer them to doe their pleasure, although they bee ready to put out one anothers eyes. But if the one wound the other, and that hee can be taken, hee is wounded in the same part of the bodie by the Kinsmen of him that is wounded. Nay, if peradventure death follow the wound, the Murderer is laine by the Kinsmen of the dead, Laity, they recompence eie for eie, tooth for tooth, and life for life. But these things as I said, very seldom happen among them.

The things of the ground, with them are Cottages, and fields farre larger then might be required for maintenance of the Inhabitants. As touching the Cottages, you are first to vnderstand, that euery Village containeth sixe hundred men: wherefore very many are of necessity to dwell in one and the same Cottage. Notwithstanding euery Family possessing their place without any distance betweene (for there is nothing that they care from one end vnto the other those houses lie open, which for the most part are extended fixtie paces in length) euery Master of a Family hath his wife and children placed apart. Moreover, you are to obserue (which surely is to be wondered at) that the *Americans* inhabit not one place aboue five or fixte moneths. But carrying away the matter and herbe *Pinde*, whereof their houses consist, they often transport their Villages, which yet alwaies retaine the same names. Wee out of seuerall new Villages removed a mile from the accustomed place. No man buildeth a Cottage, which hee is not compelled to finish, nay, to build and plucke downe, about twentie times before his death: if hee haue attained to the full age of a man. Now if it be demanded of them, why they change their habitation so often? The answer is easily made. That the changing of the Aire is verie profitable for the health: besides, that if they should alter the custome of their ancestors, they should presently perishe. As touching the fields, euery *Mouffant* hath certaine particular plots of ground, which hee chooseth at his pleasure whereof hee thinketh good for the making of Gardens. But that excedde care of diuiding the grounds, setting limits, and bounding the fields, they leaue to our Countrey courteous persons, and to the Lawyers.

Concerning their household stuffe, I haue often spoken in the former Chapters. Yet that wee I may not omit any of those things: which appertaine to the household government of the *Barbarians*, I will here recite the cunning of the *American* women in spinning of Cotton, whereof there is manifold vse, as well for Ropes, as for the weaving of their hanging beds.

Being drawne out of the Houles, in stead of all picking and carding, they plucke it out somewhat in length with the fingers, and then lay it vpon the ground in a heape (for they know not how to vse *Distaffes*) in stead of a Spindle they take a little wand of the thickeffe of a finger and a foot in length, which they thrust through a little wooden round ball, and fasten the Bombin Cotton to the top of the small wand, then turning that Instrumēt about vpon their thigh (as our Countrey women doe their Spindles) they let it slip out of their hands. That little round ball is turned about, through the houles and streets, like a Whereue. And after that manner they spinne Thred, not only coarse and great for the weaving of their Cotton Beds, but also that which is most fine, Of this white I brought some into *France*, wherewith I caused a faire stomacher to be made of the white Web, which was of 16 fine and small a Thred, that some tooke it for the best and choicest Silk.

The

They call their Cotton beds *Isis*. The women, to whom this workmanship appertaineth, haue their work-houles for their Loomes somewhat vnlike to those of our Countrey: for they are neither made flat and plaine, nor consist of so many subtilie inuentions, but being framed to the height of their stature, they worke after their manner, and also beginne their weaving from the bottom. They make certaine of those beds in the forme of Nets, and others thicker, like the finest Cloth. They are fixe or fixe foot long, and an elle broad: vnto either end Cotton loopes are added, vnto the which they fasten cords: and hang them vp in their houles vpon beames, made fit for this vse. But, liuing in the Campe, or in the woods for hunting, or on the shores for fishing, they hang them vpon trees. These beds (that wee omit nothing) when they haue gathered fluffe either through humane sweat, or by the smoke, by reason of the continual fire, are washed cleane after this manner. The women gather a certaine fruit in the woods, not much unlike in shap vnto a plaine Gourd, but farre larger, so that euery Apple may scarce bee borne with one hand: these fruits they cut into small pieces, and haueing cast them into some very great earthen vessell, they moisten them with water. Then, they vehemently stirre them about with a stick, and cause a fume to arise from them, through the helpe whereof (in stead of Sope) they make their Beds to cleane, that in whitenesse they may be comparable with the Snowe, or Fullers Clothes. The vse of such Beds is farre more commodious in watches, then that the Souldiers, after the accustomed manner, should tumble in Beds of grasse: for they both foule their garments, and get Lice, and that which is more, if they be to arise vnto the fight, the bodie is braided in some sort with the Armes, which Souldiers continually wear: which in the age of the *Celtic Saenrair*, we proued in good earnest: For the Enemy lay a whole yeere at our Ports.

That we may gather the rest of the *American* household-stuffe into a short summe, the women (who haue the charge of domesticall matters) prepare huge Canes, and make very great Earthen vessels, wherein to put their *Cas-min*. They also make Pots of diuers fashions, little and indifferent Basons, Platters, and other things of that sort, vessels which on the outside (surely, are nothing smooth, but are so polished within, and beautified with I know not what kind of tincture, which presently waxeth hard, so that those women may easily match the industrie of all our Countrey people. Besides, I know not what kinde of alchouole painting they steepe in water, and afterwards make diuers formes of things in their vessels, within, and specially in that place wherein they lay vpon their Meale, and other kinds of meates, to bee preferred. The vse therefore of them is most acceptable, nay those vessels farre excell them of wood, which many vie here with vs. Yet these Women-painters haue this fault, that when they haue portrayed with the Pencill whatsoeuer they please, if they be intreated to paint the same againe, they are not possibly able to doe it: because they haue no industrie propoled, beside the industrie of their owne fantasie. Hence it commeth to passe, that two of these kinde of pictures may scarce be found alike.

Moreover, (as I haue elsewhere said) the *Barbarians* haue Gourds, and other kinds of fruits, which they diuide, and make hollow, and they vie them in stead of Cups, (which they call *Cas-min*) and other vessels of diuers vies. They haue also Panniers, large and small, and likewise Baskets, very finely made of bul-rushes, or yellowish grasse, not much differing from Wheat straw. These they call *Panaces*, and in them they put Meale and other things which they thinke good.

Although the *Tupinambians* receiue strangers very courteously, yet the *Frenchmen*, and other Strangers, who are ignorant of their Language, were not a little astonied in the beginning, by reason of their vnaccustomed behaviour. When I first conuersed among them (which happened about twenty daies after our arriuall at the Caste of *Coligny*) a certaine Interpreter brought me to certaine Villages, in the Continent: that which I first saw, in their native Language is called *Tupinambis*, but in *French*, *Pepu*, by the name of a certaine Pilot, who sometime had a ship at that place: four miles only distant from our Caste. In the very entrance the *Barbarians* came thicke about mee, and spake vnto me in these words, *Maripe derere, Maripe derere* that is, *By what name are you called?* which words, firstly, to mee were very barbarous, but of their taking off my Hat, put it vpon his head, and they durst me with their cries, and being clothed with my spoiles, runne hither and thither: I then thought that I had lost all, and did not well knowe how safe I might be among them. But, as I found by experience, that feare arose from my ignorance of their customes, for they vie to doe the like to all strangers, especially vnto them whom they neuer saw before. Now, when for their recreation, they had walked about a little while in that habite, they precisely restore euery thing againe. Then I was aduertised by the Interpreter: that they greatly desired to vnderstand my name: but in declaring that, I was to forbear vsuall names with vs, which the *Barbarians* could neither pronounce (for in stead of *Isis*, they said *Nieu*) nor yet well remember: but was to propound some what which might be knowne vnto them. The matter succeeded so happily, that, as the Interpreter signified vnto mee, who was very skilfull in the *Braslian* Language, my name *Lerius* signified an Oyler: I therefore answered, that I was called *Lerius-ouffou*. They liked it very well, and of

Isis, Cotton Beds.

How the Beds of the Barbarians are prepared and spread.

Some, which among the *American* Indians, signifieth the use of Sope.

The *American* women make huge, meane, and little earthen vessels.

From this offspring, of vessels, of fruits, panning and baskets.

The *Barbarian* courteously entertain guests.

A person discourse of those things which befell the Author, when he first went vnto the *Barbarians*.

The Authors name, the American just: 1343.

Their memo-
ries.

ten wing *Teb*, their Intercession of admiration, they spake thus unto me. An excellent name surely, nor have we ever known any *Maar*, who had such a name. They have to good and sure a memory, that if they have once heard any mans name, they never forget it.

The same day, accompanied with the Interpreter, I went further, and turned into the Village *Enramis*, so called in their native Language, but in *French*, *Gofe*, after the name of a certain Interpreter, who dwelt there some little while: we came thither about Sunne set, and found them dancing, and drinking their *Cao-mim*, by reason of a Captive, whom they had slain that day. I perceived the pieces of his flesh laid upon *Boucan*. I thinke, you need not enquire with how great and horrible feare I was then stricken: yet that was but a small matter, if it be compared with the feare wherewith I was afterward astonied. We entered into a Cottage, and sat upon the hanging beds, after the accustomed fashion: the women lament after that manner which we will declare, and the Master of the Familie entertaineth vs with friendly words. The Interpreter who was acquainted with these matters, and who was very much delighted with their drinkings, leaue me vnattended, and ignorant of all things, and went away to them that were dancing, and drinking. But being wearie, after I had refreshed my selfe with Meale, and certaine other meates that were before vs, I lay downe in the bed. Notwithstanding, through the noise of their dancing, drinking, and deuouring of the Captive, I was presently awaked, and (which was the chiefest matter) by our coming vnto mee, who carried no rested foot of the Captive in his hand, and demanding of mee, as I afterwards understood, for then, I conceived not his words) whether I would eate thereof, I was so astonied through feare, that I was, so together flirred from drowiness and sleepe. And I verily beleueed, by that gesture, which I tooke in the worst part, that the *Barbarian* had shewed mee, that my flesh should shortly be deuoured after the same manner. Moreover, as feare begetteth suspition, it came presently into my minde, that the Interpreter had betrayed, and deliuered mee into the *Barbarians* hands. Wherefore, if I had had any way open to flee, I had quickly taken my flight. But they stood round about mee, whole minde I did not sufficiently knowe, for they attempted no euill against mee. Now being confirmed in feare, I vnluckily ghesied, that I should presently haue bene slain, wherefore I passed the whole night in pouring forth prayers vnto God. At the first dawning of the day, the Interpreter (who had passed all the night in pleasure with the *Barbarians*) returned vnto mee, and law mee pale, and taken with a Fever, whereupon he demanded whether I were ill at ease, & whether I had not quietly rested? Then I began sharply to reprove him, who had left me alone among those *Barbarians*, whose speech I understood not at all. He opened the whole matter to them who stood by me all the night, to congratulate my coming: they signifie, that they perceived the matter in some sort, and yet were forrie, that I had passed that night in so great feare of them. And at length they brake out into dissolute laughter, which was the solace and comfort of that my feare. From thence I and that Interpreter, went vnto certaine other Villages.

The American
women be-
wayle the
coming of
Guests.

The gesture of
the Guest
among the
Americans.

How *Montecat*
entertaine his
Guest.

These are the Rites which the *Barbarians* obserue in entertaining Guests. First of all, as soon as the Guest entereth into the house of that *Montecat*, which he hath chosen to bee his Host, (which is to be done in every Village, nor are you to turne into another, vntill you will incurre his displeasure) he must presently sit downe vpon a Cotton hanging Bed, and remaine quietly there a while without speaking any word. By and by, the women come vnto him, compasse the Bed about, and sitting on the ground, put their hands on their eyes, and bewailing the happy coming of the Guest after this manner, they rehearle innumerable things in his commendation. As for example: *Have you taken so much paines to come vnto vs: you are good, you are valiant.* But if the Guest be a *Frenchman*, they adde, *you haue brought very many excellent merchandises vnto vs, which we want here.* To conclude, those women, as hath bene said, entertaine Guests with weeping, with such like flattering speeches. But the Guest who sitteth on a Cotton bed, if he desire to procure fauour with his Host, letting his countenance, vntill he meane to weep in good earnest (as I saw some of our men do weeke a course, that teares were forced from them, through the howling lamentation of these women) he must of necessity counterfeite weeping, answering somewhat at the heall, and fetching deepe sighes. This most pleasant situation being ended by the women, *Montecat*, that is, the Master of the Familie, being buily employed in making of an Arrow, calls not so much as his eyes for a certain time vpon the Guest, as if he marked nothing. At length coming vnto the Guest, he speaketh vnto him in these words: *Ere I sende thee this, Are you come? then, how dost thou? what I see you? &c.* After, he demandeth, *whether you be hungry?* if you grant that you are, presently he commandeth meates of diuers kinds to be set before you in earthen vessels, to wit, Meale, which with them supplieth the place of bread, Venison, Fowle, Fish, and other things of that kinde: but because there is no vfe with them, for Tables, and Benches, all those things are set on the ground. As touching Drink, if you desire *Cao-mim*, & that it be in the house, it shall presently be given you. Lastly, after the women haue finished the coming of the Guests with weeping, they come vnto them bringing Fruits, and other trifling Presents, and so, secretly, demand Combes, Looking-glasse, and little Boxes of glasse, which they wind about their armes.

More.

Moreover, if you will lodge all night in that Village, the *Montecat* commandeth a very neat and cleane bed to be hanged vp for you, round about which he will cause small fires to be kindled, and often quickned in the night with Bellows, which they call *Tatapone*, not much unlike the little round Fannes, wherewith the nicer and more delicate sort of women with vs, defend the sootching of fire from their faces. Not because that Countrey is subject vnto cold, but by reason of the moisture of the night, and especially, because it is their vsuall manner. Now seeing we haue chanced to mention Fire, which they call *Tana*, and Smoke *Tatinin*, I thinke it needfull that I declare the excellent manner of kindling the same. They haue two kinds of wood, whereof the one is very soft, but the other very hard, which they vse after this manner, to kindle fire. They sharpen a twig of that hard wood at the one end like a Spindle, and flicke the point thereof in any piece of that soft wood, then laying it on the ground, or vpon a stocke, they turne that twig swiftly about with the palmes of their hands, as if they would pierce an hole through the piece of wood which lieth vnder. Through that so swift and violent motion, smoke is not onely raised, but also fire: putting Cotton vnto it, or certaine dry leaues (in stead of our Countrey tinder) fire is very aptly ingendered: whereof I my selfe haue made triall.

After that the Guests haue refreshed themselves with meate, and lodged after the manner which we haue declared, if they be liberrall, they vse to giue vnto the men Knives, Scizzers, and Piners first for the plucking out of the haire of their beards: to the women, Combes, and Looking-glasse: and to the children, Fish-hooks. But, if the Guest want victuals, when he hath agreed of the price, he may carrie them away. Moreover, because they want all kinde of beasts of burden, they are all of necessity to trauell on foot. If Strangers bee wearie, and giue a Knife to any of the *Barbarians*, he presently offereth his helpe to carrie him that is wearie. My selfe when I liued in those Countreys, was diuers times carried by those Porters, and that surely two miles Iourney together. And if we admonished them to rest a little, they laughed at vs with these words: *Why? Thinke you that we are so effeminate, or so weak a countrey, that we should faint, and be downe vnder our burden? I would rather carrie you all the day without any intermission.* But we breaking out into laughter, wondered at those two legged Hackneyes, and encouraging them, said: let vs therefore proceed on the way.

They exercise naturall charitie abundantly among themselves, for they daily giue one vnto another, both Fish, Meale, and Fruits, and also other things: nay, they would be very forie, if they saw their neighbours want those things which they haue. They also vse the like liberallitie towards Strangers: whereof, it shall be sufficient, to bring one example. In the tenth Chapter of this Booke, I made mention of a certaine danger, which my selfe, and two other *Frenchmen*, escaped, to wit, that we were in great perill of death, by reason of an huge Lizard which met vs in the way: at that time, we wandered two dayes through the middle of the Woods out of the way, and endured no meane hunger, and at length came vnto a certaine Village called *Pano*, where we had lodged before. There we were most liberrally entertained by the *Barbarians*. For, having heard the troubles which we had suffered, and specially the great danger wherein we were, that we were likely to haue bene deuoured by wilde Beasts, but chiefly, that we were in danger to bee slain by the *Montecat*, our common enemies, nere vnto whose borders we approached vnwares: and, seeing also the hurts and scratches of thornes, wherewith our skin was miserably rent, they took our harmes so grievously, that I may here truly affirme, that the fained flatteries wherewith our Countrey people vse to comfort the distressed, are farre from the sincere humanitie of that Nation, which we call *Barbarous*. For, they washed our feet with cleare water (which put me in minde of the ancient custom) every one of vs sitting apart vpon an hanging Bed. Then the Masters of the Families, who had already provided meates to be prepared for vs, and caused new Meale to be ground, which (as I elsewhere said) is nothing inferior vnto the crumme of white bread, in goodnesse, presently, after we had bene a little refreshed, commanded all the best meates, to wit, Venison, Fowle, Fish, and the most exquisite and choicest Fruits, wherewith they continually abound, to bee set before vs. Moreover, the night approaching, the *Montecat* our Host, remoueth all the children from vs, that wee might the more quietly rest. The next day, after, early in the morning, he cometh vnto vs, and demandeth, *goe to Atuarapap*, (that is, dearly beloued Confederates) *haue you quietly rested this day? I perceived that you were very wearie.* Then faith he, *my Iannes, tell your feloes yet a while, for ye, how friendly, and courteous were we?* To be brieue, I am not able to expresse with words, without a Sackell full of Merchandises, which might serue vs in stead of money among those *Barbarians*. Departing therefore thence, we gaue our Hosts, what wee thought good: to wit, 60 Knives, Scizzers, Piners, to the men: Combes, Looking-glasse, Bracelets, and glasse Beades, to the women: and Fish-hooks to the children.

I one day turned out of the way to lodge in a certaine Village, and was requested by my *Montecat*, to shew him what I had in my Sackell, who commanded a great earthen vessel: to be brought, wherein to put my merchandises: I tooke them all out, and set them in order:

T e t t e a

Whereat

How Strangers
require their
Host.

The *Barbarians*
carrie Stran-
gers vpon
their should-
ers.

Two legged
ambler.

The *Barbarians*
practise chari-
tie euen by the
direction of
nature.

A notable ex-
ample of the
civillitie of the
Barbarians.

How much the
Barbarians e-
steeeme Knives,
and other
merchandises.

whereat he greatly wondering, calleth the rest of the *Barbarians* vnto him, and saith. See I pray you, my good friends, what manner of man I haue entertained with me: doth it not manifestly appeare that he is very rich, seeing he carrieth so great wealth about him? yet those would scarce haue been sold at *Paris*, for two filier Cardukes. Then, because (as we haue said) they loue liberrall men, that I might procure authoritie and fauour among them, I gaue my *Monfieur* the belt of my *Knives* before them all, which he esteemed no lesse, then any one waight woulde regard a golden chaine, of very great price, bestowed vpon him.

Pages, the *Barbarians* Physicians.

How the *Barbarians* handle the sicke.

If peradventure it happen, that any of them fall sicke, when the inward and familiar friend of the sicke person hath declared the grieved part, one fuppeth it with his mouth, sometimes also that seruice is performed by certaine impostors, which they call *Pages*, that is, Physicians, or Surgeons. (But they are a kinde of People differing from the *Carabes*, whereas I haue spoken before.) And they also say, that they draw out the paine, and prolong the life. They are sometimes sicke of Feuers, and other common diseases: but, not so often, as we vfe to bee. Moreover, they are troubled with a certaine incurable disease, which they call *Panas*. This, for the most part proceedeth of lust: yet, I haue seene the little children infected therewith, notwithstanding the manner of our Countre Maels. This contagion breaketh out into pusles, broader then a thumbe, which ouerspread the whole bodie, and also the face it selfe. They neuer gae meate to the sicke, vnlesse he desire it, although he be readie to perish through hunger. Moreover, although it be the most grievous disease, they that are healtie, neuer cease dancing, singing, and drinking after the accustomed manner, to dull and weare the miserable sicke person with the noise: nor doth he complain, because he knoweth, that he shall not preuaile at all. But, if hee die, that singing (especially if he be a Maister of any familie) is suddenly turned into teares, and so great lamentation is made, that if by chance we turned into a certaine Village, at the time of that mourning, we were of necessity to goe to some other place, or passe the night without sleepe. First of all, not without admiration, the women are heard, which so crie out and exclaime, that you would say they were the howling of Wolves or Dogs, and no humane voices. But they powre forth these complaints with a trembling voice. *That most valiant man is dead, who sometimes gaue us so many Captures to be deuoured. Then the rest say, O notable Hunter, O most excellent Fisher, O valiant Killer of the Portugals, and Margariates. To be briefe, those women prouoking one another to mourne, g. and embracing armes together, delit not from these lamentations, and praies, before the dead bodie be brought forth.*

Lastly, these *Barbarians* women imitate the *Beaugeoisian* custome in bewailing their dead men, whom, as I haue heard, they follow with their complaints. *La mi amon, la mi amon, car valent, ont dispendu, came l'engle, but despendu: La mi lalen, la mi l'horbat: mati d'epes: fort tard cangat.* that is, My friend, my friend, with a merrie countenance, shining eyes, swift legs, notable danfser, strong and valiant, thou diddest arise early, and goe late to bed. The *Virgin* women also, who adde these things to the former, *Tere, yere, o le bet renegaden, a le bet ingaden q'here:* that is, Alas, alas, how stout and deepe a Swearer was hee, how notable a Gamelster? Moreover, to those complaints whereof we spake, the *Barbarian* women often adde this burden of the Song. *He is dead, he is dead, whom we now lament.* Then the men answere: *Alas, he is dead, and we shall see him no more, vnill wee dance with him behind the Mountaines, as our Carabes teach.* Those howling lamentations are prolonged for fixe houres; for, they vfe not to keepe their Dead any longer vnburied. Then digging a Trench, not long as we vfe, but circular, like a great Drie-far, they burie the dead bodie bolt vpreight. The dead Masters of Families, they burie in the middelt of their houses, wrapped in their Cotton bed, with feathers, and other things, wherein they delighted in their life time, laide in the Graue. Since their commerce with the *French* they haue forborne to put priuie things in the Graues: but they retained a Range and very deuillish Superstition. The first night after the Funerall, the *Barbarians*, who are thus prouided, that *Ayguas*, vnlesse he found other meates prepared, would digge vpe the dead bodie, and deuoure it, yet so small store of vscles, with Meale, Fish, Fleth, and other meates carefully prepared, and also great pots full of their drinke *Cao-uau*, about the Graue, which Sacrifice they performe so long, vnill they thinke that the dead bodie be wholly consumed. From the which errorr they were the more hardly remoued, because certaine *Noufrans* Interpreters, by example of the Sacrifices of *Bell*, diuers times before our coming, priuile flye away those meates. Through which fact they confirmed the *Barbarians* in errorr, that although we shewed them, that those meates set downe in the euening remained in the morning, yet with great labour and difficultie we diuaded very few from that errorr.

As often as the *Barbarians* transport their Villages vnto another place, after the manner which wee haue declared, they put certaine coverings of the herbe *Pando* vpon the Graues of the Dead. Whereby it cometh to passe, that Trauellers may take notice of a certaine forme of a place of buriall. At which places, if at any time wandering in the Woods, they remember the dead men, they make lo great lamentation, that they may be heard farre off.

Woe then their howlings here, woe then their former man-eating, is the tragical famine which attended Letrus and his fellows in their returne, besides dangers of Inspracke, resolution of some to

The Graues, and rites of buriall of the *Americans*.

A very deuillish errorr.

De. 14.

kill their fellows for food; Thicker by Sea in 500. fathome depth seeming like a Marle, the barbes yel. low, with Berres like those of Lunger, the leaves like Rue, with threads like ground. Ine floating on the Sea, but not safely handled; in some places redder fish like coconuts swimming, the touching of which caused the hand presently to swell) as also his Brazilian *D'ibonaris*, &c. for breuise I haue named. Villagions *Aposle* from the Religion was the cause of their departure; whose malice perswaded them homewards to pronounce them to be turned for Heresie upon his accusation at home: as they were faine to leue from him in Brail. Wee will leave this Religious Frenchman, and acquaint you with a Getmans.

10

CHAP. IIII.

The travels of HULDERICK SCHNIDEL in twentie yeeres
space from 1534. to 1554. abbreviated.

De. I.

His Voyage up the Riuer of Plate, foundation of Townes, their expedition
up the Riuer of Parana and Parabol; the people
of these parts.

30



30

Now 1534. I went from Antwerpe to Cadex, and there found fourteen ships furnished for the Riuer of Plate. These were 2500. Spaniards, 150. high and low Dutch, vnto which I ioyned my selfe. They set forth in September the same yeere, and hauing had some trouble at Palma, one of the *Canarias*, about stealing of a Citizens Daughter by *George Mendez*, Kinman of the Commander *Don Pedro de Mendez* arrived at the riuer *Lama*. They call the *Indians*, *Temis*. Here we abode fourteen daies, and *Petro Mendez*, our Generall then gave commendement to *John Oforus* his sworne Brother, to take charge of vs in his freed, because hee being weake, and consumed in his members, was much troubled almost with continuall sicknesse and diffeases. But when a little after the government receiued, *John Oforus* had beene falsly accused, and by forgerie, to *Mendez* his sworne brother, as though he had gone about idly to stirre the company against him, the said *Mendez* commanded other foure Captaines (to wit) *John Eyolad*, *John Saleisen*, *George Lucifan*, and *Lacarus Salascho*, that hauing stabbed him with a Dagger, they should expole him as a Traitor in the middle of the Plaine, to the view of all beholders. And straightly commanded it publicly to be giuen in charge, that no man vpon paine of death disquiet or trouble him selfe in the behalfe of *Oforus*, for if he did, he should be no more respected, wholesoeur, or of what condition heeuer he were. But hee was altogether iniured. For hee was an honest man, and a stout and courageous Warriour, and courteous, liberrall, and verie beneficiall to his fellow Souldiers.

Mendez
cruell.

6. Departing hence with our ships and going to the Riuer of Plate, we came into a pleasant R. *Parana*. Riuer, which they call *Parana Orilla*. It is farre from the mouth of the Riuer where the Sea leaves it, and is fortie two leagues broad. And from the Riuer *Lama* to this Riuer are two hundred and fiftene leagues. Here we came to a Hauen called *Saint Gabriel*, and all our fourteen ships anchored in the Riuer *Parana*. But because we were to abide in the greater shippes on the water, a Musket shot from the Land, our Generall *Petro Mendez* gaue commendement to set the people and Souldiers aland in the lesser Skiffes or Boats, which they call *Patten*, then prepared for that purpose. So by the grace and blessing of God, in the yeere of Christ 1535. we happily arrived at the Riuer of Plate, and there we found a row of houses, or an *Indian* Village, wherein there were about 2000. men, whom they call *Zachurnas*, who eate no other thing, but fish and flesh. And goe all naked, but that the women couer their secrets, with a thimble piece of Cotton-cloth, which reacheth from the Nauell to the knees. They therefore at our coming, leauing the Towne, fled away with their wiues and children. Then our Generall *Mendez* commanded the people to be shipped againe, and conueied ouer to the other side of the Riuer *Parana*, where the breadth of the Riuer extendeth it selfe no more then eight leagues.

R. of Plate,
the *Zachurnas*.

7. In this place wee built a Citie, which for the whollomeneit of the Aire wee called *Zenos*; *Buenos daies* after. We brought with vs also out of *Spain* leuante two Horles and Mares, in our fourteen buils ships. We found also another Village in this Countre, which the *Indians* inhabit, whom they call *Carendes*, of whom there were about 3000. men, together with their wiues and children. These also as the *Zachurnas* are couered from the Nauell only vnto the knees, who brought vs fish and flesh to eate. These *Carendes* haue no Priuer and settled dwelling, but wander in the

Carendes.

Text 3

Coun.

Giffen.

Gountie hither and thither, almost as our *Cingari*, and *Zigemeris*. When they take their journey in the Summer, they oftentimes traude thurte leagues and more by Land, and finde not a drop of water to drinke. If they light vpon a Stagge or other wilde beaft, when they haue killed it, they drinke the blood thereof: sometimes they find a Roote, which they call *Cardes*, and chewing that, they quench thirst. But that they drinke blood, this buy is the cause, for that they want other drinke, and peraduenture without this, they should die for thirst. These *Carandies* for fourteen daies imparted liberally of their pouterie, and daily brought fish and fells vnto our Campe, one day only excepted, wherein they came not vs to vs. all. Therefore our General *Don Pedro Mendosa* sent our *Carrizuelo* *Ian*, *Babon* and two *Soldiers* vnto them for these *Carandies* abode foure leagues distant from our Campe) but they so intreated them when they came vnto them, that they sent them home all three loundly cut and mangled with stripes. But when our General *Don Pedro Mendosa* vnderstood these things by report of the Iudge: who for this cause raised a tumult in our Campe, he sent his owne naturall Brother *Don Diego Mendosa* against them with three hundred *Soldiers*, and thirre readie light Horsemen, among the which I also was one, straghtly charging him to kill, and take all the said *Indian Carandies*, and possesse their Towne. But when we came vnto them, there were now some 4000. men gathered together, for they had sent for all their familiars, and friends to helpe them.

The fight or
skirmish with
the *Indian*
Carandies.

8. When we let vpon them, they so resisted vs, that they put vs to trouble enough that day: for they ouer our Capitaine *Don Diego Mendosa*, and fixte Gentlemen with him, and of the horle and foote aboute some twentie. But on their part there fell about 1000. men. Therefore they fought courageously and stoutly against vs, which wee felt by experience. The weapons of these *Carandies* are Bowes, and a kinde of Dart like the staffe of a Speare of a middle length, whose point they arme with a skin called a *Marabate*, with an edge in forme of the three edged T. underboole. They haue also bowles of stone hanging at a long cord, somewhat like our plummetts of Lead. Thiet bowles they so cast about the head of Horles, or Stagges, that they are confraigned to fall. After this manner they due our Capitaine, and the Gentlemen with these bowles, which I my self beheld, but they due the Footmen with their Darts: yet by the grace of God (to whom be praise) we ouercame them in battaile, and possessed their Towne. But we could take none of these *Indians*, their wiues and children also, before we assailed them by warre had fled into another Village. We found nothing in this Towne of theirs, but Otter skins, plentie of fells and fishes, and the trane of fish. Abiding therefore three daies we remained in that place, and after returned to our Campe, leaving 100. men there, who in the meane time should fish with the *Indians* Nets, to maintaine our *Soldiers* more plentifully: for the waters there are marvellous full of fish: for three ounces only of floure made of fine Wheate were distributed to euerie one for one daies victuall, and euerie three daies one fish. This fishing lasted two monthes, and if any would eate fish otherwise, he must seeke them on foot foure leagues off.

Of the build-
ings of the
City of Temu-
a, and of
the famine
which they in-
dured there.

Miserable fa-
mine.

9. When we returned to our Campe, they were fit for labour among the people, were separated from them that were fit for warre, that euerie one might be put to seruice agreeable vnto him. The Citie therefore began to be build there, and a wall of earth to be raised about it, to the height of a Speare or lauelin, and in the Citie a firme and strong house for our Generall. The wall of the Citie was three foot broad. But our house which was build that day, the next day fell downe againe. For the people wanting food, liued in great caretie, so that many died of famine, nor could the Horles likewise feed. There was not plentie enough of *Quormes*, or other Mice, or Serpents, or other wilde beastes, to assuage this lamentable famine and vnpeackable pouterie. Not to much as fhoos and other Leather could auoid this rage of deuouring. It fell out also at that time, that three *Spaniards* hauing holne a Horle, did priuily eate him. Which as soone as it was discouered, they were grieuouly tormented, and questioned touching the fact, and when they confessed it, they were condemned to the Gallowes. When they were hanged, three other *Spaniards* comforted themselves together, who the same night going to the Gallowes, cut off the legges of them that were hanged, and cut out pieces of fells from their bodies, that so in their Cottages they might assuage vntolerable hunger by eating thereof. A certaine *Spaniard* (through exceeding hunger) eate his owne brother, who died in the Citie of *Buenos Aires*.

How some fail-
ed by the Ri-
uer of *Parana*,
or the *Ruero* of
Plate.

10. When therefore our General *Don Pedro Mendosa* saw, that the people could no longer be sustained and preferred in this place, he presently commanndeth foure small Barkes which they call *Brigantines*, or small men of warre, and are carried with Oares to be made readie, wherof euerie one will hold fortie men: there were also three other leffe called *Potes*. These leuen little Vessels therefore being made readie and dispatched, our Generall commannded the company to be multered, and *George Lucham* with 35 gouerdie and able men, to saile vp the Riuer and seek out the *Indians*, that we might get prouision of victualls and food. But the *Indians* vnderstanding before of our preference, burnt their prouision of victuall, and what fouer was good to eat, together with their Villages, and ranne away. But wee in the meane season, got no food, and for euerie daies allowance vnto euerie man, one ounce and an halfe of bread was distributed, whereby it came to passe, that in this iurnie the halfe part of our *Soldiers* perished through famine. Wee therefore of necessitie returned to the said Towne where our Generall was, who greatly won- dered

dered, that so small a number of people should returne, seeing we were no more then fve moneths absent, and he demanded of our Capitaine *George Lucham* to declare vnto him what hee had done in this iurnie, who signified, that they who were wanting, died of famine, because the *Indians* had consumed all the food with fire, and after run away from them.

11. All these things falling out thus as I haue said, yet we continued together in the Towne of *Buenos Aires*, a whole moneth in great want, expecting while the furniture of our shippes should be finished. In the meane while, in the yeere 1535. the *Indians* inuade vs and our Citie of *Buenos Aires*, with the strength of twentie three thousand men, and in their Armie there were foure distinct Nations (to wit) *Carandies*, *Bartemis*, *Lechurade*, and *Tiembus*. The purpose and principall intention of all these was, to kill vs all. But praise and glorie be to God, who faued the greatest part of vs safe from destruction. For together with the Capitaines, and Ancients, and other *Soldiers*, there were not above thirte men of our Armie.

How the town
of *Buenos Aires*
was builded,
assaulted, and
burnt.
Four Nations
of *Indians*.

When therefore they first came to our Citie of *Buenos Aires*, some of them ranne furiously to assault it, others cast ferrie Darts vpon our houses, all which (except our Generals houses) which only was covered with Tile) were only charched: and by that means all our Citie, together with all the houses was consumed with the flames, euen from the foundation. The Weapons or Darts of these *Indians* are made of Reed, which when they are cast or shot out, take fire in the point. They haue a kind of wood also wherof they make their Darts, which if they be fired before they be cast, are not quenched, but let houses (covered with Thatch) on fire, and so thole that

Their fights &
weapons.

40 touch or fyre together burne together.

In this fight these *Indians* burnt vs also foure great shippes, which were halfe a league distant from vs on the water. But the *Soldiers* who were in these shippes, when they saw that mighty tumult of the *Indians*, betooke themselves to flight from these foure shippes, into three others, which rode not farre from these, and were furnished with Ordnance. They therefore when they saw the foure ships burne, began to defend themselves, and eagerly to assault the *Indians*, and let flet the bullets which caused them to leave the assault and depart, giving reft vnto the *Christians*. All this was done on the Feast of Saint Iohn the Baptist. In the yeere 1535.

Fourte ships
burnt.

12. All these things being past and done, all the people went into the ships, and our General *Don Pedro Mendosa* made Iohn *Eyollas* his Deputie, creati- g him Lieutenant General, deliue- ring out vnto him the whole government of all as of the people. He taking a view of the company, of two thousand fve hundred men, which came from *Spanne* together in ships, he found only fve hundred and fixtie alue: all the rest were dead, whom for the most part the intolerable famine had consumed.

They souler
their *Soldi-
ers*, and build
ships to goe
farther.
The most of
souldiers died
of famine.

After this, our Lieutenant Iohn *Eyollas*, commandeth eight little Barkes, which they call *Brigantines* and *Potes*, speedily to be build. And of fve hundred and fixtie which remained alue, hee tooke vnto him foure hundred men: leaving the other one hundred and fixtie to take charge of the foure great ships: ouer whom hee set Iohn *Romero* the chiefe commander, leaving prouision for a whole yeere, so that foure ounces of bread were distributed to euerie man for his daily allowance.

40 13. After this our Lieutenant Iohn *Eyollas* with his foure hundred *Soldiers*, which hee had with him, among whom also *Petro Mendosa* our Generall was, saileth vp the Riuer of *Parana*, in the *Brigantines* and *Potes*, furnished for this purpose, vntill wee came vnto the *Indians*, which wee formed in the space of two monthes, from our coming forth of the Citie of *Buenos Aires*, so that wee were now eight leagues distant from our said burnt Citie. When therefore we were not about foure leagues from these people (which they call *Tiembus*, but wee called them *Bona Iherafa*) and they vnderstood of our coming before, in surry one of them came peaceably vnto vs in their Boats, which they call *Canas*, about foure hundred men of the which *Canas* fixteene person fate. When therefore we met together in the Riuer, our Generall gaue the Capitaine of these *Indians* of *Tiembus*, (whom they call *Zehara Wassa*) a shirt, a red Cap, a Hatchet, and certaine other things. Which presents being receiued, the said *Zehara Wassa* brought vs into their Towne, setting before vs fish and fells plentifully, and sufficient food, so that we were exceeding well contented. For if this Voyage of ours had continued yee, but ten daies longer, we should all haue died with famine, as euen now in this Voyage of foure hundred men, who came together in the ships, fittie were dead.

They goep
the Riuer.
Tiembus.

The people of *Tiembus*, weare on either nostrill a blue starre artificially made of a white and blue flower: they are large men, and of a tall stature, but the women allwong yue as old are very deformed with some faces, and alwaies bloudie: from the Naeill to the knees they are covered with Cocoon-cloth, the rest is naked. This people hath no other meare fave fish and fells, nor euer liued with any other thing. The strength of this Nation is thought to be fiftie thousand men or more. The Skiffes or Boates which they vie are made of a Tree eighte footte long, and three broad, which (as the Fishermens Boats of *Germanie* are rowed with Oares, fave that their Oares are not bound with Iron.

14. Wee abode foure whole yeeres in the foresaid Village or Towne, but our Generall or Admirall *Petro Mendosa*, by reason of his extreme and continuall sicknesse, in that hee was able

*Don Petro Men-
dos* being a-
bout to recura
into *Spanne*
died in the
way.

Of the Cite
Lampere, how it
was besieged
and won by
assault.
Their fortifi-
cations.
Strategem.

double bulwarke cunningly made of timber, as with a hedge or inclosure, every trench being of the breadth and thickness of a man, and one bulwarke or trench was twelve paces distant from the other. The trenches being digged a fathome deepe into the earth, were so high above the ground, as a man might reach with the length of a sword. They had also Pits and Caves fifteen paces distant from the walls, as the height of three men, in the midst whereof pikes were stucke, yet not appearing above ground, as sharpe pointed as a Pinne. They made these Pits so covered with straw, putting twigs and branches therein, with a little earth strowed betweene, that we Christians pursuing them, or being readie to assault their Towne, might fall into them. But they caft these pits for themselves, and at length they fell into them: for when our Generall *Iohn Eyolus*, gathering all his Souldiers together, who were not above three hundred (for they left fixtie to guard the *Drigantines*) ordering and ranging the companies, went against their Cite *Lampere*, they understanding before of our coming, making a stand a Mullet shot of with their armie of foure thousand men, furnished with Bowe and Arrowes after their manner, commaunded that we should be told, that they would prouide vs withall, and other necessaries, desiring vs to goe backe and returne vnto our Ships, that so departing (as soone as we could, we might peaceably returne to our companions. But it was neither good for our Generall, nor our selues, that we should consent to their request: for this Nation and Countrie, by reason of the plenty of victuall, was also most fit, and commodious for vs, especially when in foure whole yeares past, we had not seene a morcell of bread, liuing onely with fish and flesh, and oftentimes all in great penurie.

The Spaniards
in foure yeares
had not seene
a morcell of
bread.

Their *Carios* therefore taking their Bowe and Arrowes, entertained and saluted vs therewith. But as yet, we had no mnde to hurt them, but commaunded to signifie vnto them, that they should be quiet, and we would become their friends. But they would not be so contented, for they had not yet tried our Gunnes and Swords. When therefore we came somewhat neerer vnto them, we discharged our braue Peece against them. Which when they heard, and saw that so many men fell downe dead, and when neither Bullets, nor Arrowes appeared, but holes onely were seene in their bodies, they wondered with astonishment, and horribly terrified, tooke their flight in troopes, ouerthrowing one another like Dogs: and while with great celeritie they halten to shelter themselves in their Towne, more then three hundred men, in that amazed feare, fell into the forehead pits, which themselves had digged.

Afterward coming to their Cite, we assaulted it, they courageously defending themselves till the third day. But when they could defend themselves no longer, and were much afraid of their wiues and children, which they had with them in the Towne, they earnestly entreated our fauour and mercie, promising, that they would doe any thing for vs, and for our fakes, at our pleasure, so that we would spare their liues. In this thirteene of our men were slaine. They brought also to our Generall *Eyolus*, fixe women, among which the eldest was but eighteene yeeres old, they presented also a fixe Stag, and another wilde beast, entreating vs to slay with them. They gave two women to the Souldiers, to scruce them for Laundresses and other seruices. They also prouided vs with victuall, and other necessaries for foode. And so peace was concluded betweene them and vs.

A Cite is
built in *Lam-
pere*, and is cal-
led the *Assump-
tion*.

22. These things being so done, the *Carios* were compelled to build vs a great Houfe, of stone, timber, and earth, that the *Christians* might haue a place of refuge, &c. hereafter they mooued any edition against them wherein they might be safe, and might defend themselves against iniurie. We tooke this Village or Cite of them by assault the yeere of *Christ* 1539. in the feast of the Assumption and gave it that name. And here we abode two monthes. These *Carios* are fixtie leagues distant from the *Agais*, and from the Iland of *Bonaferancia*, which the *Tiemros* inhabit about three hundred thirtie and foure leagues.

Making therefore a league with these *Carios*, they promised, that they would aide vs, when we went to the warres, and if we were to undertake any seruice against the *Agais*, they would lend eighteen thousand men with vs. When our Generall had thus determined, taking three hundred *Spaniards*, with these *Carios*, going downe the Ruer of *Parabol*, with the streame, we marched thirte leagues by land, till we came to the place, where the said *Agais* dwelt: two leagues both old and young, in the old place where we left them, vnawares in their houses, while they yet slept, early in the morning betweene three and foure of the clocke (for the *Carios* had diligently searched out all) oppressing them euen to the death: for the *Carios* haue this custome that being conquerors in warre, they kill all without any commiseration or pitié.

Agais de
Riocy.

After this, taking away five hundred Canoas or Boats, we burnt all the Villages to the which we came, doing much hurt besides. After one month past, some of the people of *Agais* came vnto vs, who being absent farre from home, were not present at this fight, and craving pardon, yielded themselves into our hands.

Plemus.

23. Continuing therefore in this Cite of the Assumption of *Morie* fixe monthes, we quietly refreshed our selues. In the meane space our Generall *Don Eyolus* enquired amongst these *Carios*, of the Nation called *Pembos*, from whom hee receiued answer, that it was almost an hundred leagues distant from the Cite of Assumption, and that they dwelt vpon the Ruer *Parabol*. Being further

further demanded, whether they had plenty of food, and how and with what they liued, what their behaviour and conditions were? They answered againe, that these *Paiembos* haue no other meate and prouision, but Fleh, and Fish, and also *Ceraiis*, which they call *Algorobos*, whereof they make Meale, which they eat with their Fish. Moreover also they make Wine thereof, which may be compared to our sweet Wine, for the pleasantness thereof.

The Generall muniters the Souldiers, and out of foure hundred men, chooseth three hundred, whom hee saw better furnished with Armes and other things then the rest, leaving the other hundred with the said *Carios*, in the Cite of Assumption. We therefore sayle vpon the Ruer, and alwaies in fute leagues distance we arrived at some Village situate vpon the Ruer of *Parabol*, whole 10 Inhabitants came to meete vs withall necessarie prouision.

Parabol well
peopled.

24. Departing thence we came to a Mountain called *Fernado*, like vnto that which they call *Agayebey*. There we light on the said *Paiembos*, residing leagues distant from *Wesings*. These people entertained vs friendly and peaceable, but with a trickefull and deceitfull mind, as you shall vnderstand hereafter. They therefore brought vs into their houses, and gave vs Fish, Fleh, and *Ceraiis*, or bread to eat, and so we abode nine whole daies with them. In the meane time our Generall commaunded to enquire of them, whether the Nation called *Caracoris* were known vnto them? They answered him, that concerning them, they knew nothing, but what they had heard by report, to wit, that they dwell farre hence, in a Countrie abounding with Gold and Silver, but that they had neuer seene any of them. They added also moreover, that these *Caracoris* were wife men as we Christians are, and that they abound with Victualls, to wit, Meale, *Mandech*, *Mandus*, *Potades*, *Mandech* *Nathkyke*, *Mandech* *Perry*, *Mandech* *ale*, *Mandepara*, and other rootes; and with flesh also of *Indian* Sheepe, called *Amie*, which are a kinde of beast like *Amies*, hauing feete like Kine, of a thicke and grosse skinn; and that they had plenty also of Conies, Harts, Geese, and Hens: but that none of the *Paiembos* had euer seene them, as they remember, but that they had it onely by report of others: but we found afterwards aliterly how all things went.

Mount *Fernado*.
Wesings.
Paiembos tre-
cherous.

Caracoris.

Amie, beasts
called Sheepe
of *Perugina* and
seemeth bigger
and stronger
in their
paw then
those: For
the Author
rode on one,
which in *Peru*
beareth a small
burden.

Having learned this, our Generall required to haue some of the *Paiembos* to goe with vs into that Countrie, whereupon they readily offered themselves, and their chiefe Commander presently appointed three hundred *Paiembos* to goe with vs, to carry our victualls, and other necessaries for vs. The Generall commaunded to prepare, and of five Shippes hee caused three to be destroyed. To the other two he appointed fixtie men of vs Christians, whom hee commaunded that in his absence they should stay there foure monthes, expecting his returne, and that if within the time appointed hee returned not vnto vs, they should goe backe with these two Boates to the Cite of the Assumption. But it so fell out, that we lasted whole fixe monthes with these *Paiembos*, and neuer heard any thing in the meane while of our Generall *Iohn Eyolus*: and prouision of victuall failed vs, and therefore of necessity, with *Dominicke Eyolus*, who in the meane time was left to command vs, we were to returne with our Shippes to the forehead Cite of the Assumption.

25. The Generall departing from the said *Paiembos*, hee came to a Nation called *Naperis*, joyning in league and friendship with the *Paiembos*, who had nothing but fleh and fish. And it is a populous Nation of these *Naperis*; our Generall tooke certaine vnto him, to shew him the way, for they were to goe through diuers Countries with great labour and in great penurie of all things: for they had tried the violence of many who resisted them in hostile manner, the halfe part of the Christians almost being dead: being brought therefore to a certaine Nation called *Peisemus*, hee could goe no further, but was compelled to goe backe againe with all his people, except three *Spaniards*, which by reason of their weakke estate of body, hee left with the *Peisemus*.

Naperis.

Peisemus.

Our Generall therefore *Iohn Eyolus* being in reasonable good health himselfe, went backe againe with all his people and Souldiers, and quietly refreshed himselfe with all his followers for three daies with these *Naperis*, for the people were faint, being once tired with the journey; and munition and weapons failed vs, which the *Naperis* and *Paiembos* vnderstanding, conspired among themselves, to kill the Generall *Iohn Eyolus*, with all his followers, which also they performed: for when our Generall marched with his Christians from *Naperis*, toward the *Paiembos*, and had almost now gone halfe the way, these two said Nations, set vpon them vnawares in a thicke or Forrest (which they chose for their ambush) through which the Christians were to goe. There the Generall, together with his sicke and faint Souldiers, was slayhered by them, as of so many mad Dogges, so that not one escaped.

§. II.

MARTIN EYOLLAS made General. GARREROS coming: SCHREVE'S Voyage. NUNNER his insolence. Divers people and accidents described.

IN the meane space, where were fiftie men returning to the *Assumption*, expect our General, we understand what happened, by report of a certaine *Indian* slave of *John Eyolla* who was now dead, given him of the *Peñones*, who being skillfull in the Language, engaged the hands of the enemies, he declared all the whole matter. This was further confirmed by two of the *Panobus* taken Prisoner, and it seemed good to vs *Christians*, that we should create *Martine Eyollas* often named to vs, our chiefe Commander and General, we will we received our commendement from the Emperours Maiestie.

Our General therefore gave commendement, that foure *Brigantines* should be prepared, and taking 150. men of the company, leaving the rest in the City of the *Assumption of Mary*, hee made them that he would gather together the 150. men left with the *Tiembo* (as we said before) and also these 160. *Spaniards* who abode with the ships in the City of *Buenas Aeres*, into the said City of the *Assumption*. With these foure *Brigantines* therefore hee went downe the Rivers of *Paraboli*, and *Parana* with the frame, and came to *Tiembo* (which first place we called *Bona esperanza*, but the Cattle wherein our Garrison Souldiers were, were named *Corpus Christi*).

But before we came from the *Assumption* to *Tiembo*, a certaine man of the *Christians*, to wit, Captain *Francis Ruiz*, a Priest called *John Beken*, and a certaine Secretarie *John Empero*, as we were subordinate Gouernours of the *Christians*, took treacherous and wicked counsel together, to kill the Capitaine of the *Indians* of *Tiembo*, and certaine other *Indians* with him; which wicked attempt they performed also in deed, so that, not without great impietie before our General *Martin D. Eyollas* his coming, and ours, they had slaine those *Indians*, from whom a long time they had received no small benefits. Our General therefore commanded *Antuano Mendoza* (whom hee left as Commander in the Cattle of *Corpus Christi*, with a Garrison of 120. of 50 our men, giving him also prouision of victuall) if his life and safetie were deere vnto him, that in any case he should be aware of the *Indians*, and should diligently keep watch and ward, by day and night. And if the *Indians* making shew of friendship should come vnto them, that they should deale courteously with them, performing all friendly offices vnto them, yet in the meane time they should carefully look vnto themselves, & be very warie in all things, lest any damage should be done to themselves, or other *Christians*. These things being thus ordered and disposed, hee prepareth himselfe to continue his intended journey, taking with him those three persons, who were Authors of the murder. When they were now about to take their journey, one of the Nobles of *Tiembo* *Zuche Lyomi* by name, although he were a great friend of the *Christians*, yet by reason of his wife and children, and other Kinsmen of his, and familiars, compelled to come to their counsaile and assist him, hee alighted our General *Eyolla*, to cause all the *Christians* who conversed downe the River with him, for now all the Countrey had made ready all their forces, that either they might wholly cut them all off, or drive them all out of the Countrey. To whom our General *Martin D. Eyollas* answered, that hee would shortly returne: and that his people had strength enough to sustaine the assault or force of the *Indians*, and added moreover, that hee desired, that *Zuche Lyomi* with his Wife and children, and all his familiar friends, and all his people would come out to the *Christians*, and ioyne himselfe with them, which also he promised. After this, our General is carried downe the River, and leaue vs at *Corpus Christi*.

28. Eight daies after or thereabouts, the aforesaid *Indian Zuche Lyomi*, sendeth one of his brethren *Suelapay* by name, but deceitfully and treacherously, and requested our Capitaine *D. Mendoza* to grant him fixe *Christians* furnished with shot and other weapons, for he would bring out all his familie, with his whole Family vnto vs, and from henceforth dwell amongst vs. Our Capitaine being persuaded by these promises, gives him not fixe but fiftie *Spaniards*, exceeding well provided and furnished with armour and shot, the *Tiembo* came vnto them, and interceded them with *Indian* kille, bringing flesh and fish, that they might eate: now when the *Christians* began to fall to their meate, their friends and comforts, and other *Tiembo* gathered together amongst them, with those also who hide themselves in the field and houses, fall vpon these fiftie men, and so confound the Banquet with them, that no man escaped alive, except one boy only called *Caldery*, who got out of their hands. Afterwards they set vpon vs, with reecons, strong and being of the Village (which we might vnderstand continually for fourteen daies, intending wholy that that being brought vnder, they might utterly destroy vs; but God in mercie defeated their purposes, and overthrow their enterprises.

They had made themselves long Spears or Iauellings, of the Swords which they had gotten from the slaine *Christians*, wherewith they fought againe with vs, with the edge and point, and

Wickedness
of some Spaniards
against
the Indians.

Little Spaniards
slaine by *Tiembo*
treachery.

Spaniards be-
ing.

ting our Village day and night. Our Capitaine *Antuano Mendoza*, armed with a two hand Sword, went out of the Port, neere which some *Indians* lay in ambush, so that they could not bee seen. Being gone therefore out of the Port, the *Indians* thrust him through with their Iauellings, so that he presently fell downe dead vpon the ground. But because the *Indians* wanted victuals, they could sustaine themselves no longer here, but were compelled to leaue the siege and hee gone.

After this two *Brigantines* laden with prouision of victuall and other necessaries arrived at our Port, which our General sent vnto vs from the Towne of *Buenas Aeres*, to maintaine our felices therewith till his coming. As therefore wee were cheered at the coming of them, so they who arrived with the *Brigantines*, incredibly sorrowed and lamented for the slaughter of the *Christians*. Wee therefore determined by a common Council (which thing also seemed to be best for vs) to stay no longer in this Village of *Corpus Christi*, abiding with these *Tiembo*, but that being carried downe the River, gathering all our forces together, we returne to *Buenas Aeres*, to our General *Martin Dominey Eyolla*. Who being frightened at our coming, was vehemently grieved (for the slaughter of the people, doubtfull how to consult what he should first doe, seeing also victuall and other necessarie things failed vs).

29. While therefore we continued five daies at *Buenas Aeres*, a Caruell came to vs out of *Spain*, and brought vs newes, that a ship was arrived at *Saint Katharine*, whole Capitaine *Alonso Gabeiro*, brought with him 200. Souldiers out of *Spain*, which when our Capitaine certainly knew, hee commanded one of the lesser ships, which they call a *Galley*, to be made ready, that he might send her as soone as possibly hee could to *Saint Katharine* into *Brazil*, which was 300. leagues distant from *Buenas Aeres*, making *Gonzalo Mendoza* Capitaine thereof to gouerne the ship: giving him charge also, that if arriving at *Saint Katharine*, hee found the ship there, they should laide one of the ships with Rice, Mandioca, and other victuals, as seemed good vnto him. *Gonzalo Mendoza* therefore receiving this commendement, requested the General *Martin D. Eyolla* to give him seuen of the Souldiers whom hee might trust, for this Voyage which hee promised. Hee therefore chose mee, and fixe *Spaniards* to himselfe, with twentie other Souldiers.

Setting sail from *Buenas Aeres*, in the space of a month we arrived at *Saint Katharine*, and finding the ship there: which came out of *Spain*, together with Capitaine *Alonso Gabeiro*, and all the Souldiers, were greatly reioiced. Abiding with them two monthes, we laide our ship with Rice, Mandioca, and *Turkey* Corne, as full as it could hold, so that no more could be put in both the ships to carrie with vs. And the day before *All Saints*, wee arrived at the River whose Pilots asked one another, whether we were now in the River of *Parana*: when our Pilot affirmed we were, the other said the contrary, that we were yet almost twentie leagues of, they mette together, and one of the Masters asketh the other, what way hee had made that day, and with what wind hee would saile by night, lest they should be diuided one from the other. The River of *Parana* *Vassaja*, at the Bay or mouth thereof is thirte leagues broad, which breadth continueth for fiftie whole leagues together, vnto the Port of *Saint Gabriell*, where the River *Parana* is eightene leagues broad. After this our Pilot asketh the Master of the other ship, whether hee would saile after, to him the other made answer, that that night was now at hand, and to the Land in the vnto seasonable night. And this Pilot in guiding his ship was more circumspect than ours was, as the event afterward declared. Therefore our Master held on his intended course, leaving the other.

30. Saying by night, a mighty storme troubled the Sea, so that about twelue or one of the clocke before Sunne rising, where we had cast our Anchors in the Sea, we desired Land, and our ship was much bruiued when we were yet a league or more from the Land. We could finde no other remedie for this misfortune, then making our Prayers vnto God, to intreate him to be merciful vnto vs. The same houre our ship being split was broken in more then a thousand pieces, killing hold of great pieces of Timber swamme out. I wish of my companions escaped by were to trauell little leagues on foot, when we had lost all our clothes, with all the victuals in which we could find here and there in the fields, whole with Rootes and other Fruits, where we found the foresaid ship with her Capitaine, who we came to the Port of *Saint Gabriell*.

But our General *Martin D. Eyolla* had heard before by intelligence, of this our mishap, and we were brought to *Buenas Aeres*, our General commaneth the Capitaine of our ship, and the Master thereof to be cited, and stand to their trial, who without doubt had langed the Pilot, if so great and earnest intreaties had not bene vied, yet hee was condemned for foure yeeres, to the Gallie.

Captaine *Mendoza*
slaine.

Gabeiro coming
out of
Spain with
200. Souldiers
thither.

S. Katharine.

Customs of
Ministers

Greatness of
Parana.

They are
wrecked,
Iulius on the
negligent Pilots.

Gathering together all our companies to *Buenos Aires*, our General commanded the Brigantines to be made ready, and all the Souldiers to be shipped therein, and commandeth the shippes to be burned, yet preferring the Iron Vessels and Instruments. Wee therefore once more saile vpon the River of *Parana* againe, and arriving at our foresaid Citie of the *Assumption of Marie*, staying there two yeetes, we expected further commandment from the Emperours Majesty.

31. In the meane time while these things are thus done, a certaine Captaine *Alvarez Nunnez*, *Cabeça de Tabaco* cometh out of *Spain*, whom *Cafar* Majestie had created General, and with foure hundred men, and churche Horses diuided into foure ships, of the which two were greater, and the other two Caravels.

The foure ships arrived in *Brasil* at the Hauens of *Wissay*, or *Saint Katherine*, to seeke provision of victuall. And when the Captaine had sent the two Caravels eight leagues from the Hauens to seeke victualls, to great a forme tooke them, that they perished, being broken all to pieces in the Sea, the men notwithstanding which were in them being saved. When *Alvarez* the chiefe Commander knew this for a certainty, hee durst not put to Sea any more in the greater ships; he therefore commanded vnto them to destroy them, and travelling by land towards the River of *Plate*, at length came vnto vs, to the *Assumption* of foure hundred men bringing three hundred with him, the rest dying either of famine, or of cruel diseases.

From thence the Captaine was eight whole months in his journey, and from the Citie of the *Assumption*, to *S. Katherine* are reckoned three hundred leagues. This is to be vnderstood of the next and most direct way, for from the *Assumption*, downe the River to the Sea, there are three hundred thirtie foure leagues, and to *Saint Katherine* three hundred. *Alvarez Nunnez* also brought the title of his government out of *Spain*, granted vnto him from *Cafar* Majestie, and therefore required, that our General *Martin Dom Eyllas*, should yeld vpon the whole government vnto him, which thing also *Dom Eyllas*, and all the company with all their heart were ready to performe, yet vpon this condition, that hee should make good prooffe also, that this power and authoritie was granted vnto him from the Emperours Majestie. But the whole assembly could not wrest this from him, only the Priests, & one or two of the Captains affirmed it.

32. The said *Alvarez Nunnez* therefore taking a view of the Souldiers, found the number of the whole Army to be eight thousand men. Making friendship also with *Martin Dom Eyllas*, so each iware to other brotherly fidelity and friendship, so that *Eyllas* should have no lesse power to command the people, then he had before. The Governour commandeth nine Brigantines to be made ready, that he might saile vpon the River as farre as it was possible. But before the ships were made ready, he sendeth three Brigantines with one hundred and fiftene Souldiers before commanding, that they should go as far as they could, and seeke out the *Indians* that had Maiz.

Hee ioynded also two Captaines vnto them, *Antonio Gabarra*, and *Diego Tadelunas*. These therefore in the beginning come to a Nation, called *Surucafi*, having Maiz, Mandocch, and other Roots of that kind, and *Mandocch* also (which are like the Filbirds) and fish and flesh. The men carrie in their lips a blue stone like the bone of a Dea.

With this Nation we left our ships, and with them certaine of our companions, to whom we committed the custodie thereof: but having gone foure dayes journey into the Countrey, we came to a Village perceiving that the *Caros*, being three hundred strong, inquiring therefore diligently there, of the state of that Countrey, wee received honest and peaceable answers from them. Returning thence vnto our ships, and going downe the River of *Parabol*, we came to the Nation *Achkers*. There we found Letters sent from *Alvaro* the Governour, whereby hee commanded to hang vpon the chiefe Captaine of these *Indians*, *Achkers* by name. Which commandment our Captaine obeyed without delay, and we returned home.

33. The whole Countrey of *Dabero* and *Caros*, were vp in Armes, ioyning their forces together to invade the *Christians*. For the King of *Dabero* was the brother of that *Achkers*, whom the *Christians* hangell, whose death hee would fiercely avenge vpon the *Christians*. Our Governour armeth himselfe in the meane time against his Enemies, to vndertake some service against them. Hee therefore determined with the consent of his ioyne brother *Martin Dom Eyllas*, that this *Eyllas* should go against the said *Dabero*, and *Caros* with foure hundred *Christians* and two thousand *Indians*, and either drive them out of the whole Countrey, or utterly destroy them. The said *Eyllas* faithfully executing this commandment, leadeth his Armie out of the Citie of the *Assumption*, and meeting with the enemy, by the commandment of *Cafar* Majestie first periwaded *Dabero* to peace and quietnesse, but hee little regarding this, would admit no treatie of peace, for he had gathered a mightie Army, fenced his Villages with Bulwarks of stakes or piles, having also call vpon deepe and mightie pits, whereof we spoke before in the 11. Chapter, all which were found out before by diligent search. Wee flood still quietly with our Armes till the fourth day, before wee proclaimed war against them, but the fourth day in the morning, three hows before the rising of the Sunne, making an assault, wee violently rushed into the Citie and whomever we found there, we slay, yet taking many women, and preferring them

them from slaughter, which afterward turned to our great benefit. In this assault twenty fixe of the *Christians* were slaine, many of the people being wounded and hurt. And many also of the *Indians* on our part perished: but of the *Cariballs* 3000. slaine. Not long after *Dabero* came vnto vs with his people, and craued fauour and pardon. In the next Expedition *Dabero* lent to *Nunnez*, 2000. *Indians* to aide vs. From the *Caros* also he commandeth nine Brigantines to be furnished, all which being done, 800. *Christians* hee taketh 500. leaving 300. at the *Assumption*, out of whom he made *Iohn Saterfer* Captaine. With this Army of 500. *Christians*, and 2000. *Indians*, we saile vpon the River of *Parabol*: and the *Caros* had with them 83. boats. wee *Christians* had nine Brigantines, in every one of the which there were two horses. But the horses were conveyed out

10 Land 100. leagues, and we were carried vpon the River vnto the Mountain of *Saint Ferdinand*. At that place taking our horses againe into the ships, from thence afterward we were carried forward, vntill we came to our Enemies the *Paimeis*, but they not looking for our coming, conveyed away themselves by flight with their wives and children, having first let their horses on fire. After this we travelled 100. leagues together, and light not on any people, at length we came to a Nation, whose people are called *Balscherpes*, who live by fish and flesh. It is a populous Nation, and they inhabite a large Countrey of 100. leagues broad. They have so great a number of boats, that it is incredible to be written. Their women couer their Secrets. These people refusing to talke with vs, fled from vs. Departing from them, we came to another Nation called *Surucafi*, 90. leagues distant from the *Balscherpes*, the people out of this Countrey louingly and friendly engaged vs. Every Houeholder of these *Surucafi* dwelleth in a peculiar and proper house of his owne with his wife and children. The men have a round piece of wood hanging at their eares like a *Calcut* Die. The women haue Christall of a like colour, of a finger thicke hanging at their lips, they are well-fauoured to behold, and goe altogether naked. These people abound with *Turkly* Corne, *Mandocch*, *Mandocch*, *Paddas*, fish and flesh. And it is a very populous Countrey.

Our Captaine commanded to inquire of them concerning a Nation called *Caracacaris*, and all of the *Caros*. They could tell vs nothing of the *Caracacaris*: but concerning the *Caros* they said, that they were with them at their houses. But it was not true; having learned this, our General commanded to prepare our selues for the journey, for hee determined to goe 30 further into the Countrey. He appointed an hundred and fiftie Souldiers to stay with the ships, to whom hee gave provision of victuall for two yeeres. Taking the other three hundred and fiftie together with the eighteen horses, and twenty thousand *Indians* or *Caros*, who came from the *Assumption* with vs, we went further into the Countrey, but with little benefit to vs. For our General was not a man fit for so great an attempt: Besides all the Captaines and Souldiers feared him, for his prudence and rigorous carriage towards the Souldiers. Having travelled therefore eighteene dayes journey they neuer let eye neither vpon the *Caros*, nor any other people, and food also failed them, so that our General was of necessity to returne againe vnto the ships. But yet our General churgeth a certaine *Spaniard* *Franciscus Rieffer*, with tenne other *Spaniards* to goe forward, commanding them that if after ten dayes journey they found no people, they should returne vnto the ships, where they would stay for them. It happened therefore that they light vpon a populous Nation, which had plentie of *Turkly* Corne, *Mandocch*, and other Roots. But the *Spaniards* durst not come in their light, and returning to vs, signified this vnto our General, who was very desirous to haue gone into this Countrey againe, but hee was hindered by the waters, that hee could not proceed.

Hee therefore commandeth a ship to be furnished againe, wherein hee put eighty Souldiers, and making *Ermendo Rieffer*, Captaine inioyneth him to goe vpon the River of *Parabol*, to discover the Nation called *Scherues*, and therein two dayes journey, and no more to enter into the heart of the Countrey, and after that to make report vnto him of the Countrey, and the Inhabitants thereof. Departing by ship from our General, the first day we came to a certaine Nation called 50 *Guobucufis*, on the other side of the Countrey, whose people inhabite a certaine land, contrary thirty leagues in length, which the River *Parabol* compasseth. They feed vpon *Mandocch*, *Maiz*, *Mandocch*, *Paddas*, *Mandoppe*, *Porpe* *Bachkyu*, and other Roots, and also vpon fish and flesh. The men and women are like the former *Surucafi* in Phisnomy and fauour. Wee fled this way with them. When we were to depart the next day, they accompanied vs with ten Canoes or Boats: twice in the day time they fished, and caught Venison, which they gave vs.

Spending nine dayes in this iourney we arrived after at the Nation called *Achkers*, where a great multitude of people were gathered together. The men and women, are of a great and tall stature, the like whereof I saw not in all the Countrey of the River of *Plate*, and these *Achkers* shew the women couer their secrets. Wee staid one day with these *Achkers*, and from thence till the *Ermendo Rieffer* returned with thier ten Boats or Canoes to their Village. Afterward our Captaine *Ermendo Rieffer*, requested the *Achkers*, to shew him what way they might goe to the *Scherues*, whereto they were very ready, and lent eight Canoes or Boats from their Village with vs, and twice every day they caught fish and flesh, that so we might haue sufficient plenty of food,

Vuuuu a

The

Alvarez Nunnez

Note. *Francisco Lopez*, chiefe of the *Assumption*, that in the year 1544. hee was first from *Cafar* Majestie, with 400. men, and 40. horses to the River of *Plate*. And hee was a whole month in this Voyage. And therefore fiftie in the year 1544. hee returned at the *Assumption*. Shipwrecked & rescued by land. 100. men left.

Savage nation of *Surucafi*Village of *Cafar*

Achkers hanging.

Indes fortis. ca. 100.

Twelve thousand

Dabero cometh in

Paimeis

Balscherpes

Surucafi

Caracacaris

General not belied.

Hee returned.

Ermendo Rieffer saileth vpon the River to the *Guobucufis*, and *Achkers*. *Guobucufis* live in the shore of the River.

Achkers. Men of tall stature. They are called *Achkers*, which signify both *Groceries* and *Spices*. The men of this Countrey are of a great stature.

Scherues.

Priests and
wood den
Eatings.
Cunning paint-
ters.Wild pompe
of the King.Stags and
Elkridges.

Musike.

Weapons.

Gold and Sil-
uer.The Amazons
described.Land of Ama-
zons.

36. The ninth day after our departure from them, we came to the *Scherues*, vnto whom from the said *Accheries*, are thirtie fixe leagues. This Nation is very populous, yet they are not true and naturall, among whom the King himselfe hath an house. But these *Scherues* maintaine a Prait expert in the Mytheries of Religion, and haue a ring of wood hanging at their eares. These men also wear a blue Chirillat in their hips, of the shape and bignesse of Dice, they are painted with a blue colour from the paps to the priuities, with that excellency that I thinke a Painter is not to be found in all *Germany* which could performe the like so finely and artificially. They goe naked, and are beautiful after their manner.

We stayed therefore one day with these *Scherues*, and after going fourteene leagues forward in three dayes journey, at length we came to the place where their King dwelleth, from to which the Inhabitants are called *Scherues*. His Country containeth only four leagues in length. Yet hath he a Village situate vpon the River of *Parabel*. Therefore leaving our ships here, we committed the custodie thereof to twelue *Spaniards*, that returning we might see them for our defence. We also intreated the *Scherues* dwelling there, that in the meane space they would friendly conuerse with the *Christians*, and intreate them courteously, which also they did, with necessities for our journey, passing ouer the River *Parabel*, we arrived at that place, where the lease and house of the King was. Who, when we were almost yet a league from him, cometh forth to meete vs guarded with more then 12000. men in a Champion plaine. yet friendly and peaceably. The path wherein they marched, was eight paces broad, firewed with flowers and graffe on euery side, and made so cleane, that not so much as any little stone, stick, or straw appeared. The King had also with him his Musicians, whose Instruments were like our crooked Trumpets, which we call *Schalmei*. Hee gaue commandement also, that they should hunt Stags and other wilde beaſt on both sides of the way which hee went, so that they tooke about thirtie Stags and twentie Elkridges or *lambs*, which spectacle was very pleasant to behold. When we were entred into the Village, hee alwaies appointed one lodging for two *Christians*. But our Captaine together with his Seruants or followers was brought into the Kings Palace.

He is wont to haue Musike at the Table, and at his meate, whensoever he pleaseth. For then they play vpon the Flutes or Pipes, men leading the dances and skipping with most beautifull women, which dances and skipings seemed so strange vnto vs, that looking vpon them, wee had almost forgot our selues. In the rest the *Scherues* are like those people of whom wee spoke before. The women make them gownes or ypper garments of thinne Cotton, almost like our clothes which are some part like, which we call *Arras* or *Burshot*. They weare in their diuers shapies of Stags, Elkridges and *Indians* therpe, according as euery of them is more skillfull in the art of weauing.

In these garments they deepe, if the Aire happen to be somewhat cold, or putting them vnder them they lit vpon them, or vie them at their pleasure for other seruises. These women are very faire and vnerous.

When we had stayed there foure dayes, this pettie King demanded of our Captaine what our purpose was, and whether we would goe: to whom he made this answer, that he fought Gold and Siluer. Therefore he gaue him a Crowne of Siluer weighing a pound and an halfe. He gaue him also a plate of Gold of a spanne and an halfe long, and halfe a span broad, and certaine other things made cunningly wrought of Siluer, and told our Captaine that he had no more Siluer nor Gold: And that these things wherewith he presented him, were the spoiles which in time past he had gotten in war against the *Amazons*.

That he made mention of the *Amazons*, and of their riches, was very pleasing to vs to heare. Our Captaine therefore presently demanded of the King, whether we might come to them by Sea, or by the River, and how much further we had to goe, when we were to take our journey towards them, whereunto he answered, that we could not goe to them by water but by land, and that in two whole moneths journey.

37. These women the *Amazons*, haue only one of their pappes, their Husbands come vnto them three or foure times in the yeere. And if the woman beeing with child by her Husband, bring forth a Male child, the fenneth him home againe to his Father, but if it be a Female, she keepeth it with her: and seareth the right pap of it, that it may grow no more, which she doeth for this purpose, that they may be more fit to handle their Weapons and Bowes. For they are warlike women, making continuall war with their Enemies. These women inhabit an Island that is very large, on euery side compassed with water, to whom there is no access but by Canoes or Boats. The *Amazons* haue neither Gold nor Siluer in this Island, but they are reported to haue great Treasures in the firme land, which the men inhabit. It is a very populous Nation, and is said to haue a King called *Teguer*, and the King of *Scherues* told vs the name of the place. Therefore the Captaine *Erasmus Ruſſer* desired the King of *Scherues*, to ioyne certaine of his men with vs, to carry our baggage and baggage for vs, and then we would enter the heart of the Country to seeke those *Amazons*. He willingly assented thereto, yet in the meane time aduising vs, that the whole Countrey was now overflowed with waters, and therefore we should haue

haue a very difficult and vneasily Iourney vnto them, and that we could not easily at this time come vnto them. But we would not giue credite to his words, but were intreated to haue the *Indians* ioyned with vs. He therefore gaue twentie men to our Captaine, for his owne perion, to carrie his provision and necessaries: and to euery one of vs, he gaue five *Indians* to serue vs, and carrie that little which we had. For wee were to goe eight dayes Iourney, wherein we should not see any *Indian*.

But afterward we came to a certaine Nation called *Siberia* who in their language and other things were like the *Scherues*. Wee were to goe for these eight whole dayes, day and night in the water vnto the knees, and sometimes reaching as high as the waite: nor could we by any means get out of them. And if we would make fire, we were of necessity to put it vpon a pile of sticke made of great blockes or pieces of wood: and it fell out often, that when we were about to boile our meate, both the pot and the fire fell into the water, so that after that, we were faine to be without our meate. And Great alio troubled and vexed vs day and night, so that we could not doe our necessarie worke or business.

We therefore demanded of those *Siberia*, whether we should yet haue any more waters? who answered, that we were yet foure dayes to walke in the waters, and afterward were to trauell five dayes by Land, and at length we should come to a Nation called *Orethun*. They figured alio vnto vs, that we were too few in number, and therefore that we should returne. But the *Scherues* would not doe this: for they thought rather to lead them backe vnto their

30 Towne, who had hitherto accompanied vs, but they refused to doe it, saying, they were enioyned by their King not to leaue vs, but should continue with vs, until we came out of the Countrey againe. These *Siberia* ioyned ten men with vs, who together with the *Scherues* should show vs the way to the fore-said *Orethun*. Wee were yet seuen dayes more to trauell in the waters which were so hot, as if they had been heauy vpon the fire, which water alio, hauing no other, we were compelled to drinke. But some might peradventure thinke, that it was Riuier water, but at that time, shoures of raine were so common and vusual, that they filled the whole Countrey with water, which is altogether very plaine and euen.

The ninth day we came vnto a certaine Village of the Nation *Orethun*, betwene ten and eleven of the clocke. And at twelue of the clocke, being come into the middle of the Towne, we came vnto the Princes house. At that time a cruell and mightie Plague was very hot, whereof Famine was the cause: for, two yeeres together, the Grass-hoppers had leaſten and corrupted all manner of Corne, and the fruits of trees, that almost nothing was left them, which they might eate.

But our Captaine asked the Petie-King of this Nation, how many dayes Iourney we yet had to the *Amazons*? from whence he receiued answer: That we must yet trauell one whole moneth, besides that all the Countrey was full of water.

The King of these *Orethun*, gaue our Captaine foure Plates of gold, and foure filer Rings, which they put about their armes: but the *Indians* wore the Plates of gold on their foreheades for ornament, as our Nobles doe their Chaires, or Collars of Elbes hanging about their neckes. For these things our Captaine gaue the King of the *Indians* an Hatchet, Knives, and Brades, or Pater-nosters, Barbers Scizzers, and such like. Wee would willingly haue craued more of them, but wee durst not attempt it, because wee were but few in number, so that we were forced to stand in feare of them. For the multitude of these *Indians* was very great, and the Towne huge, in so much as I haue not any greater or more populous throughout all *India*. For the Towne was very long, and broad.

30 Going backe therefore, we returned to the fore-said *Siberia*, and we *Christians* were ill furnished with provision of victuall, and other things: nor had we any meate, but the fruits of trees, which they call *Palmides*, and *Cardes*, and other wilde roots growing vnder ground. And when we should returne vnto the *Scherues*, the halfe part of our people was deadely sick, and that by reason of the water, through which wee were to wade for thirte dayes together, so that wee could neuer turne aside, or get out of the same; and alio by reason of the great heat and burning, which we must indure in this Iourney: which calamitie was not a little encreased, in that we were compelled to drinke that stinking and impure water. Abiding therefore foure dayes with these *Scherues*, with whom the King himselfe dwelleth, we were very louingly and beautifullly entertained, and provided for. For the King gaue commandement to his Subiects, to giue vs all things necessarie. Euery man also had gotten for himselfe almost two hundred Ducks as onely by Cotton Gownes and Siluer, which we had gotten of them by ferre exchange of Knives, Brades, Scizzers, and Glasses.

40 After all this, being carried downe the Riuier, we returned to our Generall. But when we came to the ships, the Generall commanded vpon paine of death, that no man should goe out of the ship, and he also in proper perion comming to our Captaine, laying hold of him, commanded him to be caſt in Prison, and by violence tocke away from vs Soldiers, whatsoever we had gathered in this Iourney. And not contented with this, would haue hanged our Captaine vpon

Vuuuuu a tree,

Siberia.

Wading Jour-
ney.

Belle-filles.

Gnats.

Trauell in hot
waters.

Orethun.

Locusts.

The *Amazons*
are fitt further
off: I doubt
beyond the re-
gion of Euery;
if the title be
properly
meant of such
sort, there de-
scribed, for
was the wisest
thing in nature
with many
Gold and sil-
uer.

Thirde dayes
wading.Profitable
tricks.

a tree. When we abiding yet in the Brigandines vnderstood this, taking counsell with certaine of our friends, which were alhoare, we raised a tumult and a sedition against our said Generall, and in his presence face to face we said vnto him, that forthwith he should let Captaine *Erasmo Ruffere* free before vs, and restore all vnto vs, which he had violently taken from vs, otherwise we would prouide according to the state and the time.

When *Almaraz* saw this our tumult and indignation, with a willing minde, he presently freed the Captaine from captiuitie, and restored also vnto vs whatsoever he had taken from vs, endeavouring with faire speeches, that we might be pacified.

Vnhealthfull
Countrie.

39. In this Countrey *Surucufis* I found no *Indians*, who had attained to fortie or fiftie yeeres, and in all the time of my life I neuer found a Countrey lesse healthfull. It is situate vnder the Tropike of *Capricorne*.

Wicked pe-
rsons.

Our Generall talking sicke, in this his sickness commanded an hundred and fiftie *Christians* to arme themselves, and taking two thousand *Caribs* with them, to make foure Brigandines also readie. These he enioyned, to goe about some foure leagues to the Iland of *Surucufis* by ship, and after kill and take all this people, and should principally destroy those persons, who were fortie or fiftie yeeres old. But how the said *Surucufis* entertained vs before, is already declared. But what reward we gaue them againe, and how welcome we were vnto them, you shall shortly vnderstand. And God knoweth we did them great iniurie. When therefore we were arrived at their Towne vnwares, they came out of their houses with their Armes, Bowes and Arrows, yet peaceably to meet vs, but forthwith a tumult arising betwene the *Caribs* and the *Surucufis*, so we *Christians* discharged our brasse Peece against them, killing very many: and hauing taken also two thousand of their men, women, boyes and girles, we tooke away all their household-stuffe, and whatsoever might bee taken from them, as in such violent assaults is usually done. Then we returned to our Generall, who was well pleased with that we had done. But because our *Souldiers* were for the most part feeble and sicke, and mozt of them also were ill affected to our Generall, and hated him, we could doe no more with them, but being altogether conueyed downe the Riuer *Parabol*, we returned to our Citie the *Assumption*; where we were left therewith the *Christians*. There our Generall fell sicke againe of a Feauer, and kept within doores fouente weekes day together, more of wicked diffimulation and pride, then hindered by reason of sickness.

The Authors
sickness.

40. All the companie hereupon, as well Noble as Ignoble, determined and decreed with one consent and purpose, that they would find this their Commander prisoner vnto *Casari Maelite*, the Treasurer or Iudge, the Clarke, or Master of the Toll or Customs, and the Secretarie, ordained by *Casari Maelite* (whose names were *Almaraz Gabrera*, *Francis Mendaza*, and *Grain Hamagu*) taking to them two hundred Souldiers, tooke our Generall, who feared nothing lesse then this, and this was done vpon Saint *Markes* Day, in the month of Aprill. And they kept him prisoner an whole yeere, till they might send him with two other Officers into *Spain* in a Carauell, *Martin Don Eyollas* was chosen Generall, who also gouerned this Countrey before, especially telling the Souldiers also loud him: which election the better part allowed. At this time, I lay grievously sick of the Dropisie, which disease I had gotten in our Iourney to the *Ore-thusen*, when we waded to long in the waters, and besides suffered want, and almost intolerable hunger: By occasion of that Iourney, eightie of our men begonne to bee sicke, and almost onely thurte recovered their health.

41. *Almaraz Nuñez*, therefore being sent away into *Spain*, the *Christians* began to disgrace among themselves in hostile manner. These fightings and contentions continued with vs a whole yeere almost, the sending away of *Almaraz* giuing occasion to this mischief. When the *Caribs* and *Ayguas* (who hitherto were our friends) perceived this, to wit, that we *Christians*, bare such treacherous hearts one to another, and vsed and exercised such fighting and skirmishing amongst our selues, it fell out very acceptably to them all, and by taking Armes against vs, forced vs to peace amongst our selues.

42. Departing from the *Assumption*, together with our Generall, and three hundred and fiftie *Christians*, to whom one thousand *Indians* ioyned themselves, which our Generall so diuided, that three *Indians* alwaies should ferue vnder one *Christian*: we went so farre forward, that we were onely three leagues distant from that place where our Enemies the *Caribs* encamped, who being fiftene thousand men strong, had now ranged their battell. But although we were now but halfe a league from them, yet we would not let vpon them that day, because we were wearie by reason of the Iourney, and many and great shoures of raine troubled vs: therefore we hid our selues in a Wood, where we lay close till night before.

Fight with the
Caribs.

Guing forth the next morning at five of the clocke, and coming into their sight about ten, we ioyned battell, prolonging the fight till ten of the clocke. But at length they being put to flight, made haffe to a certaine Towne called *Frãmidere*, foure leagues distant, whither they had fortified with strong Bulwarks. The Chief Commander of the *Caribs* was called *Macchirau*, and in this conflict, there fell two thousand men of the Enemies, whose heads the *Indians* tooke with them. Of ours, besides those that were wounded and hurt, whom we sent backe

to the *Assumption*, ten *Christians* were slaine. But we pursued the Enemy with all our Armes, euen to their Towne *Frãmidere*, whether the Commander of the *Caribs* conueyed himselfe by flight. They haue compassed this Towne with a triple rowe of Trenches, as with a wall. The Trenches were as thicke as a man in the middle, which being digged a mans depth into the ground, rose three fathoms high about ground. They had also cast vp pits, or deepe holes, whereof also we haue spoken before, in euery one whereof they had pitched five or sixe flakes, sharpe pointed like Pinnes or Needles. This Towne therefore by fortification, and Garrisons of valiant and courageous men, was exceedingly well fenced, so that three dayes we besieged them in vain, yet at length, by Gods helpe, we conquered it. We made also great and round Targets of *Indian* Sheep-skinnes, which they call *Amates*, or *Amidas*. This beast is of a reasonable bignesse, like an ordinarie Mule, of a grey colour, with clauen feete like a Kow, in the rest like an Asse, skidding pleasant meate. There is great store of these beasts in this Countrey, they haue a skin halfe a finger thicke. Wee therefore gaue these round Targets to the *Indians Iepurus*, giuing some of them also an Hatchet: and betweene two *Indians* we placed an Harqueballe shot. Destroying their tiple inclosure, we entered the Towne of *Frãmidere*; we neither spared men nor women, boyes nor gyles. But the greatest part of them hauing escaped by flight, betooke themselves to a certaine other Towne of theirs called *Carieba*, twentie leagues distant from *Frãmidere*.

Siege and con-
quest.

30 To the Towne also they fortified as strongly as they could. The *Caribs* also in great numbers came together againe, incamping themselves neere an huge Wood, that if peradventure this Towne also should be wonne by the *Christians*, they might vie the helpe of the Wood for their defence.

We came to the said Towne, and pitching our Tents, besieged it round in three places. We had also his time of our men in a Wood, to keepe diligent watch there, Supplies also of two hundred *Christians*, and five hundred of the *Iepurus*, and the *Bahis* came to aide vs, from the City of *Assumption*. For many of our men, both *Christians*, and *Indians*, were much wounded. So that we were of necessity compelled to send for a fresh supplie of Souldiers for our aide. Now therefore all our forces were foure hundred and fiftie *Christians*, and the *Iepurus* and the *Bahis* were thurteen hundred in number.

But our Enemies the *Carieba*, had much more strongly fortified this Towne with Trenches, and Moats, then euer they had done any before. They had also made and framed certaine Engines, and instruments like Traps, wherewith Mice are taken, which if according to their purpose and meaning, they had fallen, eury one of them at one fall had slaine twentie or thurte men. They had disposed many of these Engines beeread there about this Towne.

Fortification
and Engines.

Wee abode therefore neere this Towne foure whole dayes, and could effect nothing of any worth, vntill Treason (which getteth the masterie eury where throughout the world) came betweene them and home. For a certaine *Indian* of the *Caribs* our Enemies, who was their Captaine, to whom this towne properly belonged, came by night vnto our Generall, earnestly intreating, that we would not waste and destroy this his Towne by fire, which if we would promise him, he would ioine men with vs; and would shew vs the way and means how to take it. Which when our Generall had promised, adding also this caution, that he should keeue no hurt nor damage, he shewed vs in the Wood two ways to come to the Towne, and said, that he would raise a flaming fire therein, during which we should violently breake into it.

When these things proceeded iust according to the purpose and agreement made betweene vs, by this means entring we got the Towne, and great slaughter of the people was made by vs *Christians*: And they that thought they had escaped by fleeing, fell into the hands of the *Iepurus*, by whom the greatest part of them were slaine. But they had not their wiues, and children then with them, but had hid them in a great Wood foure leagues distant from thence. The people which escaped out of this conflict, fled to a certaine other Petit-King of the *Indians*, called *Dabera*: and the Village which entertained them, was called *Iuberis Sabate*, and was fortie leagues distant from *Carieba*. But we could not pursue them thither, for this reason, because what way soeuer they passed, they had wasted all their Armes, with fire, and spoyleing, and had taken away all the store of prouision and victuall. Moeuing four dayes in the Towne *Carieba*, we cured the wounded, and also refreshed our selues.

43. After this we returned to our Citie, the *Assumption*, that after we might sayle vp the Riuer, and seeke out the Towne of *Iuberis Sabate*, where the King *Dabera* had an house, with nine Brigandines, and two hundred Canoas or Boats, wherein fiftene hundred *Indians* of *Iepurus* were carried, we went vp the Riuer *Parabol*, to seeke our Enemies *Iuberis Sabate*.

In this Voyage also that captaine of the *Caribs*, who betrayed the Towne *Carieba* to vs, ioyned himselfe with vs, bringing with him one thousand *Caribs*, to aide vs against *Dabera*.

Iuberis Sabate
44. leagues
from Assump-
tion.

40 We goe forward therefore with all our forces gathered together on the Land and Riuer, and come to neere vnto our Enemies *Iuberis Sabate*, that we are but two leagues distant from them. When we had arrived there, our Generall *Eyollas*, sent two *Indians* of the *Caribs* to the Enemye into their Towne, who should perswade them in the *Christians* behalfe, that returning into their Countrey, with their wiues and children, and all their household-stuffe, they should ferue the

Ciri.

Christians with due submission, as they did before, which if they refused to do, they would drive them all out of the Countrey. To this *Dabere* the King of the *Caros* for answer, commeth to tell our General, That he neither acknowledged him, nor the *Christians*, but if they came, they would kill them by cutting bones at them. They also lend away the two *Indian* malingers well bombarded with cudgels, with this straight charge, that they should speedily withdraw themselves from the Campe, otherwise it should come to passe, that they should be flaine.

We came to a River, called *Stefia* in the *Indian* language, almost as broad as *Danubius*, half the height of a man deepe in some places also deeper. This River doth sometimes to increase by inundation, that it doth much hurt to the Countrey, and by reason of such inundation or overflowing, they cannot trauele by land. We were to passe over this River, they did vs much hurt in the passing over. When they saw that we had now passed over the River, speedily taking their flight, conveyed themselves into their towne, halfe a league distant from the River; we so pursued them, that we came to their towne of *Iuberice Sabate*, at the verie same moment that they themselves entered, which also presently we so besieged round, that none of them might either goe out or in; we also forthwith armed our selues with targets made of the skindes of the *Amydas*, as storeland, we was their towne.

Our Generall commanded, before we should invade them by force of armes, that we should neither kill the women, nor their children, but only leade them away captives; whose commandment also we obeyed, but all the men that we could light vpon, must dye, yet many escaping by flight, preferred themselves, and our confederates the *Iepers* got one thousand of the enemies heads. All these things thus performed, those *Caros*, who escaped by flight, came together with their King, and craving pardon of our Generall, intreated that their wives and children might be restored unto them, and then they would performe all obedience of submission vnto vs, as before, and serve vs faithfully. Our Generall therefore received them to favour, who afterward also continued constantly in our friendship and amitie, so long surely as I abode in these Countreies. And this warre continued a yeare and an halfe, and fell out in the yeare 1546.

§. III.

*A long and troublesome March from Assumption into Peru.
The Authors returne.*

44. **R**eturning therefore with our Shippes to our Citie the *Assumption*, wee staid there two whole yeares. But when in the meane time, neither the Shippes came out of *Spain*, nor any thing was signified by messengers, our Generall going forth with three hundred and fittie *Spaniards*, and two thousand *Caros*, in the yeare 1548. landed vpon the River *Paraboli*, wth feuen Brigantines, and two hundred Canoas, or Boates. But those of the people, whom the Shippes could not hold, traueled by land with one hundred and thirty horses. He made *Don. Franck Mendosa* Captaine; giuing also provision for a yeare.

These things therfore being thus ended, The Generall hauing sent backe fittie to *Assumption* with three hundred *Christen* Souldiers, one hundred and thirty Horses, and two thousand *Caros*, hauing gone forward eight dayes iourney found no Nation; but the ninth daye were light vpon a Nation called *Naperu*, the people thereof lue onely by fish and fesh. They are of a strong and tall stature. Their women, which are not beautifull, couer their secrets. Th^e Country is fixe and thirtie leagues distant from the Mountaine *Saint Ferdinand*: here we lay all night. The day following, continuing on our iourney, we came the fourth day after, to another Nation called *Mapais*, which is very populous; the Subjects are compelled to serue their Noblemen, with fishing, and labours, and other worke, no otherwise then our Boores with vs, doe their Nobles. But this Nation aboundeth with *Mais*, *Mandeesh*, *Ade*, *Mande pore*, *Mandeesh porpie*, *Padades*, *Mandesh*, *Bachkeu*, and other rootes, and things to eat. It hath also Stagges, *Indian* Sheep, Eltridges Ducks, Geese, and many other kindes of Foule. Their Woods abound in great plenty with Hony, of the which also they make Wine, and put it to other necessary vices.

The Sheep (which they call *Amidas*) are of two kindes, some of them domestically and some wilde, which they vse for carriages, and to ride vpon, and for other seruises, almost as we doe our Horses, as Tallo riding being carried on such a Sheep in this yeare iourney, more than forty leagues, when my legge was lame.

These *Mapais* are men of a tall stature, and walkie, conuening all their labour and busi to warlike affairs. Their women are faire, and couer their secrets. They doe no worke and labour in the fields, but the whole care of maintaining the family, lieth vpon the man; neither do they

they any thing else at home, save spinne, and weaue Cotton, or dresse meate for their husbands.

We were not about halfe a league from this Nation when they coming forth of the towne, they met vs neere a certaine litle Village, where they periwaded vs quietly to refresh our selues that night, for they would giue vs whatsoeuer we had neede of, but this they did deceitfully and treacherously: that also we might be more secure, they gaue our Generall foue fluer Crownes, such as are usually worne vpon the head, and foure Plates of silver, whereof euery one of them was a spanne and an halfe long, and halfe a spanne broad, These Plates they binde to their foreheads for ornament, as we haue said before. They presented our Captaine also with three yong

10 women. When we had turned into this Village, supper being ended, and the watch set, that the people might be safe from the treachery of the enemy, wee gaue our selues to rest. About midnight our Generall had lost his yong wenches.

45. After this, two thousand of the foresaid *Mapais* came vnto vs, that ouercharging vs vnwares they might vterly ouerthrow and kill vs, but they got no great matter at our hands, and in this conflict and bickering more then one thousand men were slaine. They betake themselves to flight, whom we pursued with great haste, even to their Towne, but found no man there, no not so much as their wives and children: our Generall therefore dispatching one hundred and fittie harquebusses (thor, and two thousand five hundred *Indian* Caros, pursued these

30 *Mapais* three dayes, and two nights with great speed, so that we did but dine, and rested by night refreshing our selues foure or five houres with sleepe.

The third day we suddenly came vpon them gathered together in a certaine wood with their wives and children, but they were not those we sought, but were their friends; who were nothing afraid of vs, nor did they suppose that we would euer haue come vnto them. Notwithstanding the innocents were forced to pay for the fault of the guilty; for when we light vpon them, we slew many of them, and tooke of the men, women, and children, about three thousand persons, and if it had bin day, as it was night, none of them had escaped our hands; for an huge number of this people had gathered themselves together in a certaine Mountain inclosed round with woods. I had gotten for my part of the spoile about nineteene men and women, not very old, together with certaine other things.

These things performed, returning to our Campe, we quietly reposed our selues for eight daies; for we found there, sufficient plenty of victuall, and other necessary things; from this Nation *Mapais*, vnto *Saint Ferdinand* Mount, where our Shippes rode, were fittie leagues, and from the Nation *Naperu* thirtie fix.

Marching on againe from thence, we came to a Nation called *Zemis*, subiect to the foresaid *Zemis* *Mapais*. They lue almost as the Boores doe with vs, vnder the power of their Lords. In this iourney we light vpon fields tilled, and set with *Mais*, and other rootes, and these frutes and Fieldes of *Mais*, meates, are all the yeare long found in the fields; for before one reape and gather the one into the barme, another is ready for the harvest. And this also being reaped and gathered, it is time to sowe another. Turning aside thence, we came into another Towne, whose inhabitants when they lay vs at hand, fled all away. This towne is foure leagues distant from the foresaid Nation called *Mapais*, but we found no men here, but great plenty of foode. The men of this Countrey also are subiect to the *Mapais*.

Going from hence we met with no Nation in our iourney in foure dayes space. But the fourth day we came to a Nation called *Peionas*, foureteen leagues distant from the former *Peionas* *hanna*. In this Countrey a great number of people came together, and their Capaine came forth to meete vs, guarded with a great multitude of men, yet peaceably, and earnestly besought our Generall not to enter into their Towne, but that we should stay without, in the place where he came to meete vs; and our Generall would not consent, but directly marched forward, wth he, till he, entered into the Towne.

We staid with these *Peionas* three dayes, and our Generall demanded many things of them concerning the nature and condition of this Countrey. When we were to depart, these *Peionas* gaue vs an Interpreter and a guide, that we might finde water to drinke, for there is great scarcity of water in this Countrey, hauing traueiled foure leagues, we came to a Nation called *Mayer*, *Mangay*, and slaying one only day, taking an Interpreter againe, and a guide, we marched forward. And these people were gentle and courteous.

Departing also from these people, when we had marched eight leagues, we came to a Nation, whose people, which were many in number, were called *Maronos*. They also gently and curiously entertained vs; we abode here two dayes, and receiving a relation of the nature, and condition of the place, taking also a guide with vs, we went further forward. Departing two leagues from thence, we came to another Nation, yet not so populous, called *Paronos*. This Countrey aboundeth not with victuall and foode, yet notwithstanding it is 3000. strong of men able for warre. In this Countrey we rested one day onely.

Symonos
Wall of bulwarks
20. 000.

Having traualled twelue leagues from this place, we came to a Nation, whose people are called *Symonos*, where a great multitude of men came together. Their towne is situate vpon an high hill, and compassed round about with Bryar bulwarks, as with a wall.

46. We traualled sixteene leagues further in foure daies journey, and at length were brought vnto a certaine Nation, called *Barenos*: the men thereof, seeing our coming chanced to them beyond their expectation and opinion, presently betooke themselves to flight, as soone as we came neere their towne: yet they could not escape out of our power. But when we onely craued food of them, being very ready, they willingly gaue vs Hens, Geefe, Sheepe, Estridges, Stags, and other fowle abundance.

Lehoppers
Grashoppers

Departing thence, the third day after we came to a Nation, whose people were called *Lehoppers*. They dwell twelue leagues removed from the former. These people had but little food, for the *Grashoppers* had corrupted almost all their fruites. Therefore resting one onely night with them, after hauing traualled sixteene leagues in foure dayes journey, we came to another Nation called *Carachenos*. The *Grashoppers* also had done them great displeasure, but had not so much hurt them as they had done the former: abiding with them one day, we vnderstood

Carachenos

Suburis
The dye of
this fl.

of the condition and quality of the Countrey, that we should finde no water in foure and twenty or thirty leagues space: we approached to these *Suburis* in six dayes space: But many of our men died of thirst, although with these *Carachenos* we had furnished our selves with indifferent store of water for this journey. But in this journey we found a roote about ground, hauing great and broad leaues wherein water remaineth as it were in fine vessels, nor is it powred out thence, nor is so easily consumed, and one of these rootes containeth about halfe a measure of water.

Roote holding
water.

These *Suburis* had great scarcity of water also, neither had they any other thing besides to drink, and it had not now rained for three whole moneths: yet of the roote called *Mandepes*, they make drinke after this manner. They gather together the said roote into a Morter, and out of them being stamped they wring forth a milke like milke: if water may be had, wine also may be made of this roote. In this Village there was one Well onely, which was to be kept by a watchman. So that we were most troubled with the desire either of Salt or Graine, but the common complaint of all men, was for want of water. In this Countrey there were also no other waters to be found beside these, but they were only that water which they gather in the cisterns. These *Suburis* make warre with the bordering *Indians*, onely for water. The

No running
mouths,
Drinke of a
roote.

Suburis, who should haue flowed vs the way, by night prudely stole away. We were therefore now to seeke out the way out selves, and at length we light vpon those people called *Peifennos*, they refusing our friendship with food vs by armes, but got little at our hands. We tooke some of these *Peifennos*, who told vs that there had bin three *Spaniards* in their towne, whereof one called *Iheronimus* was a trumpeter, whom *Iohn Eyollas* (who was sent by *Don Pedro Mendoza*, to discover these Countreys) left sicke there, as we haue at large before rehearsed. They said therefore that the *Peifennos* had slaine these three *Spaniards*, foure daies before our coming thither, being advertised thereof by the *Suburis*: but they should decreely pay for this fact of theirs. Abiding foureteen daies in their towne, we fought them round about vs euerie where, till at last taking them vnawares in a wood, but not all, we partly slew them, & partly led them away captiues.

Peifennos

47. Taking our journey at length we came to the *Maigenos*, but the people thereof resting vs with strong hand, woud not entertaine vs as friends. Their Towne being situate vpon a hill, was compassed round on euery side with a thicke and broad quickset hedge as high as a man may reach with his Sword. Wee *Christians* therefore with our *Carus*, began to assault the Towne in two daies. But in this assault twelue *Christians*, together with some few of the *Carus* were slaine, and they put vs to a great deal of trouble, before we could take and win this towne.

Maigenos

Eight daies after the Towne taken five hundred of our *Carus*, taking their Bowes and Arrows, departing secretly and without our priuitie, about two or three leagues from our Camp, secke out the *Maigenos*, who were fled. On whom when they lighted, these two Nations fought with so great and constant resolution, that more then three hundred men of the *Carus*, but of the enemies, almost innumerable, were slaine: for there was so great a multitude of them, that they spread almost a whole league in length. But the *Carus* sending a messenger to the towne where we were, earnestly entreated our Generall, that they would come with some supply of Souldiers to helpe them; for the *Maigenos* had to belet them round in a wood, that they could neither go forward nor returne backe againe.

Quickset wall.

Which when our Generall vnderstood, he presently commaundeth the Horses to be made ready, and to send away and dispatch one hundred and fiftie *Christians*, but of the *Carus* assembled a thousand men, leaving the rest of the Souldiers in the tents to guard them, that wee being sent, the *Maigenos* our enemies might invade them. We went for this therefore with this force (so wrote the said *Carus*, one hundred and fiftie *Christians*, and one thousand *Carus*, to helpe the *Carus* our friends. But so soone as the *Maigenos* perceived our coming, removing their tents, they committed themselves to flight, and albeit we pursued them with as much speed as we could, yet could we neuer ouertake them.

Fight betwixt
Carus and *Maigenos*.

48. When we had gone three daies journey from this towne, we came to a certaine Riuer called *Machafes*, a league and a halfe broad: and when we saw not how we might passe safely ouer without danger, at length we found out this meane, that for euery two persons we should make a Boate of willowes and timber, whereon being carried downe the Riuer, they might come to the other side of the banke; but in this passage foure of our men were drowned. This Riuer hath most faire FISH, Many Tygars also are found about these places, and this Riuer is but foure leagues onely distant from the towne *Machafes*.

Peifennos

The Inhabitants coming forth to meete vs, entertained vs courteously, speaking to vs in the *Spanish* tongue, whereat being astonished and foreafraid at the first, we demanded of them to what Lord they were subiect, and who was their supreme Gouverneur? They therefore answered vs, and our Captaine, that they were subiect to a certaine Noble man in *Spaine*, whose name was *Petro Aulques*.

Maigenos

Entering into this Towne, we found certaine men and women, and little Infants also swarming with very little vermin, like our fleas. These little vermin, if they lay hold of the toes of the teete, or any other part of the body, they gnaw and enter alwaies more and more deeply in, and at length become worms, such as are found in our flouds: yet if it be done in time, this mischief may be prevented, thus it shall not hurt, but if deferring the cure it be neglected, at length by eating and gnawing, it consumeth and corrupteth whole toes.

Peifennos

From the often named Citie of the *Assumption of Mary*, to this Towne, we are numbered (according to the account of the Altronomers) three hundred (seuente two leagues. And when we had staid there about twentie daies, a Letter was brought vs from a Citie of the Kingdome of *Peru*, called *Lima*, where the Viceroy or Lieutenant of *Casari* Maletie, who at that time was *Licentiaza Laguna*, had an house. The Letter contained, that our Generall *Marin Don Pantoja* should goe no further forward, vpon paine of death, but abiding in the Towne *Machafes*, should expect his further commandement.

Peifennos

But after this our Generall sent away foure persons to the Goneror to *Peru*. These foure persons iourneying fixe weekes in *Peru*, came hith to that Nation called *Potassi*, next to another called *Rueken*. The third Nation to which they came, was called *Plata*, and the fourth, which was the Metropolis or the chiefe Citie, was called *Lima*.

Peifennos

49. This also is worthe of obseruation, That the Countrey of *Machafes* is so fruitful, that we neither found nor saw any like it in fruitfulness, in all this our iourney. For if an *Indian* goes forth into the Wood, to make an hole or a cleft in the first tree that cometh to hand, smiting an Hatchet into it, hee or she maketh of it pure Honie flowe out, as if it were sweete Wine, or Muskeall. The Bees that make this Honie are without stings, and are very small. This Honie being eaten with Bread, or mingled with other food, yecleth pleasant meate. They

Peifennos

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Returning therefore to our tents, we shode there three daies; for we had found in this towne of the *Maigenos*, great plenty of foode, and other things. Hauing traualled a continuall iourney of thirtie daies, that is to say (in our iudgement and theirs who are skillful in the celestiall motion) two and fiftie leagues, we came to a Nation, whose people are called *Carcokies*: and hauing traualled further the space of nine daies, we came into a certaine little Countrey: fixe leagues long and broad, which was all so thicke overpread with excellent Salt, as if it had flowed Salt in great abundance, and this Salt is not corrupted winter nor summer.

Carcokies
Salt Countrey.

We rested two daies in this Salt Countrey, going forward, at length, after foure daies iourney, we came to the foresaid Nation *Carcokies*: But when we were yet foure leagues from their towne, our Generall sent fiftie *Christians*, fiftie *Carus* to prouide vs lodgings. Hauing entered the towne, we found thence an innumerable multitude of men gathered together, as in all this iourney we had not seene the like: wherefore being very penurie and careful about measure, sending a messenger presently backe vnto our Generall, who taking his iourney the very same evening, came vnto vs betweene three and foure of the clocke in the morning. But the *Carcokies* mingled force vs to more men there then we, whom they had seene before, had now propounding there had bin no more men there then we, whom they had seene before, had now propounding themselves the victorie. But when they vnderstood that our Generall followed vs with a kinder meane, they were very sad and sorrowfull, and performed all friendly offices and kindnesses vnto vs; for they could doe none other, seeing they were afraid of their wies, children, and their countrey.

They brought vs therefore flesh of Deere, Geefe, Hens, Sheepe, Estridges, and other countrey. They brought vs therefore flesh of Deere, Geefe, Hens, Sheepe, Estridges, and other countrey. They brought vs therefore flesh of Deere, Geefe, Hens, Sheepe, Estridges, and other countrey.

20. Conies, and whatsoeuer else of this kinde of Venison; and also of Birds, they had also *Turkies Samdies*. Conie, Wheare, Rife, and certaine Rootes, of all which things there was great plenty in this Countrey.

The men of this Countrey were a blew stone in their lippes, as broad as a Dye. Their weapons are Darts, the stauers of Spears, and round Targets made of the skins of the *Indian* Sheepe called *Amidas*. Their women haue a little hole in their lippes, in the which they put Chubbs either of a greene or blew colour: they haue garments of Cotten, like a shirt, but without sleeves: they are beautifull enough: they doe nothing else but spinne, and order things appertaining to the household; for tillage of the ground, and other things necessarie for the maintenance of the familie, are looked vnto by the men.

48. When we had gone three daies iourney from this towne, we came to a certaine Riuer called *Machafes*, a league and a halfe broad: and when we saw not how we might passe safely ouer without danger, at length we found out this meane, that for euery two persons we should make a Boate of willowes and timber, whereon being carried downe the Riuer, they might come to the other side of the banke; but in this passage foure of our men were drowned. This Riuer hath most faire FISH, Many Tygars also are found about these places, and this Riuer is but foure leagues onely distant from the towne *Machafes*.

The Inhabitants coming forth to meete vs, entertained vs courteously, speaking to vs in the *Spanish* tongue, whereat being astonished and foreafraid at the first, we demanded of them to what Lord they were subiect, and who was their supreme Gouverneur? They therefore answered vs, and our Captaine, that they were subiect to a certaine Noble man in *Spaine*, whose name was *Petro Aulques*.

Entering into this Towne, we found certaine men and women, and little Infants also swarming with very little vermin, like our fleas. These little vermin, if they lay hold of the toes of the teete, or any other part of the body, they gnaw and enter alwaies more and more deeply in, and at length become worms, such as are found in our flouds: yet if it be done in time, this mischief may be prevented, thus it shall not hurt, but if deferring the cure it be neglected, at length by eating and gnawing, it consumeth and corrupteth whole toes.

From the often named Citie of the *Assumption of Mary*, to this Towne, we are numbered (according to the account of the Altronomers) three hundred (seuente two leagues. And when we had staid there about twentie daies, a Letter was brought vs from a Citie of the Kingdome of *Peru*, called *Lima*, where the Viceroy or Lieutenant of *Casari* Maletie, who at that time was *Licentiaza Laguna*, had an house. The Letter contained, that our Generall *Marin Don Pantoja* should goe no further forward, vpon paine of death, but abiding in the Towne *Machafes*, should expect his further commandement.

But after this our Generall sent away foure persons to the Goneror to *Peru*. These foure persons iourneying fixe weekes in *Peru*, came hith to that Nation called *Potassi*, next to another called *Rueken*. The third Nation to which they came, was called *Plata*, and the fourth, which was the Metropolis or the chiefe Citie, was called *Lima*.

49. This also is worthe of obseruation, That the Countrey of *Machafes* is so fruitful, that we neither found nor saw any like it in fruitfulness, in all this our iourney. For if an *Indian* goes forth into the Wood, to make an hole or a cleft in the first tree that cometh to hand, smiting an Hatchet into it, hee or she maketh of it pure Honie flowe out, as if it were sweete Wine, or Muskeall. The Bees that make this Honie are without stings, and are very small. This Honie being eaten with Bread, or mingled with other food, yecleth pleasant meate. They

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make: also Drinke thereof, or Wine, of the same taste that Muskadell hath, but sweeter. Our Generall *Eyrlas* so wrought with the people, that we could stay no longer here, by reason of the want of provision. For we had scarce victuall for one month.

In performing this Journey we spent a yeere and an halfe, doing nothing else, but making continuall warre. And in this Iourney we had brought into our subjection about twelue thousand men, women, and children, who were compelled to serve vs as bond-slaves: as I for mine owne person did possesse about fiftie men, women, and children.

Civill contentions.

50. Wee, with our Generall *Martin Don Eyrlas*, came unto the Citie *Assumption*, but *Abriego* a Captaine which had rebelled against Captaine *Mendoza*, and thaine him would neither open the Citie to our Generall, nor yeeld it vp unto him, nor acknowledge him for Generall, and his Gouverneur.

But the said *Diego Abriego*, being forced to forsake the Citie with fiftie *Christians*, who ioynd themselves with him, fled thither leagues from vs, so that we could achieve nothing against him. This warre continued two whole yeeres space betwene vs, the two Captaines to opposing themselves one against the other, that neither was safe from danger of other.

51. In the meane season, while these things were thus done, I received Letters out of *Spaine*, and shewed to *Martin Don Eyrlas*, I presently desired a friendly and courteous dismission from him, I tooke my Journey in the name of God, vpon Saint *Stephens* Day, which was the fixe and twentieth of December, in the yeere 1553. and departing from the *Assumption* of *Maria*, carried vpon the Ruer of *Plata*, with my twentie *Indians* in two Canoes or Boats, when wee had 40 gone some fixe and fiftie leagues, we first arrived at a certaine Towne called *Inberic Sabas*. In that Towne four other also, together with two *Portugall* ioynd themselves with vs, having gone fiftie leagues, we came to a Towne called *Gabarietha*. After this having gone sixteene leagues further in four dayes, we came to a certaine Village called *Barijo*. Whence departing againe, having gone foure and fiftie leagues in nine dayes, we came to a Towne called *Barijo*, where staying two dayes, we fought provision and Boats to carrie vs, for we were to goe one hundred leagues vp the Ruer *Parana* by Boat. At length being brought to a certaine Towne called *Gongie*, wee abode there foure dayes. And thus farre the Countrey and Empire of *Cesari* Maieitie extendeth it selfe, all which places in former time were subiect to the People *Cariou*.

Observed.

Barro.

Barijo.

Gongie.

52. After this therefore, all the Nation *Towpa*, beginneth the Countrey and Iurisdiction of the *Portugall*, and we were compelled, leaving *Parana*, and our Boats, to trauell by Land vnto these *Towpa*, which continued fixe whole monthes; in which Iourney we were to goe ouer Deserts, Mountaines and Vallies, and for the feare waxed of wilde and rauening beasts, we durst not safely take our sleepe, &c.

We wandered eight whole dayes through Woods and Thickets, so that although having travelled farre and wide, yet in all my life time I had neuer gone so rough, troublesome, and tedious a way: nor had we any thing which we might eate, so that wee were compelled to sustaine our selves with Herbs and Roots, whereof we could get them: and for the danger also, to wit, that we feared lest our enemies would pursue vs, we had not so much time as to take any venison.

After this wee came to a Nation called *Besafe*, where staying foure dayes, we provided our selves againe of victuall, but durst not come neerer their Towne, because we were so few.

In this Countrey there is a Ruer called *Pygman*, wherein we saw Water-snakes, and Serpents called *Tusca*, in the *Spanish* Tongue *Schene Eyke*, which were sixteene paces long, and foure to foure thick. These Serpents do much hurt: for if a man walk himselfe in that Ruer, or any beast swim ouer, forthwith such a Serpent swimming to them, windeth his tayle about the man, or beast, and drawing them vnder water, deuoureth them.

Proceeding further hence we trauelled about one hundred leagues, in a continued Iourney of a whole monthes space, and at length came into a large Towne called *Schenetueba*, and rested there three dayes.

Going againe further, we came into a certaine Towne of *Christians*, whose Captaine was *Iohn* 50 *Reinuel*.

53. Moreover, proceeding further thence, we came to the Towne of Saint *Vincent*. From the Citie of the *Assumption* of *Maria*, to the Towne of Saint *Vincent* in *Brasil*, are reckoned three hundred and fiftie leagues.

Setting sayle from the Towne of Saint *Vincent*, on Saint *Iohn Baptist* Day, which was the foure and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere of our Lord 1553. wee arrived at *Lisbon*, the third of September, in the yeere 1553. and while wee abode fourteen dayes there, two of my *Indians* died, which I brought with me out of those Countreies.

I had thought here to have added the *Voyages* of *Iohannes Stadius*, (another German, which served the *Portugall* in *Brasil* about *Schmiedels* later time) published in *Theodore de Biv*, and had the 43 same by me translated. But containing little light for the Countrey, and People, and relating in manner only his owne Tragedies, in his taking by the *Sauages*, and often perils of being eaten by them, as some of his friends were before his face, with other like *Sauage* arguments wherein wee have glasted you with: I being already too voluminous, have omitted the same, and hasten to other Relations.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The Observations of Sir RICHARD HAWKINS, Knight, in his Voyage into the South Sea. An. Dom. 1593. once before published, now renewed and corrected by a written Copie, illustrated with notes, and in diners places abbreviated.

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What happened in this Voyage before they came neere the Equinoctiall Line, with diners accidentall Discourses usefull for Navigators.

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With the Countels consent, and helpe of my Father, Sir *Iohn Hawkins*, Knight, I resolved a Voyage to be made for the Ilands of *Iapan*, of the *Philippina*, and *Moluccas*, the Kingdome of *China*, and East *Indies*, by the way of the *Straits* of *Magellan*, and the South Sea.

For this purpose in the end of the yeere 1588. returning from the Iourney against the *Spanish* Armado, I caused a Ship to be builded in the Ruer of *Thames*, betwixt three and foure hundred tunnes, which was finished in that perfection as could be required. For shee was pleasing to the eye, profitable for stowage, good of sayle, and well conditioned. On the day of her launching, shee was named, *The Repentance*.

The *Repentance* being put in perfection, and riding at *Desford*, the Queenes Maieitie passing by her, to her Palace of *Greenwich*, commanded her Barge-men to rowe round about her, and viewing her from Post to Stemme, disliked nothing but her Name, and said, that shee would 30 brooke as well for her proportion and grace, as for the many happie Voyages shee made in her Maieities seruice: Having taken (for her Maieitie) a great Byllten, of five hundred tunnes, laden with Iron, and other Commodities, vnder the conduct of Sir *Martin Furburster*: A Carack bound for the East *Indies*, vnder my Fathers charge, and the principal cause of taking the great Carack, brought to *Dartmouth* by Sir *Iohn Barrow*, and the Earle of *Cumberland* ships, Anno 1593. with others of moment in her other Voyages. To vs, shee neuer brought but coile, trouble, and care.

Having made an estimate of the charge of Victualls, Munition, Impregels, Sea-store, and necessities for the said ship, conforing another of an hundred tunnes, which I waited for daily 40 from the *Straits* of *Gibraltar*, with a Pinnace of sixtie tunnes, all mine owne. And for a competent number of men for them; as also of all sorts of merchandises for trade and traffike in all places where we should come; I began to wage men, to buy all manner of Victualls & provisions, and to lade her with them; and with all sorts of commodities (which I could call to minde) fitting; and dispatched order to my seruant in *Plymouth*, to put in a readinesse my Pinnace: as also to take vp certaine provisions, which are better cheape in those parts then in *London*, as *Beefe*, *Porke*, *Basket*, and *Sider*. The eight of April, 1593. I caused the Pilot to set sayle from *Blackwall*, and to vaille downe to *Gravesend*, whether that night I purposed to come. And for which no bodie having regard vnto, thinking themselves, safe in the Ruer, it augmented in such 50 length when it was scene and the sheere blowe, he could hardly be brought vnder the winde: At length was pleased, that with the diligence and trauell of the Companie, she was freed of that danger: which may be a gentle warning to all such as take charge of shipping, euen before they set sayle, either in Ruer or Harbour, or other part, to haue an eye to their Ports, and to see those shut and calke, which may cause danger; for avoiding the many mislappes, which daily chance for the neglect thereof, and haue bene most lamentable spectacles and examples vnto vs: Experiments in the Great *Harrie*, Admirall of *England*, which was ouer-set and examples vnto vs: Experiments with her Captaine, *Carew*, and the most part of his companie drowned in a goolly Summers day, with a little flaw of winde; for that her Ports were all open, and making a small hole, by them entred their destruction; where if they had bene shut, no winde could haue hurt her, especially in that place. In the Ruer of *Thames*, Master *Thomas Caudill* had a small Ship ouer-set through the Negligence. And one of the Fleet of Sir *Francis Drake*, in *Santo Domingo* Harbour, turned her keele vpward likewise, vpon the same occasion; with many others, which we neuer haue knowledge of.

This ship was named the *Repentance*: an ominous name and unfortunate; as usually those celestiall charactels fore not to terrestrial labours: instance in the *Ruines*, *Thunder*, &c. and this *Repentance*, with the *Isle* of *Sicilie* &c.

Considerations for pre- dented Voyages.

Provisions better provided at *Vimout*, then at *London*. Note. Danger of Ports open.

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He arrived at Antwerp, whence he had set forth as first in Iauarie 1554.

Coming neere the South fore-land, the winde began to vere to the South-east and by South, so we could not double the point of the Land, and being close aboard the shoare, and putting our ship to lay, what with the chapping Sea, and what with the Tide vpon the Bowe, the mill staying, and put vs in some danger, before we could flat about; therefore for doubling the Point of any Land better is euer a short board, then to put all in perill.

Being cleere of the race of *Forland*, the winde began to suffice with fogge and milling raine, and forced vs to a short layle, which continued with vs three dayes; the winde neuer vering one point, nor the fogge suffering vs to see the Coast. The third day in the fogge, we met with a Barke of *Dartmouth*, which came from *Rebelle*, and demanding of them, if they had made any land, answered, that they had only seene the *Edie stone* that morning, which lieth thwart of the Sound of *Plimouth*, and that *Dartmouth* (as they thought) bore off vs North North-east; which seemed strange vnto vs; for we made account that wee were thwart of *Exmouth*: which in two hours after, the weather began to cleere vp, and wee found our selues thwart of the *Berry*, and might see the small Barque bearing into *Torbay*, hauing ouer-shot her Port: which error often happeneth to those that make the land in fogge weather, and vie not good diligence by sound, by lying off the land, and other circumstances, to search the truth; and is cause of the losse of many a ship, and the losse of lues of multitudes of men. That evening, we were anchored in the range of *Dartmouth*, till the flood was spent; and the ebbe came, we let fyre againe. And the next morning early, being the fixe and twentieth of April, we harboured our selues in *Plimouth*.

And in this occasion, I found by experience, that one of the principall parts required in a Mariner, that frequenth our coastes of *England*, is to cast his Tides, and to know how they let from point to point, with the difference of those in the Channell from those of the shoare.

After the hurts by a cruell Storme (in which the Pinnace was funke, and the *Dainties* Maist out-of-board) repaired, I beganne to gather my companie aboard, which occupied my good friends, and the luffices of the Towne two dayes, and forced vs to search all lodgings, Tavernes, and Ale-houses. (For some would euer bee taking their leaue and neuer depart:) some drinke themselves to drunke, that except they were carried aboard, they of themselves were not able to goe one steppe: others knowing the necessitie of the time, fained themselves sicke; others to bee indebted to their Hosts, and forced mee to ranforme them; one his Chest; another, his Sword; another, his Shirts; another, his Carde and Instrumens for Sea: And others, to benefit themselves of the Impertit giuen them, abused themselves; making a leuill liuing in deceiuing all, whole money they could lay hold of: which is a scandall too true amongst our Sea-men; by it they committing three great offences. First, Robberie of the goods of another person: Secondly, Breach of their faith and promise: Thirdly, Hindrance (with losse of time) vnto the Voyage; all being a common inuaine to the owners, victuallers, and companie; which many times hath bene an vnto ouerthrow, and vndoing to all in generall. An abuse in our Commonwealth needfully to be reformed.

Matter Thomas Caudib. Matter Thomas Caudib in his last Voyage, in the Sound of *Plimouth*, being readie to let fyre, complained vnto mee, that persons which had abiented themselves in Impreits, had callt him about a thousand and six hundred pounds: These Varlets within a few dayes after his departure, I saw walking the streets of *Plimouth*, whom the Iustice had before sought for with great diligence, and without punishment. And therefore it is no wonder that others presume to doe the like, *Impunitus peccandi illecebra*. The like complaint made Master George Raymond: and in what tort they deal with mee, is notorious, and wastfull, that if I had not bene proudent, to haue had a third part more of men, then I had need of, I had bene forced to goe to the Sea vomanned; or to giue ouer my Voyage. And many of my companie, at Sea vaunted how they had couened the Earle of *Cumberland*, Matter Caudib, Matter Raymond, and others, some of five poundes, some of tenne, some of more, and some of lesse. And truly, I thinke, if my Voyage prospered the worse, for theis and other leuill perforce companie, which were in my ship: which, I thinke, might be redressed by some extraordinary leaue, and present licence to bee executed on the offenders by the Iustice in that place, where they should be found.

The greater part of my companie gathered aboard, I let fyre the twelfth of Iune, 1593. I cannot but aduise all such, as shall haue charge committed vnto them, euer before they depart out of the Port, to giue vnto their whole Fleet not directions for chull gouernment, but also where, when, and how to meete, if they should chance to lose companie, and the signes how to knowe one another afarr off, by other points and circumstances, as the occasions shall minister matter different, at the discretion of the wife Commander, by publication of that which is good and necessarie for the guide of his Fleet and people; but all secret instructions, to giue them sealed, and not to be opened, but comming to a place appointed.

Lanching out into the channell, the winde being at East and by South, and east South-east, which blowing hard, and a flood in hand, caused a chapping Sea, and my Vice-admirall bearing a good fayle made some water, and shooting off a Peece of Ordinance, I edged towards her, to know

knowe the cause; who answered mee, that they had sprung a great leake, and that of force they must retorne into the Sound, which seeing to be necessitie, I cast about, where anchoring, and going aboard, presently found, that betwixt winde and water, the Calkers had left a leame vncalked, which being filled vp with Pitch only, the Sea labouring that out, had bene sufficient to haue sunke her in short space, if it had not bene discovered in time.

And for more security, I hold it for a good custome vied in some parts, in making an end of calking and pitching the ship, the next tide to fill her with water, which will vnderstandly discover the defect, for no pitch place without calking, can suffer the force and peeze of the water. In neglect whereof, I haue seene great damage and danger to ensue. The *Arke Renell* of his Maisties, may serue for an example: what perill in danger at her first going to the Sea, by a triuells hole left open in the poft, and covered only with Pitch. In this point no man can be too circumspect, for it is the securitie of ship, men, and goods.

This being remedied, I let fyre in the morning, and ranne South-west, till wee were cleere of *Yfishen*, and then South-South-west, till wee were some hundred leagues off, where wee met with a great Hulke, of some five or sixe hundred tunnes, well appointed, the which my companie, (as is natural to all Mariners) presently would make a prize, and laden with *Spaniards* goods, and without speaking to her, wished that the Gunner might shoot at her, to caule her to amaine. Which is a bad custome received and vied of many ignorant persons, prefeily to gunne at all whatsoever they discouer, before they speake with them; being contrarie to all discipline, and many times is the cause of dilention betwixt friends, and the breach of Amitie betwixt Princes; the death of many, and sometimes losse of ships and all, making many obitinate, if not desperate.

Commeng within the hayling of the Hulke, we demanded whence she was? whether the was bound? and what her lading? Shee answered, that she was of *Denmarke* comming from *Spane*, laden with Salt: we willed her to strike her Top-fayles, which shee did, and showed vs her Charter-parties, and Bills of lading, and then saluted vs in the manner of the Sea, and so departed.

We directed our course to the *Madera*. The *Madera* Ilands are two: the great, called *La Madera*, and the other, *Porto Santo*; of great fertilitie, and rich in Sugar, Coniferes, Wine, and sweet Wood, whereof they take their name. Other commodities they yeeld, but these are the principall. The chiefe Towne and Port is on the Southern side of the *Madera*, well fortified; and they are subiect to the Kingdome of *Portugall*; the Inhabitants and Garrison all *Portugall*.

The third Iland, wee past along the Ilands of *Canaria*, which haue the name of a Kingdome, and containe these Ilands, *Grand Canaria*, *Teneriffe*, *Palma*, *Gomera*, *Lanceros*, *Fuerteventura*, and *Fierro*. These Ilands haue abundance of Wine, Sugar, Coniferes, Orcall Pitch, Iron, and other commodities, and store of Cattell and Corne, but that a certaine Worme, called *Gorgylis*, breedeth in it, which eateth out the sub stance, leauing the huske in manner whole. The head Iland, where the Iustice, which they call *Audencia*, is resident; and witherall suits haue their appellation, and final sentence, is the *Grand Canaria*, although the *Teneriffe* is held for the better and richer Iland, and to haue the best Sugar: and the Wine of the *Palma* is reputed for the best. The Pitch of these Ilands melteth not with the Snowe, and therefore is proper for the higher workes of shipping. Betwixt *Fuerteventura* and *Lanceros* is a goodly Sound, fit for a meeting place for any Fleet. Where is good anchoring, and abundance of many sorts of Fish. There is water to be had in mollitie, and with great vigilance. For the naturals of them are venturous and hardie, and many times cline vp and downe the steepes Rocks, and broken Hills, which seeme impossible, which I would hardly haue beleued, had I not seene it, and that with the greatest arte and agilitie that may bee: Their Armes for the most part, are Lances of nine or ten foot, with a head of a foot and halfe long, like vnto Boare-peares, like that the head is somewhat more broad.

Two things are famous in these Ilands, the Pike of *Teneriffe*, which is the highest Land in my iudgement that I haue seene, and men of credite haue told they haue seene it more then twice leagued off. It is like vnto a Sugar loafe, and continually covered with Snowe, and placed in the middle of a goodly Valley, most fertile, and temperate round about it. Out of which, going vp the pike, the cold is so great, that it is vnassurable, and going downe to the Townes of the Iland, the heat seemeth most extreme, till they approach neere the coast. The other is a tree in the Iland *Fierro*, which some write & asseme, with the dropping of his leaues, to giue water for the

In this Iland, and seene this Tree, which he thus described: It is as big as an Oake of middle fyre, the barke white like Ha; becomie; five or sixe yards high, with ragged boughs; the leafe like that of the Bay, white on the bottom, and greene on the other side; it beareth neither fruit nor flower. It is femine in the declination of a Hill; in the day it is withered, dropping in the night (a cloude hangeth thence) yielding water sufficient for the whole Iland; which containeth 4000. houles, and about 10000. beastes, Camels, Mules, Goats, &c. It falls into a Pond made of bricke, bordered with flones very thick, by pipes of lead conueighed from the Tree to it, and thence diuided into fouerall Ponds throug all the Iland. They which dwell vp-hill of such a Pond in barrells they water therewith all their Corne-growths. The Pond holds 10000. tunns, and is filled in a night. He added a reedland from the *Canariens*, went to fill that Tree, but each blowe recoyled on the Reader. He affirmed also that he had bene vpon the Pike of *Teneriffe*, two miles. He saith the South side is healthfull, the North very Aguish, and subiect to Calentures, and the Inhabitants on one side looke louely, on the other withered.

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For preuents on thereof.

Example. See Capt. Renell's Voyage, in which the Great Iland was of great regard thence.

Advice for shooting at Sea.

Two English ships. They much wronged each other by miscalting.

The Madera Ilands.

Canarie Ilands.

Gorgylis.

The description of Teneriffe, and the Pike. Of a Tree in Fierro. One Mr. Lewis Jackson, now dwelling in Holborn, told me that a 1618.

fulfenance of the whole land, which I have not seen, although I have been on flicore on the land: but thole which have feene it, have recounted this myfterie differently to that which is written, in this manner: That this Tree is placed in the bottome of a Valley ever flourishing with broad leaves, and that round about it are a multitude of goodly high Pines which over-top it, and as it seemeth, were planted by the Divine providence, to preserve it from Sunne and winde. Out of this Valley ordinarily rise every day, great vapours and exhalations, which by reason that the Sunne is hindered to worke his operation, with the height of the Mountain towards the South-east, convert themselves into mist, and to bewee all the trees of the Valley, and from thence which over-top this Tree, drops downe the dew vpon his leaves, and to him he leaves into a round Well of dew, which the Naturals of the Land have made to receive the water, of which the people and cattell have great reliefe: but sometimes it raineth and then the Inhabitants doe refuse water for many dayes to come in their Cities and Tyaxes, which is that they drinke of, and wherewith they principally sustaine themselves.

The Citie of the *Grand Canaria*, and chiefe Port is on the West side of the land; the head Towne and Port of *Tenerife*, is towards the South part, and the Port and Towne of the *Palma* and *Comera*, on the East side. In *Comera*, some three leagues Southward from the Towne, is a great River of water, but all these Islands are perilous to land in, for the siege caused by the Ocean Sea, which always is forcible, and requireth great circumspection; whosoever hath not vantage cause, is either to goe to the Eastwards, or to the Westwards of all these Islands, as well to avoid the calmes, which hinder sometimes eight or ten dayes laying, as the contagion which their diffemperature is wont to cause, and with it to breede Calentures, which wee call burning Fevers. These Islands are said to be first discovered by a Frenchman, called *Iohn de Berencourt*, about the yeere 1495. They are now a Kingdome subiect to *Spainie*.

Being cleare of the Islands, and seeing my selfe past hope of returning backe, without some extraordinary accident, I began to set order in my Companie and victuals. And for that, to the Southwards of the *Canaries*, is for the most part an idle Navigation, I desired to keepe my people occupied, as well to continue them in health (for that too much ease in hot Countries is neither profitable nor healthfull) as also to divert them from remembrance of their home; & from play, which breedeth many inconveniences, and other bad thoughts and workes which idleness is cause of; and so flustering my companie, as the custome is, into Starboard and Larboard men, so halfe to watch and worke whilst the others slepe, and take rest; I limited the three dayes of the weeke, which appertained to each, to be employed in this manner: the one for the vie and cleansing of their Armes, the other for rooming, making of Sayles, Nettings, Decking, and defendes of our Ships; and the third, for cleansing their bodies, mending and making their apparell, and necessities, which though it came to be practised but once in seven dayes, for that the Sabbath is due to be reserved for God alone, with the ordinary obligation which each person had besides, was many times of force to be omitted; and thus wee directed our course betwixt the Islands of *Cape de Verde* and the Mainie. These Islands are held to besetuate in one of the most vnhealthfull Climates of the world, and therefore it is wisdome to flunne the fight of them, how much more to make abode in them?

In two times that I have bene in them, either coits vs the one halfe of our people, with Fevers and Fluxes of fundrie kinds: some shaking, some burning, some partaking of botchy pox, pest with frenzie, others with flouth, and in one of them it cost mee sixe months sickness, with no small hazard of life: which I attribute to the diffemperature of the aire, for being within fourteen degrees of the Equinoctiall Line, the Sunne hath great force all the yeere, and the more for that often they passe, two, three, and foure yeeres without raine; and many times the earth burneth in that manner as a man well shod, cannot endure to goe where the Sunne shineth. With which extreme heate the bodie fatigued, greedily desireth refreshing, and length for the coming of the Breze, which is the North-east winde, that seldom sayleth in the afternoon at foure of the clocke, or sooner: which commeth cold and fresh, and finding the pores of the bodie open, and (for the most part) naked, penetrateth the very bones, and do causeth sudden diffemperature, and fundrie manner of sicknesse, as the Subiects are diuers, wherupon they worke. Departing out of the Calmes of the Islands, and coming into the fresh Breze, it causeth the like, and I have bene within two dayes, after that wee have partaked of the fresh aire, of two thousand men above an hundred and fiftie have bene crazed in their health. The Inhabitants of these lands vye a remedie for this, which at my first being amongst them, seemed vnto mee ridiculous, but since, time and experience hath taught to be grounded vpon reason. And is, that vpon their heads they wear a Night-cap, vpon a Musketto, and a Hat over that; and vpon their bodies a tuse of thicke Cloth, and vpon a Gowne, furred or lined with Cotton, or Bayes, to defend them from the heate in that manner, as the Inhabitants of cold Countries, to guard themselves from the extremities of the cold. Which doubtlesse, is the best diligence that any man can vie, and whosoever prouch it, shall finde himselfe lesse annoyed with the heate, then if he were thinly cloazed, for that where the cellaire cometh, it pierceth not so subclly.

The Moore also in this climate, as in the coast of *Gynne*, and in all hot Countreies, hath forcible operation in the body of man; and therefore, as the Planet, most preiudiciall to his health, is to be illumined; as also not to sleepe in the open Ayre, or with any Scuttle or Window open, whereby the one or the other may enter to hurt. For a person of credit told me, that one night in a River of *Gynne*, leaving his window open in the side of his Cabin, the Moore shining vpon his shoulder, left him with such an extraordinary paine, & furious burning in it, as about twenty houres, he was like to run mad; but in fine, with force of Medicines and cures, after long torment he was eased.

Of these Islands are two pyles: the one of them lyeth out of the way of Trade, more Westwardly, and is little frequented: the other lyeth some fourecore leagues from the Mainie, and containing fixe in number, to wit, *Saint Iago*, *Fuaga*, *Maya*, *Bonaville*, *Sal*, and *Bromo*. They are belonging to the Kingdome of *Portugall*, and inhabited by people of that Nation, and are of great trade, by reason of the neighbourhood they haue with *Gynne* and *Brynnie*; but the principall is the buying and selling of *Negres*. They haue store of Sugar, Salt, Rice, Cotten-wooll, and Cotton-cloth, Ambergrece, Cyuit, Olyphants teeth, Brimstone, Pumny Stone, Sponge, and some Gold, but little, and that from the mayne.

Saint Iago is the head land, and hath one Citie and two townes, with their Ports. The Citie called *Saint Iago*, wherof the land hath his name, hath a Garrison and two Ports, situated in the bottome of a pleasant Valley, with a running streame of water passing through the middelt of it, whether the side of the lla come for Kallies, being the state of the *Audencia*, with his Bishop. The other Townes are *Plaza*, some three leagues to the Eastwards of *Saint Iago*, placed on high, with a goodly Bay, wherof it hath his name; and *Saint Domingo*, a small Towne within the land. They are on the Southern part of the land, and have bene lacked fundie times in Anno 1582, by *Manuel Serader*, a *Portugall*, with a Fleet of French-men: in Anno 1589, they were both burnt to the ground by the *Englishe*, Sir *Franck Drake* being General: and in Anno 1596, *Saint Iago* was taken, and sacked by the *Englishe*, Sir *Anthony Sherley* being General. The second land is *Fuaga*, so called, for that day and night there burneth in it a *Volcan*, whole flames in the night are seene twentie leagues off in the Sea. It is by nature fortified in that fore, as but by one way is any accesse or entrance into it, and there cannot goe vp above two men a breith. The bread which they spend in these Islands, is brought from *Portugall* and *Spainie*, suing that which they make of Rice or Mayes, which we call *Gynne* wheate. The best watering is in the Ile of *Bromo*, on the west part of the land, where is a great River, but foule Anchoring, as is in all these Islands, for the moist part. The fruits are few, but substantiall, as Palmitos, Plantanos, Potatos, and Coco Nuts.

The Palmito is like to the Date tree, and as I thinke a kinde of it, but wilde, In all parts of *Affrike* and *America* they are found, and in some parts of *Europe*, and in diuers parts different. In *Affrike*, and in the West *Indies* they are small, that a man may cut them with a knife, and the lesser the better. But in *Brazil* they are so great, that with difficulty a man can fell them with an Axe, and the greater the better: one foote within the top is profitable, the rest is of no value; and that which is to be eaten is the pith, which in some is better, in some worse.

The Plantane is a tree found in most parts of *Affrike* and *America*, and which two leaues are sufficient to couer a man from top to toe: It beareth fruite but once, and then drieth away out of his root sprouteth vp others new. In the top of the tree is his fruit, which groweth in a great bunch, in the forme and fashion of puddings, in some more, in some lesse. I haue seene in one bunch about foure hundred Plantans, which haue weighed about fourecore pound weight. They are of diuers proportions, some great, some lesse, some round, some square, some triangle, most ordinarily of a span long, with a thicke skinn that peeleth easily from the meate; which is either white or yellow, and very tender like Butter; but no confere is better, nor of a more pleasing taste. For I neuer haue seene any man, to whom they haue bred milke, or done hurt with eating much of them, as of other frutes. The best are those which ripen naturally on the tree, but in most parts they cut them off in branches, and hang them vp in their houses, and eat them as they ripe. For the Birds and Vermin presently in ripping on the tree, are feeding on them. The best that I haue seene are in *Brazil*, in an land called *Placencia*, which are small and round, and greene when they are ripe: whereas the others in ripening become yellow. Those of the West *Indies* and *Gynne* are great, and one of them is sufficient to farsaie a man: the coely *fruits* they haue is, that they are windie. In some places they eat them instead of bread, as in *Panama*, and other parts of *Tierra firme*. They grow and prosper best when their rooters are cut covered with watery they are excellent in Conserue, and good fadden in different manners, and dried on the tree, not inferior to Suckers.

The Coco nut is a fruit of the fashion of a Hafell-nut, but that it is as bigge as an ordinary Bowle, and some are greater. It hath two shells, the vttermost framed (as it were) of a multitude of threads, one laid vpon another, with a greene skin over-lapping them, which is soft and thicke: the innermost is like to the shell of a Hafell-nut in all proportion, suing that it is greater and thicker, and some more blacker. In the top of it is the forme of a *Munkies* face, with

The influence of the Moore in hot Countries.

Saint Iago.

Sacked by *Manuel Serader*, Sir *Franck Drake*, and Sir *Anthony Sherley*, *Fuaga*, fiery hill.

bread, good watering.

The Palmito.

The Plantane, Great leaues.

Placencia.

The Cores, & their kinde.

two eyes, his nose and a mouth. It containeth in it both meate and drinke, the meate white as milke, and like to that of the kernel of a Nut, and as good as Almonds blanch, and of great quantity: The water is cleare, as of the Fontaine, and pleasing in taste, and somewhat answereth that of the water distilled of Milke. Some say it hath a singular property in nature, for conseruing the smoothnesse of the skin; and therefore in *Spain* and *Peru*, all the curious Dames doe ordinarily wash their faces and necks with it. If the holes of the shell be kept close, they keepe foure or six moneths good and more; but if it be opened, and the water kept in the shell, in few daies it turneth to Vinegar. They grow vpon high Trees, which haue no boughes, onely in the top they haue a great cap of leaues, and vnder them groweth the fruite vpon certaine twiggies; and some asseme that they beare not fruite before they be about forty yeares old. They are in all things like to the *Palme* trees, and grow in many parts of *Asia*, *Africke* and *America*. The shells of these nuts are much esteemed for drinking cups, and much coole and labour is bestowed vpon them in caruing, grauing and garnishing them, with Silver, Gold, and precious stones.

In the Kingdome of *Cile* and in *Brazil*, is another kinde of these, which they call *Coquillos*, as we may interpret (little Cocos) and are as bigge as Wal-nuts, but round and smooth, and grow in great clustres: the trees in forme are all one, and the meate in the nut better, but they haue no water.

Another kinde of great Cocos groweth in the *Andes* of *Peru*, which haue not the delicate meate nor drinke, which the others haue, but within are full of Almonds, which are placed as the graines in the Pomegranett, being three times bigger then those of *Europe*, and are much like them in taste.

In these Ilands are *Cyent-Cats*, which are also found in parts of *Asia*, and *Africke*; esteemed for the *Cyent* they yeelde, and carry about them in a cod in their hinder parts, which is taken from them by force. In them also are store of *Monkeys*, and the best proportioned that I haue seene; and *Parrots*, but of colour different to those of the *West Indies*; for they are of a ruflet or gray colour and great speakers.

2. II.

Considerations of Currents: the Scorbute: fire in Ships; Fishes which attend them: Sea-battling and hunting: their coming to *Brazil* and obseruations thereof.

With a faire and large winde we continued our course, till we came within five degrees of the Equinoctiall line, where the windeooke vs contrary by the South-west, about the twentieth of Iuly, but a faire gale of winde and a smooth Sea, so that wee might beare all a tawt; and to aduantage our felues what we might, we stood to the Eastwards, being able to lye South-east and by South. The next day about nine of the clock, my company being gathered together to seeke God, which we accustomed to doe eury morning, and evening, it seemed vnto me that the colour of the Sea was become to that of the daies past, and which is ordinarily whereis deeper water; and so called the Captaine and Master of my Ship, I told them that to my feeling the water was become very whitish, and that it made them of Shoule water. Whereunto they made answer, that all the lines in our Ships could not fetch ground: for we could not be lelle then threecore and ten leagues off the Coast, which all that kept reckoning in the Ship agreed vpon, and my selfe was of the same opinion. And so we applied our felues to seeke God, but all the time that the seruice endured, my heart could not be at rest, and still me thought the water began to waxe whiter and whiter. Our prayers ended, I commanded a ledge and a line to be brought, and hauing the lead in fourecore fathoms wee had ground, which put vs all into a maze, and sending men into the top, presently discovered the Land of *Cyent*, some five leagues from vs, very low Land. I commanded a Pece to be shot, and lay by the lee, till my other Ships came vp. Which hauing vs, we demanded of them how farr they found themselves off the land; vpon which they answered, some threecore and ten, or fourecore leagues: when we told them we had founde, and found but fourecore fathoms, and that we were in sight of Land, they began to wonder; But hauing consulted what was best to be done, I called my Shallop to be manned, which I towed at the Stern of my Shippe continually, and I sent and my Pinnace a head to find out, and followed them with an easie layle, till we came in leuen and six fathome water, and some two leagues from the shore anchored, in hope by the Sea, or by the Land to finde some refreshing. The Sea we found to be barren of fish, and my Boates could not discover any landing place, though a whole day they had rowed along the coast, with great desire to see footen shore, for that the ledge was exceeding great and dangerous. Which experienced, we set saile, notwithstanding the contrariety of the winde, sometimes standing to the West-wards, sometimes to the East-wards, according to the shifting of the winde.

Hre

Here it is to be noted, that the error which we fall into in our accounts, was such as all men fall into where are currents; that [sic] East or West, and are not known for that there is no certain rule yet practised for small of the longitude, as there is of the latitude, though some curious and experienced of our Nation, with whom I haue had conference about this point, haue shewed me two or three manner of wayes how to know it. This, some yeares before was the lesse of the Edward Cotton, bound for the Coast of *Brazil*, which taken with the winde contrarye were the line, standing to the East-wards, and making account to be fifteen or seerie leagues off the coast, with all her saile standing came suddenly a ground vpon the shoer of *Madrebomb*; and so was cast away.

This current ran from the line Equinoctiall, to twentie degrees Northerly, with great force, and setteth me of any thing East, directly vpon the shore, which we found by this means: Standing to the West-wards, the winde Southerly, when we lay with our Ships head West and by South, we gained in our height more then if we had made our way good West South-west, for thus the current took vs under the bow: but lying west or West & by North, we lost more in twelue houres then the other way we could get in foure and twentie. By which plainly we saw, that the current did set East next of any thing, whether this current runneth our way, or doth alter, and how, we could by no means vnderstand, but trall of time and obseruation will discover this, as it hath done of many others in sundry Seas.

The current that setteth betwixt New-found-land and *Spain*, runneth also East and West, and long time decreed many, and made foure to count the way longer, and others shorter, according as the passage was precise or loose, not knowing that the furthest or hinderance of the current was cause of the spreading or flowing of the way. And in *Sea Cards* I haue seene difference of about thirte leagues betwixt the Land *Tercera* and the *Maine*. And others haue recomited with me that comming from the *Indies*, and looking out for the Ilands of *Azores*, they haue had sight of *Spain*, And some haue looked out for *Spain*, and haue discovered the Ilands. The same same current it is in the *Leuant* Sea, but runneth betwixt the *Adrian*, and changeable sometimes to the Eastwards, sometimes to the West-wards. In *Brazil* and the South Sea, the current likewise is changeable, but it runneth euer along the Coast, accompanying the winde: and it is an infallible rule, that twelue or twentie houres (before the winde alters) the current begins to change.

In the *West Indies* onely the current runneth continually one way, and setteth along the coast from the Equinoctiall line towards the North. No man hath yet found that these currents keepe any certaine time or runne so many daies or months one way as another, as doth the course of tiding and flowing well knowne in all Seas: only where the shore they haue small force; partly, because of the reflux which the coast causes, and partly for the ebbing and flowing, which more or lesse is general in most Seas.

When the current runneth North or South, it is easily discovered by augmenting or diminishing the height, but how to know the string of the current from East to West in the *Maine* Sea is difficult, and as yet I haue not knowne any man, or read any Author, that hath prescribed any certaine means or way to discover it. But experience teacheth that in the *Maine* Sea, for the most part it is variable; and therefore best and safest rule to prevent the danger (which the vncertainty and ignorance thereof may cause) is careful and continuall watch by day and night, and vpon the East and West course euer to be before the Ship, and to vse the means possible to know the error, by the miles which men will be able to reach: beating off and on, sometimes to the Westwards, sometimes to the Eastwards, with a foregale of winde.

Being betwixt three and foure degrees of the Equinoctiall line, my Company within a few daies began to fall sicke, of a disease which Sea-men are wont to call the Scourie; and seemeth to be a kinde of dropie, and raigneth most in this climate of any that I haue heard or read of in the world; though in all Seas it is wont to helpe and increase the miserie of man; it polluteeth all those of which it taketh hold, with a loathsome floadfulness, that men to ease they would be content to change with sleape and rest, which is the most pernicious enimie in this sickness that parts of the body, especially of the legges and gummies, and many times the teeth fall out: of swelling of the gummies, by denting of the flesh of the legges with a mans finger, the pit remaineth the cricke of the backe, &c. all which are for the most part, certaine tokens of infection. The cause is thought to be the stomacks febleness, by change of aire in vntemperate climates of diet in salt meates, boiled all in Salt water and corrupted sometimes; the want of exercise alio either in persons or elements, as in calmes. And were it not for the moving of the Sea by the force of winde, tydes, and currents, it would corrupte all the world. The experience I saw in Anno 1590, lying with a Fleet of her Majesties Ships about the Ilands of the *Azores* alowst six months, the greatest part of the time we were becalmed: with which all the Sea became so filled with foule all sorts of fishes, and formes of Serpents, Alders, and Snakes, as seemed wonderful: some greene, some white, some yellow, and yarde long; which had I not seene, I could hardly haue beleued. And thereof are witness the Companies of the Ships which were then present: so that hardly a man could draw a Bucket of all water cleere of some corruption. In which Voyage, towards the end thereof many of every Ship (sailing of the *Newspire*, which was under my charge, and had only one man sike in all the Voyage) fell sicke of

Note.

The lesse of Edward cotton.

Current-consideration.

New found land Current.

Leuant Sea: Brazil and South Sea.

Currents of smaller force meete the float.

A discourse of the Scourrey, or Scorbute.

The signes.

Auge. Strange effects of calmes.

The remedies of this disease, and began to die apace, but that the speedie passage into our Countie was remedy to the craved, and a preservative for those that were not touched.

The best provision for this duty (in my judgement) is to keep clean the Shipps, to befrinkbe bo
ordinarily with Vinegar, or to burn Tarre, and some Sweet Assure, to feed upon a few salt Meats in
the hot Country as we do here, and especially to wash with all kinds of salt Fells, and to referre them for the cold
Climates, and not to driffe any mixture with salt water, nor to suffer or the companie to wash their Shirts nor
Clothes in it, nor to sleepe in their Clothes when they are wet. For this cause it is much necessarily required,
that provision be made of apparel for the Company, that they may have wherewith to floss themselves.
Being a common calamitie amongst the ordinary sort of Mariners, to spend their shirts on the Shore, and to
bring to Sea new Clothes when they have taken; For the body of man is not refreshed with any
thing more, then with flossing cleane Clothes: a great prerogative of health to hot Countries. The
second Assistance is, to keepe the company occupied in some bodily exercise of worke, of agilities, of games,
of dancing, of use of Armes: it helps much to banish their idleness. Thirdly, In the morn-
ing at discharge of the watch, to give every man a bit of bread, and a draught of drinke, either Beere,
or Wine mingled with water (at the least, the one half) or a quantitie mingled with Beere, that the
poorer of the bodie may be full, when the vapour of the Sea ascend up. The morning draught should be
out of the bott, and also of salt, in the support. Pure wine I hold to be more hurtfull, then the other is pro-
fitable. In this, other will be of a contrary opinion, but I thinke partiall. If not, then leave I the reme-
dy thereof to these Physicians and Sargeons who have experience. And I wish that some learned man
would write of it, for it is the plague of the Sea, and the poyle of Mariners doublelife, it would be so
a worke worthy of a worthy man, and most beneficial for our Countrey, for in twenty years (since I

Then the said English did say to the Scutene in to, yeere, that he had brought with him, some Oranges and Lemmons, and a water which among 33 others (for my particular provision) I carried to the said Castle and Doctor Steuens water of which, for that his vertue was not then well knowne unto me, I carried but little and it was soon and quickly, and gave health to those that used it. The Oyle of Vitte is beneficial for this disease; takinge two drops of it, mingled with a draught of water, with a little Sugar. It taketh away the thirst and belpeth to digest all the humors which will be found in the blood. The Oyle of Turpentine is good for the same, as is also the Oyle of Fennell, and the Land for men. And after the same can be taken by the people of the Country (as becomming his Vniversity) the better is, and the merrier effect shall be seen by the use of it.

Having flood to the Westwards some hundred leagues and more, the water commencing with
 contrary, and the sickness so feruent, that eury day theredied more or lesse; my company
 in general began to be dismayed, and to desire to returne homewards, which I hindered by good
 reasons and persuasions: As, that to the *West Indies*, we had not about eight hundred leagues,
 to the *Islands of America* little lesse, and before we came to the *Islands of Cape Verde*, that wee
 should meete with the *Brazile*; for eury night we might see the reachs contrary to the winde
 which we layed, and the smoke of the old Procelts amongst the Mariners: *That here bad neede of a long*
Mail, that was by sale by the Bay, and that the necerit Land and speediest returne would
 be lookt for, was the Coast of *Brazil*, and that

As we approached nearer and nearer the Coast of *Brasil*, the wind began to veer φ to the Eastwards, and about the middle of October, to be large and good for vs; and about the eighteenth of October, we were thwart of Cape Saint *Augustine*, which lieth in six degrees to the Southwards of the Line: and the one and twentieth in the height of *Formosa*, but some foreleone leagues from the Coast; the twentie four, in the height of *Bay de Todos Santos*; near the end of October, betwixt seuteneente and eighteen degrees, we were in sixtiente fathomes, founding of the great *Scotles*, which lye along the Coast, betwixt the *Bay de Todos Santos*, and the Bay of *San Pedro de Macoris*; which are very perilous. But the third of November had ordained great *Roques* in the Coast of *Santos*; lye lue upon the *Rockes*, and broken lands of these *Sholes*, which are met with ordinarily true leagues before a man comes in danger of them.

It shall not be amiss here to recount the Accidents which befell vs during this contrary wind, and the curiosities to be observed in all this time. Day and night we had continually a fair gale of wind, and a smooth Sea, without any alteration; one day the Carpenters having Calked the Decke of our ship, which the Sunne with his extreme heat had opened, caused fire to beate a little Pitch in the Cooke room: which I would not consent vnto by any means for that my Cooke rooms were vnder the Decke, knowing the danger, vntill the Master vndertook, that no danger should come thereof. But he recommended the charge to another, who had a better name; then experience. He suffered the Pitch to rile, and to runne into the fire, which caused so furious a flame as amazed him, and forced all to flee his heat; one of my company, with a double pail of Gloues took off the Pitch-pot, but the fire forced him to slip his hold-fast, before he could get to the Hearth, and fell backward in, and as the Pitch began to runne, so the fire enlarge it selfe, till it had consumed the greater part of the Ship. The fire being in my Cabin, presently imagined what the matter was, and for all that I had to doe, could take no time, the fire was about the Decke: so for remedie whereof, I commanded all my company to cast their

Ruse

CHAP. 5. §. 2. *Directions for the avoiding of the danger of fire in ships.*

Rugge Gownes into the Sea, with Ropes fastened vnder them. Therf I had prouided for my people to watch vs, for in many Roke Countreys the nights are freth and cold; and deuided one Gowne vnto two men, a Starboard and a Larboard many, fo that hee which watched had euer the Gowne: for they which watched not, were either in their Cabbins, or vnder the Decke, and so needed them not. The Gownes being well foaked, euery man that could took one, and alluanted to fire, and although some were finded, others scalded, and many burned, God was pleased that the fire was quenched, which I thought was a great mercie, and I saw my selfe in great perill in all this, and in my new life. Let all men take example by vs, not to suffer in any danger Perill in the Ship, except it be with a shoke hate in the fire; which cannot breed danger, nor to permit fire to be kindled, but vpon needs necessitie: for the inconuenience therof (as for the most part) remedieable.

Great care is to be had in cleaning of Wood, in Hooping or Scutling of Casks, and in any other necessity where violence is to be used with Instruments of Iron, Steele, or Stone; and especially in opening of Powder, these are not to be used, but Mallets of Wood; for many mischances have beyond all expectation. I have been credibly informed by divers persons, that coming out of the In lies, with Scutling of Rest of water, the water hath taken fire, and flamed up, and put all in hazard: And a Seruante of mine Thomas Gray telleth, that in the ship wherein he came out of the Indies, Anno 1600. there happened the likes; and that with Mallets they had not smothered the fire, they had beene all burned with the Pipe of Water, which in Scutling took fire. Matter Iohn Hazelocke reported, that in the Arkefall of 20 Vintage happened the like, he being present. For mine owne part, I am of opinion, that some waters haue this property, and especially such as haue their paffage by Mines of Brimstone, or other Minerals; which (as I haue run) give exercise to the proprietie of the water which moves to them: Or it may be that the water being in the Hooping, and kept close, may retain an extraordinary property of the fire, which is in the Fountaine, and River waters many times, which haue had a Iouner at that of Brimstone. These leagues from Bayonn in France, I haue proued of a Fountaine that batheth snow, and is medicinal for many Discaies. In the South Sea, in a River some leagues from Cape de San Francisco, in one degree and an halfe to the Northwards of the Line, in the Bay of Atacama, is a River of fire water, which bath the like snow.

39 out of no small cause to give God thanks, and toooke an occasion hereby, to banish swearing
from our ships, which amongst the common folk of Mariners and Sea-faring men, is too ordina-
rily abused. So with a general consent of all our company, it was ordained that, who ever (shippe
there should be) Palmer or Ferula, which should be in the keeping of him, who was taken with
an Oath, and that hee who had the Palmer should giue every other that hee tooke swearing
in the Palme of the hand a *Palameda* with it, and the *Ferula*. And whosoever at the time of Euc-
ning, or Morning Prayer, was found to have the Palme, should haue three blowes giuen him by
the Officer, or Captain, or other, who should be first bound to first, by asking another, who
else to runne danger of continuing the penalty; which executed, few dayes after, informed the
Vice; fo that in three dayes together, was not one Oath heard to be sworn. This brought both
Ferules and swearing out of vfe.

49 Ordinarily such hippos as Naugate between the Tropicks, are accompanied with three sort of fish. The Dolphin, which the *Spaniards* call *Doxada*; the *Bonito*, or *Spanish Mackerell*; and the *Shark*, also *Thurne*. The Dolphin I hold to be one of the swiftest fishes in the Sea: He is like unto a Bream, but that he is longer and thinner, and his scales very small. His eye is the colour of the Rain-bow, and his head different to other fishes; for, from his mouth half a span it goes straight upright, as the head of a Wherry, or the Cut-water of a ship. He is very good meat if he be in season, but the best part of him, is his head, which is great. They are some big, some smaller; the greatest that I have seen, might be some four foot long. I hold it not without ground, that the ancient Philosophers write, that they be enamoured of a man: for in meeting with shipping, they accompany them till they approach to cold Climates; this I have noted 50 times. For debarking out of the *West Indies*, Anno 1583; within three or four dayes after, we met a Scote of them, which left us not till we came to the Hands of *America*, some thousand leagues. At other times I have noted the like. But some say, that in the Sea and many Scote of this kind of fish, and how can a man know if they were the same?

Who may be thus satisfied, that every day in the morning, which is the time that they approach neerer the ship, we should see fowre, five, and more, which had (as it were) joyned care-matines; so that they came from backes another neerer the tale; another about the finnes, which is sufficient proof that they were the same. And I have seen many such like shoales, which makes them most profitable for us, as well as the sea. They are also very goodly to behold, especially when they make their moile along with ships and men, as the Fraps and refreshing they gather from them.

60 The Bonor, or Spanish Mackerell, is altogether like unto a Mackerell, but that it is somewhat more growne; is reasonable long, but drier than a Mackerell. Of them there are two sorts, the one is that which I have described; the other is greater, as hardly one man can lift him; At such times as we have taken much of this sort, I have sacrificed for a meal for all my company. These from the finne of the tale forwards have upon the chyne fenne small yellow linckes, close one to ano-

Use of rugged
Gowns,

Prevention.
Divers ships as
the *Primrose*,
Iesus of Lubbeck,
Robuck, *Blacke*
Lion, &c. have
been burned.
By hooping &
sculling of
Caskes.
No: 2.

By natures of
waters.

3 By swearing.

An excellent
order for ship's
swearing.

Custom feeds
vice, which se-
verely restricts

Pybydiscourse
of diuers fish:
and their de-
scription.
The Dolphin.

The Soviet

ther. The Dolphins and *Bonitas* are taken with certain Instruments of Iron, which we call *Tyfges*, in forme of an Eelo-speare, but that the blades are round, and the points like vnto the head of a broad Arrow; these are fastned to long flaues of ten or twelue foote long, with Lines tied vnto them, and so thot to the fish, from the Backe-head, the Poops, or other parts of the ship, as occasion is ministered. They are also caught with Hooks and Lines, the Hooks being bayted with a red Cloth or with a white Cloth, made into the forme of a fish, and lowered vpon the Hooks.

The Sharke or *Tierme*, is a fish like vnto those which we call Dog-fishes, but that hee is far greater, I haue fene of them eight or nine foot long his head is flat and broad, and his mouth in the middle vnderneath, as that of the Skate; and he cannot bite of the bone before hee bin, but by making a halic turne; an: then hee helpe himselfe with his taile, which serueth him in stead of a Rudder. His skine is rough (like to the fish which we call a *rough Hound*) and Ruffled, with reddish spots, fauing that vnder the belly hee is all white: hee is much hated of Sea-faring men, who haue a certaine foolish Superstition with them, and say that the ship hath feldome good successe, that is much accompanied with them. It is the most rauenous fish knowen in the Sea; for hee swalloweth all that hee findeth. In the Pouch of them hath beene found Hares, Cats, Shooes, Shirts, Legges and armes of men, ends of Ropes, and many other things; whatsoeuer is hanged by the ships side, hee therewith, as though it were with a Razor; for hee hath three rowes of teeth on either side, as sharpe as knives; taies, they are good for Pick-tooths. They spawne not, as the greatest part of fishes doe, but Whelpes, as the Dogge or Wolfe; and for many dayes after that the hath whelped every night, and towards any forme, or any danger which may chresten them hurt, the Damme seeketh her Whelpes in her mouth, and preterueth them, till they be able to shifte for themselves. I haue fene them go in and out, being more than foot and half long; and after taking the Dam, we haue found her young ones in her belly. My company tooke many. At the taile of one, they tied a great logge of wood, at another, an empty *Bassinet* well stopp'd, one they yoked like a Hogge; from another, they plucked out his eyes, and so threw them into the Sea. In catching two together, they bound them taile to taile, and so let them a swimming, another, with his belly first, and his bowels hanging out which his fellows would haue euerie one a snatch at; with other infinite Inventions to entertaine the time, and to auenge themselves; for that they deuyed them of swimming, and fed on their flesh being dead: they are taking with Harping Irons, and with great hookes made of purpyle, with Snywys and Chaines; for no Line, nor small Rope can hold them, which they there not alouder.

There doth accompany this fish, diuers little fishes, which are called *Pilats fishes*, and are euer vpon his finnes, his head, or his backe, and feede of the scraps and superfluities of his prey. They are in forme of a Trowe, and streaked like a Mackerell, but that the streakes are white and blacke, and the blacke greater then the white.

The manner of Hunting and Hawking representeth that which we reasonable creatures vse, fauing onely in the disposing of the game. For by our industry and abilitie the Hound and Hawke is brought to that obedience, that whatsoeuer they desire, is for their Master, but here it is otherwise. For the game is for his that catcheth it, the Dolphins and *Bonitas* are the Hounds, and the *Alacraze* the Hawkes, and the flying fishes the game, which the Wolfe would make magnificient the Creator, who for their fastitie, and helpe, hath given them extraordinary manner of finnes, which serue instead of wings, like those of the Bat or Rete-mouse; of such a delicate skine, interlaced with bones so curiously, as may well cause admiration in the beholders. They are like vnto Pilchards in colour, and making; fauing that they are somewhat rounder, and (for the most part) bigger. They see best with a side winde, but longer then their wings bee weate, they cannot sustaine the weight of their bodies; and so the greatest flight that I haue fene them make, hath not bene above a quarter of a mile. They commonly goe in Scoles, and serue for food for the greater fishes, or for the Fowles. The Dolphins and *Bonitas* doe continually hunt after them, and the *Alacraze* lie soaring in the Aire, to see when they flying, or take their flight; and ordinarily, hee that catcheth the mouth of the Dolphin, or *Bonito*, helping himselfe by his wings, fillethe prisoner into the hands of the *Alacraze*, and helpech to fill his gorge.

The *Alacraze* is a Sea-towle, different to all that I haue fene, either on the Land, or in the Sea. His head like vnto the head of a Gull, but his bill like vnto a Snipes bill, somewhat shorter, and in all places alike. Hee is almost like to a *Hemion*, his legs a good spanne long, his wings very long, and sharpe towards the points, with a long taile like to a Peacocks, but with three or foure feathers onely, and these narrower. Hee is all blacke, of the colour of a Crow, and of little flesh; for hee is almost all skine and bones. Hee foresh the highest of any Fowle that I haue fene, and I haue not heard of any, that haue fene them rest in the Sea.

Now of the fight betwixt the Whale and his contraries; which are the Sword-fish and the Thresher. The Sword-fish is not great, but strongly made, and in the top of his chine (as a man may say) betwixt the necke and shoulders, hee hath a manner of Sword in substance, like vnto a bone of foure or five inches broad, and about three foote long, full of prickles of either side, it is but thinn, for the greatest that I haue fene, hath not bene above a finger thicke. The Thresher

is a greater fish, whose taile is very broad and thicke, and very weighty. They fight in this manner; the Sword-fish placeth himselfe vnder the belly of the Whale, and the Thresher vpon the Ryne of the water, and with his taile thresheth vpon the head of the Whale, till hee force him to goe away, which the Sword-fish perceiving, recueth him vpon his sword, and wounding him in the belly, forceth him to mount vp againe; (besides that, hee cannot abide long vnder water, but must of force rise vp to breath) and when in such manner they torment him, that the fight is sometimes heard about three leagues distance, and I dare asseure, that I haue heard the blowes of the Thresher two leagues off, as the report of a peece of Ordnance, the Whales roaring being heard much farther. It also happeneth sundry times, that a great part of the water of the Sea is round about them, with the blood of the Whale changeth his colour. The best remedy the Whale hath in this extremitie to helpe himselfe, is to get him to land, which hee procureth as soone as hee discouereth his aduersaries, and getting the shore, there can fight but one with him, and for either of them hand to hand hee is too good.

Amber-greece is thought by some to breede in the Whales belly by eating of a certaine hearb, but that which carrieth likeliest probability is, that it is a liquor which issueth out of certaine Fontaines, in sundry Seas, and being of a light and thicke substance, participating of the Ayre, suddenly becommeth hard, as the yellow Amber, of which they make Beades, which is also a liquor of a Fontaine in the *Germane Sea*; in the bottome it is soft and white, and partaking of the Ayre becommeth hard (some: Also the Corall in the Sea is soft, but becommeth when it is dry, becommeth a stone. Those who are of this former opinion, thinke the reason (why the Amber-greece is sometimes found in the Whale) to be for that hee swalloweth it, as other things, which hee findeth swimming vpon the water, and not able to digest it, it remaineth with him till his death.

From the Tropique of *Cancer* to three or foure degrees of the Equinoctiall, the breeze which is the North-east winde, doth raigne in our Ocean Sea the most part of the yeere, except it be neere the shore, and then the winde is variable. In three or foure degrees of either side the line, the winde hangeh Southerly, in the months of Iuly, August, September, and October: all the rest of the yeere from the *Cape bona esperanza* to the lands of *Acuer*, the breeze raigneeth continually; and some yeares in the other months also or calmes, but hee that purpoteh to crosse the line from the Northwards to the Southwards, the best and surest passage is, in the months of Ianuary, February, and March. In the months of September, October and November is also good passage, but not so sure as in the former.

Betweene nineteene and twenty degrees of the Southwards of the line, the winde tooke vs contrary, which together with the fiercenes of my people made me to seeke the shore, and about the end of October, we had sight of the land, which presently by our height and the making of it, discouered it to be the Port of *Santo*, *also vestra Sanos de Victoria*, and is eafie to be knowne, for it hath a great high hill ouer the Port, which (showeours a man commeth with the land) riseth like a bell, and comming neere the shore presently is discouered a white Tower or Fort, which standeth vpon the top of a hill ouer the Harbour, and vpon the Sea-mooll; it is the first land a man must compasse before hee enter into the Port: comming within two leagues of the shore we anchored, and the Captaines and Masters of my other Ships, being come aboard, it was thought conuenient (the weakenes of our men considered, for wee had not in our three Ships twenty foure men found) and the winde vncertaine when it might change, wee thought with policie to procure that which we could not by force, and so to offer traffique to the people of the shore.

Entering the Port, within a quarter of a mile is a small Village, and three leagues higher vp, is the chiefe towne: where they haue two Forts, one on either side of the Harbour, and within them rule the Ships which come thither to discharge or load. In the small Village is euer a Garrison of a hundred Soulliers, whereof part suffice there continually, and in the white Tower vp on the top of the hill, which commandeth it.

Here my Captaine, whom I sent with a Letter, had good entertainment, and those of the shore receiued his message and Letter, dispatching it presently to the Gouvernor, who was some three leagues off in another place; at least, they beare vs in hand. In the time that they expected the Post, my Captaine with one other entertained himselfe with the Soulliers ashore, who after the common custom of their profession (except when they be *besieged*) fought to please him, and finding that hee craved but Oranges, Lemmons, and matters of small moment for refreshing for his Generall, they suffered the women and children to bring him what he would, which hee gratified with double Pistoles, that I had giuen him for that purpose. So goe hee vs two or three hundred Oranges and Lemmons, and some few Hens.

The answer of the Gouvernor was, that hee was sorry that hee could not accomplish our desire, being so reasonable & good for that in consideration of the war betweene *Spain* and *England*, hee had expresse order from his King, not to suffer any *English* to trade within his iurisdiction, nor to land, or to take any refreshing vpon the shore. And therefore craved pardon, and that we should take this for a resolute answer: And further, required vs to depart the Port within three dayes, which

The strokes
heard two
leagues.
Of Whales, see
our *Greenland*
discouery, li. 3.
ea. & c.

Amber-greece

Amber.

Corall.

Best times to
pass the line
from the North-
wards to the
Southward.

Port of Santo.

which he said he gave vs, for our courteous manner of proceeding: If any of my people from that time forwards, should approach to the shore, that hee would doe his best to murther and annoy them. With this and were we resolved to depart; and before it came, with the first faire wind, we determined to be packing: but the wind suffered vs not all that night, nor the next day. In which time I had in a great perplexitie, for that I knew our owne weakness, and what they might doe unto vs, if that they had but knowen so much. For any man that putteth himself into the enemies Ports, had neede of *Argus eyes*, and the wind in a bagge, especially, where the enemy is strong, and the tides of any force. For, with either ebbe or flood, those who are on the shore, may turne upon him intentions of fire, and with swimming or other deuises may cut his cable. A common practise in all these Countries. The like may be effected with *Reffes*, Canoes, Boats, or Pinaces, to annoy and affaile him; and if this had bene practised against vs, or taken effect, our Ships must of force have yielded themselves for they had no other people in them but sick men; many times opinion & feare preferreth the Ships, and not the people in them. *Wherefore it is the part of a prudent Governor to consider well the dangers that may befall him before he put himself into such places: so that hee may be provided for prevention.* In Saint John de Villa, in the New Spain, when the Spaniards dishonoured their Nation with that foule act of perjury, and breach of faith, given to my Father, Sir Iohn Hawkins (notorious to the whole world) the Spaniards fired one great Ship, so as to intention to burne my Fathers *Amazail*, which he presented by towing them with his Boates against the way. The great Arado of Spain, sent to conquer England, Anno 1588, was with that selfe same industry overborne: for the setting on fire six or seven Ships (whereof two were mine) and letting them drive with the flood, forced them to cut their Cables, and to put to Sea to seek a new way to Spain. In which the greatest part of their best Ships and men were lost and perished.

For prevention
of annoyances
from the
Spaniards per-
jury.

Their punish-
ment.

Note for the
harbour.

The vertue of
Oranges.

Distilling of
Salt water.

Vandelluine
of the Millers
Mire.

Providence of
God, and the
care of the
Miller.

The next night, the wind coming off the shore, we set saile, and with our Boates and Barks founded as we went. It flowed upon the Barre not above foure foote water, and once ten barre and twenty hours (as in some parts of the West Indies) at full Sea there is not upon the barre above fouenteen or eighteene foote water. The harbour runneth to the South-westwards, he that will come into it, is to open the harbours mouth a good quarter of a league before he beare with it, and be bold of the West-side, for of the Easterland lieth a great ledge of Rocks, for the most part water lyeer, which sometimes breake not, but with small shipping, a man may go betwixt them and the point.

Commaire aboard of our Ships, there was great joy amongst my company, and many with right of the O oranges and Lemmons seemed to recouer heart: This is a wonderfull secret of the power and wilddome of God, that hath hidden in great and unknowne vertue in the fruit, to be a certaine remedy for this infirmity. I presently called them all to be repared amongst our sick men, which were so many, that there came not above three or foure to a barre: but God was pleased to send vs a prosperous wind the next day, so much to our comfort, that not any one died before we came to the Islands, where we pretended to refresh our Isles: And although our fresh water had failed vs many dayes (before we law the shore) by reason of our long Navigation, wit. out touching any land, and the excessive drinking of the sicke and diseased (which could not be excused) yet with an intention I had in my Ship, I easily drew out the water of the Sea (full quantitie of fresh water to sustaine my people, with little expence of sawell, for with foure billets I filled a hogthead of water, and therewith dressed the meate for the sicke and whole. The water I distilled, we found to be wholesome and nourishing.

The coast from *Santo* to *Cape Pri* lieth West and by South Southerly. So we directed our course West South-west. The night coming on, and directions given to our other Ships, we left the water, having a faire fresh gale of wind and large. My lieut. with the Master of our Ship, having watched the night pale, thought now to give nature that which he had bene deprived of, and so commended the care of Steeridge to one of his Maies, who with the like traucell past being drowsie, or with the confidence which he had of him at the Helme, had not that watchfull care which was required by the Helme steered West and West by South, & brought vs in a little time close vpon the shore: doublet he had calt vs all away, had not God extraordinarily delivered vs: for the Master being in his dead slees, was suddenly awaked, and with such a freight, that he could not be in quiet: whereupon, waking his youth, which ordinarily lieth in his Cabin by him, asked him how the watch went on; who answered, that it could not be an hour since he laid himself to rest. He replied, that his heart was so vnquiet, that he could not by any meanes sleepe, and so taking his Gowne, came forth vpon the Decke, and presently discouered the land hard by vs. And for that it was landie and low, those who had their eyes continually fixed on it, were dazzled with the reflection of the Starres, being a faire night, and was hindered from the true discouery thereof. But he coming out of the drake, had his sight more free, to discern the difference of the Sea, and the shore. So that forthwith hee commanded him at the Helme, to put it close a flarboard, and taking our Ship, we edged off; and founding, found fane three fathome water, whereby we saw evidently, the miraculous mercy of God, that if hee watched out vs, as he doth continually over his, doublet we had perished without remedie: to whom be all glory and praise everlasting world without end.

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In this point of Steeridge, the Spaniards & Portugals doe exceede all that I haue seene, I mean for their care, which is chiefly in Navigation. And I wish in this, and in all their workes of Discipline and reformation, we should follow their examples, as also those of any other Nation. In every Shippe of moment, vpon the halfe decke or quarter decke, they haue a chaire or leate; out of which whilst they Navigate, the Pilot, or his Adjutants (which are the same officers which in our Ships we terme, the Maister and his Maies) neuer depart, day nor night, from the sight of the Compass, and haue another before them, whereby they see what they doe, and are euery witnesses of the good or bad Steeridge of all men that take the Helme.

The next day about ten of the clocke, we were thwart of *Cape Blanco*, which is low landie and perilous, for foure leagues into the Sea (thwart it) lye banks of land, which haue little water on them; on a sudden we found our Isles amongst them, in lesse then three fathome water, but with our Boate and Shallop we went founding, and so got cleare of them. The next day following, we discouered the Islands, where we purposed to refresh our felous: they are two, and some call them *Saint Iames* his Islands, and others, *Saint Anes*. They lye in two and twentie degrees and a halfe to the Southwards of the line; and towards the euening (being the fift of November) we anchored betwixt them and the maine, in six fathome water, where we found out other Ships.

All which being well Moored, we presently began to set vp Tents & Booths for our sick men; to carry them ashore, and to vie our best diligence to cure them. Which intirent our three Surgeons, with their seruants and adherents, had two Boates to waite continually vpon them, to fetch whatsoeuer was needfull from the Ships, to procure refreshing, and to Fish either with Nets or Hooks, and Lines. Of these implements we had in abundance, and it yielded vs some refreshing. For the first dayes the most of those which had health, occupied themselves in reuening our Ship, in bringing ashore of emptie Caske, in filling of them, and in selling and cutting of wood: which being many workes, and few hands, went slowly forwards.

Neere these Islands are two great Rocks or small Islands adioyning. In them we found great store of young Ganets in their nests, which we returned for the sick, and being boyled with pickled Porke well watered, and mingled with Oatmeale, made reasonable Potrage, & was good refreshing and sustenance for them. This provision failed vs not, till our departure from them. Vpon one of these Rocks also, we found great store of the hearbe *Potellane*, which boyled and made in Purllane, to Sallets, with oyle and Vineger, refreshed the sicke stomackes, and gaue appetite.

With the ayre of the shore, and good cherishing, many recouered speedily: some died away quickly, and others continued at a stand. We found here some store of Fruits; a kinde of Cherry, that groweth vpon a tree like a Plum-tree, red of colour, with a stone in it, but different in making to ours, for it is not altogether sound, and dented about: it haue a pleasing taste. In one of the Islands we found *Palmito* trees, great and high, and in the top a certaine fruite like Cocos, but no bigger then a Walnut. We found also a fruit growing vpon trees in cods, like Beanes, but in the cod and the fruite. Some of my Com. partly pressed of them, and they caused vomits and purging. One other fruit we found, very pleasant in taste, in fashion of an Arctecioque, but less then the cod of colour red; within white, and compassed about with prickles: our people called them Prick-peares: no Conferre is better. They grow vpon the leaues of a certaine roore, that is like unto that which we call *semper vna*; and many are wont to hang them vp in their houses: but their leaues are longer and narrower, and full of prickles on either side. The Fruite groweth vpon the stile of the leafe, and is one of the best fruites that I haue eaten in the Indies. In ripening, presently the Birds or Vermine are feeding on them; a general rule to know what is wholesome and good in the Indies, and other parts. Finding them to be eaten of the Beatts or Fowles, a man may boldly eate of them.

The water of these Islands is not good; the one for being a standing water, and full of venemous wormes and Serpents, which is neere a Butt-shot from the Sea-shore, where we found a great Tree fallen, and in the roote of it the names of sundry Portugals, Frenchmen, and others, amongst them *Abraham Cooke*, with the time of their being in this Island. The other, though a running water, yet passing by the rootes of certaine trees, which haue a smell as that of Garlique, taketh a certaine contagious sent of them. Here two of our men died with swelling of their bellies: the accident we could not attribute to any other cause, then to this suspicious water. It is little, and falleth into the land, and togeth through it into the Sea; and therefore we made a well of a Pipe, and placed it vnder the rocke from which it falleth, and out of it filled our Caske: but we could not fill above two tuns in a night and a day.

After our people began to gather their strength, we manned our Boates, and went out to the Maine, where presently we found a great Riuer of fresh and sweete water, and a mightie Marshie Country, which in the winter seemeth to be continually ouer-flowne with this Riuer, and others, which fall from the mountainous Country adiacent. We rowed some leagues vp the Riuer, and found that the further vp we went, the deeper was the Riuer, but no fruit, more then the sweete of our bodies for the labour of our hands. At our returne we loaded our Boate with water, and afterwards from hence we made our Store.

Care of Steer-
idge.

Exquisite in the
Spaniards and
Portugals.

Cape Blanco.

Saint Iames Is-
lands, alias
Saint Anes.

Ganets.

Cherries.

Palmitos.

Purgatives.

Arctecioques,

or Prick-peares.

A good note

to take or re-
fute vnlawful
fruits.

Contagious

water.

Waste Sloffe
of an A.
H. w. burnt.Sholes of A.
breasin.Industry of the
Canoe.
They forsake
their Canoes.
G. as Canoes
San-Joaquin.

Wise Stratagem

The merry
e. v. of a care
full watch.In the
Canoe.

Palmito Island.

The creature.

The sickle, having waited more than the one halfe of my people, we determined to take out the vessels of the *Hawke*, and to burne her; which we put in execution. And being occupied in this worke, we saw a Ship turning to windwards, to succour her selfe of the llands; but having detected vs, put off to Sea-wards. Two daies after, the winde changing, we law her againe running alongh the Cape, and the *Damite* not being in case to goe after her, for many reasons, we manned the *Fancie*, and sent her after her; who about letting of the Sunne fetched her vp, and spake with her; when finding her to be a great Fly-boate, of (at least) three or foure hundred tuns, with eighteen Peeces of Artillery, would haue returned, but the winde freshning in, put her to Leeward; and standing in to succour her selfe of the land, had sight of another small Bark, which after a short chase the tooke, but had nothing of moment in her, for that the had bin vpon the great Sholes of *Abreues* in 8. degrees, and there throwne all they had by the board, to save their liues. This and the other chafe were the cause that the *Fancie* could not beate it vp in many dayes; but before we had put all in a readinesse, the winde changing, she came vnto vs, and made Relation of that which had past; and how they had giuen the small Barke to the *Portugals*, and brought with them onely her Pilot, and a Merchant called *Pedro de s. f. lante* of *Porto*.

In this Coast the *Portugals*, by industry of the *Indians*, haue wrought many feates. At *Cape Frio* they tooke a great *French* Shippe in the night, the most of her company being on the shore with Canoes, which they haue in this Coast so great, that they carrie fuentie and eightie men, in one of them. And in *s. f. Grand*, I saw one that was about threescore foute long, of one tree as are all the haue seen in *Brasil*, with proportions in them twenty or thirty daies. At the land of *San-Joaquin*, nere *Saint Vincent*, the *Indians* killed about eightie of *Master Candelo*'s men, and tooke his Boate, which was the ouerthrow of his Voyage.

There cometh not any Ship vpon this Coast, whereof these Canoes giue not notice presently to vey place. And we were certified in *s. f. Grand*, that they had sent an *Indian* from the River of *Senes*, through all the Mountaines & Marshes, to take vey of vs, and accordingly made a Relation of our Ships, Boates, and the number of men, which wee might haue. But to prevent the like danger that might come vpon vs being careless and negligent, I determined one night, in the darke and quiettest of it, to see what watch our Company kept on the shore; manned our Light-horlan, and Boatarmed them with Bowes and Targets, and got ashore some good 30 distance from the places wheresore our Boathes, and sought to come vpon them vndercover: we vied all our best endeauours to take them at vnawares, yet coming within fortie paces we were discouered; the widge and the *Isle* came forth to oppose themselves against vs. Which we leuing, gave them the Hubbub; after the manner of the *Indians*, and assaulted them, and they vs; but being a dole darke night, they could not discern vs presently vpon the Hubbub. From our Ship the Gunner shot a peece of Ordnance ouer our heads, according to the order giuen him, and therfore we tooke occasion to retire vnto our Boates, and within a little space came to the Boathes and landing places, as though we came from our Ships to aide them. They began to recount vnto vs, how that at the Westier point of the land, out of certaine Canoes, had landed a multitude of *Indians*, which with a great out-cry came vpon them, & assaulted them fiercely; but finding better resistance then they looked for, and seeing themselves discouered by the Ships, tooke themselves to their heeles, and returned to their Canoes, in which they imbarked themselves, and departed. One affirmed, he saw the Canoes; another, their long haire; a third, their Bowes; a fourth, that it could not be, but that some of them had their paintmen: And it was worth the sight, to behold those which had not moued out of their beds in many monthes (vnlesse by the helpe of others) had gotten some a bowe-thr off into the woods, others into the top of trees, and those which had any strength, ioynd together to fight for their liues. In fine, the Boathes and Tents were left desolate.

To colour our businesse the better, after we had spent some houre in seeking out, and ioyning the Company together, in comforting, and commanding them; I left them an extraordinary 32 ry Guard for that night, and fodeparted to our Shippes, with such an opinion of the assault, giuen by the *Indians*, that many fo polluted (through all the Voyage) would not be persuaded to the contrary. Which impression wrought such effect in most of my Company, that in all places where the *Indians* might annoy vs, they were after most careful and vigilant, as was convenient.

In these Islands it heighth and falleth some fure or fixe foute water, and but once in two and twentie houres; as in all this Coast, and in many parts of the West *Indies*; as also in the coast of *Peru* and *Chely* (lying where are great Bayes or indraughts) and there the tydes keep their ordinary course of twice in foure and twentie houres. In the leiler of these Islands, is a Coue for a small Ship to ride in, Land-lockt, and the may moore her selfe to the trees of either side: this we called 60

Palmito Island, for the abundance it hath of the greater fort of *Palmito* trees, the other hath none at all. A man may goe betwixt the Islands with his Ship, but the better course is out at one end. In these Islands are many Scorpions, Snakes, and Adders, with other venomous Vermin. They haue Patots, and a certaine kinde of fowle like vnto Pheasants, somewhat bigger, and seeme to be of this

their nature. Here we spent about a moneth in curing of our sicke men, supplying our wants of wood and water, and in other necessary workes. And the tenth of December (all things put in order) we set saile for *Cape Frio*, hauing onely fixe men sicke, with purpose there to let ashore our two Prisoners before named: and aneloring vnder the Cape, we let our Boate ashore, but they could not finde any convenient place to land them in, and so returned: the winde being Southerly, and not good to goe on our voyage, we fuccoured our felues within *s. f. Grand*, which lyeth some dozen or foureene leagues from the Cape, betwixt the West, and by South and West South-west: the rather to let our Prisoners on shore.

In the mid way betwixt the Cape and this land, lyeth the River *Senes*, a very good Harbour, fortified with a Garrison, and a place well peopled. The *s. f. Grand* is some eight or tenne leagues long, and encluth a goodly harbour for shipping; its full of great landie Bayes, and in the most of them is store of good water: within this land are many other smaller lands, which cause diuers founts and creeks; and amongst these little lands, one, for the pleasant situation Little Island, and fertility thereof, called *Platinia*. This is peopled, all the rest deser: on this land our Prisoners desired to be put ashore, and promised to send vs some refreshing. Whereto wee condescended, and sent them ashore with two Boates well manned and armed, who found few Inhabitants in the land; for our people saw not about foure or fife houles, notwithstanding our Boates returned laden with Plantines, Pimas, Potatoes, Sugar-canes, and some Hens. Amongst which they brought a kinde of little Plantine, Greene, and round, which were the best of any that I haue 30 seen. With our people came a *Portugall*, who said, that the land was his; he seemed to be a *Misteco* (who are those that are of a *Spanish* and an *Indian* blood) poorly apparelled and miserable; we feared him, and gaue him some trifles, and hee according to his ablittie answered our courtesie with such as he had.

The winde continuing contrary, we emptied all the water we could come by, which we had filled in *Saint Ioues* bay, and filled our Canke with the water of this *s. f. Grand*. It is a wilde and sicke coured with Trees and Shrubs so thick, as it hath no passage through, except we make it by force. And it was strange to heare the howling and cries of wilde Beasts in their Woods day and night, which we could not come at to see by any means; fume like Lyons, others like Beares, others like Hogs, and of such an 150 many diuersities as was admirab. Here our Nets 30 profited vs much, for in the sandy Bayes they tooke vs foute of fish. Vpon the shore at full Sea, marke, we found in many places certain shels, like those of mother of Pearles, which are brought out of the East *Indies*, to make landing cups, called *Caracoles*; of so great courtesie as might moue all the beholders to magnifie the maker of them: and were it not for the bitternesse of them, by reason of their exceeding thinnesse, doubtlesse they were to be esteemed farse about the others, for more excellent workmanship I haue not seene in shels.

The eighteenth of December we set saile, the winde at North-east, and directed our course for the Straits of *Magalanes*. The twenty two of this month, at the going too of the Sun, we descried a *Portugall* ship, and gaue her chase, and coming within hailing of her, she reniared her selfe without any resistance, she was of an hundred tuns bound for *Angola* to load *Negros*, to be carried and sold in the River of *Plas*. It is a trade of great profit, and much vied, for that the *Negros* 40 are carried from the head of the River of *Plas*, to *Porto*, to labour in the Mines. It is a bad *Negro*, who is not worth there fure or fixe hundredth peeces, every peece often Ryals, which they receive in Ryals of Plate, for there it no other Merchandize in those parts. The loading of this Ship was made of *Cajani*, which the *Portugals* call *Farina de Pau*, made of a certaine roote which the *Indians* call *Tuca*, much like vnto Potatoes. Of it are two kindes, the one sweete and good to be eaten (either roited or foddan) as Potatoes; and the other of which they make their bread, called *Cajani*, deadly poison, if the liquor or iuyce be not thoroughly pressed out. This *Farina*, in making Pancakes, and frying them with butter or oyle, and sometimes with *Mantea de Pauco*; when strewing a little Sugar vpon them, it was meate that our company delired about any that 50 was in the Ship.

The *Indians* also accustome to make their drinke of this meale, and in three seuerall manners. Firft, is chewing it in their mouthes, and after mingling it with water, after a loathsome manner, yet the commonest drinke that they haue; and that held best which is chewed by an old woman. The second manner of their drinke, is baking it till it be halfe burned, then they beate it into Powder; and when they will drinke, they mingle a small quantity of it with water, which gieth a reasonable good taste. The third, and best, is baking it (as aforesaid) and when it is beaten into Powder, to seeth it in water; after that it is well boyled, they let it stand some three or colour and taste. So it is much like the Ale which is vied in England, and of that 60

The *Indians* are very curious in planting and manuring of this *Tuca*. It is a little shrub, & carrieth branches like lazell wands; being grown as big as a mans finger, they break them off in the middle, and fo prick them into the ground; needeth no other ar or husbandry, for out of each branch grow two, three or foure roots, some bigger, some lesser: but first they burne and manure the ground, the which labour, and whatsoever else is requisite, the men doe not so much 60

With the labour of the women.

as helpe with a finger, but all lyeth vpon their poore women, who are worle then drales: for they labour the ground, they plant, they digge and delue, they bake, they brew, and ille their meate, fetch their water, and doe all drudgerie whatsoeuer; yea, though they nurse a childe, they are not exempted from labour: their childe they carrie in a Wallet about their necke, ordinarily vnder one arme, because it may keepe when it will.

The men haue care for nothing but their Canoes, to passe from place to place, and of their Bowes and Arrows to hunt, and their Armes for the warre, which is a sword of heauie blacke wood, foure fingers broad, an inch thicke, and an Elle long, somewhat broader towards the top then at the handle. They call it *Macana*, and it is carued and wrought with inland works very curiously, but his edges are blunt. If any kill any game in hunting, he bringeth it not with him, but from the next tree to the game, hee bringeth a bough (for the trees in the *Indies* haue leaues for the most part all the yeare) and all the way as he goeth streweth little peeces of it, here and there, and comming home giueth a peece to his woman, and so lends her it. If they goe to the Warre, or in any iourney, where it is necessary to carry prouision or Merchandize, the women serue to carrie all, and the men neuer labour nor caie them, wherein they shew greater Barbarisme then in any thing (in my opinion) that I haue noted amongst them, except in eating one another.

We tooke out of this Prize, for our prouision, some good quantitie of this meale, and the Sugar he had, being not about three or foure Chests: after three dayes we gaue the Ship to the *Peruigals*, and to them libertie. In her was a *Portugall* Knight, which went for *Gouernour of Angola*, of the *habu of Christ*, with fiftie Souldiers, and Armes for a hundred and fiftie, with his wife and daughter. He was old, and complained, that after many yeeres seruice for his King, with sundry mishaps, he was brought to that poore estate, as for the reliefe of his wife, his daughter and himselfe, he had no other substance, but that he had in his Ship. It moued compassion, so as nothing of his was diminiht, which though to vs was of no great moment, in *Angola* it was worth good Crownes. Only we disarmed them all, and let them depart, saying, that it was worth returne to *Saint Vincent*. We continued our course for the Straits, my people much animated with this vnlookt for refreshing, and praised God for his bountie, prouidence, and grace extended towards vs. Here it will not be out of the way to speake a word of the particularities of the Countrey.

The description of Brail.

Brail is accounted to be that part of *America*, which lyeth towards our North Sea, betwixt the River of the *Amazons*, neere the line to the Northwards, vntill a man come to the River of *Plate* in 36. degrees to the Southwards of the line. This coast generally lyeth next to any thing South and by West. It is a temperate Countrey, though in some parts it exceedeth in heate; it is full of good fauours for shipping, and plentifull for Rivers and fresh waters. The principall habitations, are *Pernambuco*, the Bay *De todos los Santos*, *Noltra Senora de victoria*, alias *Sancia*, the River *Senora*, *Saint Vincent*, and *Placencia*: euerie of them prouided of a good Port. The windes are variable, but for the most part trade along the Coast.

In Hauens.

A worme there is in this Countrey, which killed many of the first Inhabitants, before God was pleased to discouer a remedie for it: vnto a religious person. It is like a Maggot, but more slender and longer, and of a greene colour, with a red head. This worme creepeth in at the hinder parts, where is the euacuation of our superfluities, and there (as it were) gleweth himselfe to the gut, there feedeth of the blood and humors, and becommeth so great, that stopping the naturall passage, he forceth the principall wheele of the clocke of our body to stand still, and with it the account of the houre of life to take end, with most cruell torment and paine, which is such, that he who hath bene thoroughly punished with the Collique can quickly decipher or demonstrate. The Antidote for this pernicious worme is *Garlique*: and this was discouered by a Phisitian to a Religious person.

Strang worme. Variation of the Compass.

Þ. III.

THALTONS treacherie: Discouerie of Land vnkowne: Entrance of the Straits, accidents therein, and description thereof: diuers occasional discourses for the furtherance of Marine and Naturall knowledge.

Our Navigation towards the Straits, by our obseruation we found, that our Compass varied a point and better to the Eastwards.

In the height of the River of *Plate*, we being foue fiftie leagues off the coast, a storme tooke vs Southerly, which endured fortie eight houres: In the first day about the going downe of the Sunne, *Robert Thallton*, Maister of the *Fancie*, bare vp before the winde, without giuing vs any token or signe, that she was in distresse. We seeing her to continue her course,

bare vp after her, and the night coming on, we carried our light, but the neuer answered vs, for they kept their course directly for *England*, which was the overthrow of the Voyage, as well as that we had no Pinasse to goe before vs, to discouer any danger, to seek out routes and anchorage, to helpe our watering and restrefing; as also for the victuals, necessities, and men which they carried away with them: which though they were not many, yet with their helpe in our fight, we had taken the Vice-admirall, the first time she bounded with vs, as shall be hereafter manifested. For once we cleared her Decks, and had we bene able to haue spared but a dozen men, doubtlesse, we had done with her what we would, for she had no close fights. Moreover, if she had bene with me, I had not bene discouered vpon the coast of *Peru*. But I was worthy to be deceiued, that trusted my Ship in the hands of an hypocrite, and a man which had left his Generall before in the like occasion, and in the selfe same place: for being with Maister *Thomas Candell*, Maister of a small Shippe in the Voyage wherein hee died, this Captaine being a retired Admirall, in the night time forlocke his Fleete, his Generall and Captaine, and returned home. Pite it is that such perfidious persons are not more severely punished.

The course throw or by the Voyage or by the perfidious man

These absentings and escapes are made most times early to pilfer and steale, as well by taking of some prize when they are alone, and without command, to hinder or order their bad proceedings, as to appropriate that which is in their trusted shippe: casting the fault, if they be called to account, vpon some poore and vnkowne Mariners, whom they suffer with a little pillage, to absente themselves, the cunningest to colour their greafull disorders, and

The cunning of Runnawayes.

20 Robberies.

The storme ceasing, and being out of all hope, we set sail late and went on our course. During this time, certaine great Fowles as bigges as Swannes, flared about vs, and the winde calmed, I told ourselves in the Sea, and fell vpon the sweepings of our ship, which I perceiving, and desirous to see of them, because they seemed farse greater then in truth they were, I cauled a Hook and Line to be brought me; and with a peece of a Pilehard I baited the Hooke, and a foot from it, tied a peece of Corke, that it might not sinke deepe, and threw it into the Sea, which, our ship driving with the Sea in a little time was a good space from vs, and one of the Fowles being hungry, preiely seized vpon it, and the Hooke in his upper beake. It is like to a Falcons bill, but that the point is moore crooked, in that manner, as by no means hee could cleere himselfe,

Birds like Swans. Such the Hollanders found in the Straits which they called *Morres*. Curb with Line & Hooke.

except that the Line brake, or the Hooke ripped: Plucking him towards the ship, with the waung of his wings hee eased the weight of his body and being brought to the ferne of our ship, two of our company went downe by the ladder of the Poope, and seized on his neck and wings; but such were the blowes hee gaue them with his Pinions, as both left their hand fast, being beaten blacke and blue, we cauld a snare about his necke, and so triced him into the ship. By the same manner of fishing, we caught to many of them, as refreshed and recreated all my people for that day. Their bodies were great, but of little flesh and tender, in taste asfwearable to the food whereon they feed. They were of two colours, some white, some grey; they had three ioyns in each wing; and from the point of one wing to the point of the other, both stretched out, was about two fathomes.

Proue good to the damage.

The wind continued good with vs, till we came to 49. degrees and 30. minutes where it took vs Westwiler, being (as we made our account) foue fiftie leagues from the shore. Betwixt 49. and 48. degrees is Port *Saint Saluan*, a good Harbour, and in which a man may graue his Shippe, though the draw fiftene or sixtente foot water: But care is to be had of the people called *Patagones*. They are treacherous, and of great stature, most giue them the name of Giants.

Care of the Patagones.

The second of February, about nine of the clocke in the morning, wee declared Land, which bare South-west of vs, which we looked not for so timely, and comming neerer and neerer vnto it by the bing, we could not coniecture what Land it shuld be, for we were next of any thing in 48. degrees, and no Plat, nor Sea-card which we had, made mention of any Land, which lay in that manner, neere about the height. In fine, we brought our Lar-board tack aboard,

Land vnkowne.

and stood to the North-east with all that day and night, and the winde continuing Westwiler and a faire gale, we continued our course along the Coast the day and night following. In which time we made account we discouered well neere thre score leagues off the Coast. It is bold, and made small shew of dangers. The Land is a goodly Champion Countrey, and prettled; we saw many fires, but could not come to speake with the people; for the time of the yeere was farse spent to shoore the Straits, and eie want of our Pinasse disabled vs for finding a Port or Road; not being discretion with a ship of charge, and in an vnkowne Coast, to come neere the shoore before it was founded; which were cautes, together with the change of the winde good for vs to passe the Strait that hindered the further Discouery of this Land, with its secrets: This I haue forrowed too many times since for that it had likelihood to be an excellent Countrey: This

A description of the fame. A causet for comming suddenly to neere an vnkowne Land.

hath great Rivers of fresh waters for the out-shoot of them colours the Sea in many places, as we ranne along it. It is not Mountaynous, but much of the disposition of *England*, and as temperate. The things we noted principally on the Coast, are these following: the Westmost point of the Land, with which wee first fell, is the end of the Land to the Westwards, as wee found afterwards. If a man bring this point South-west it riseth in three Mounts or round Hill-tokes:

yyyyy 3

bringing

Point Tremou-
taine.
Fairland.

bringing it more Weſterly, they ſhoot themſelves all into one; and bringing it Eaſterly, it riſeth in two Hilllocks. This we called Point Tremou-
taine. Some twelve or fourteen leagues from
this point to the Eaſtwards, faire by the ſhoare, lyeth a low flat Iſland of fome two leagues long
we named it *Faire Iſland*; for it was all ouer as greene and ſmooth, as any Meadow in the Spring
of the yeare.

Conduits-head.

Some three or four leagues Eaſterly from this Iſland, is a goodly opening, as of a great Riuer,
or an arme of the Sea, with a goodly low Country adjacent. And eight or tenne leagues from
this opening, ſome three leagues from the ſhoare, lyeth a bigge Rocke, which at the firſt we had
thought to be a ſhip vnder all her ſayles; but after, as we came neerer, it diſcouered it ſelfe to be
a Rocke, which we called *Conduits-head*; for that howeouer a man commeth with it, it is like
to the Conduits-head about the Cite of London. All this Coaſt ſo faire as we diſcouered, lyeth
next of any thing Eaſt and by North, and Weſt and by South. The Land, for that it was diſco-
uered in the Reigne of Queene Elizabeth, my Soueraigne Lady and Maſters, and a Mayden
Queene, and at my ſoft and adventure, in a perpetual memory of her chaſtite, and remembrance
of my endeouours, I gae it the name of *Hawkins Maidenland*. Before a man fall with this Land,
ſome twenty or thirty leagues, he ſhall meet with beds of Orewed, drining to and fro in the
Sea, with white flowers growing vpon them, and ſometimes farther off; which is a good ſhew
and ſigne the Land is neerer, whereof the Weſtermoſt part lyeth ſome threeſcore leagues from the
neereſt Land of America.

Hawkins Mai-
denland.
Beds of Ore-
wed, with
white flowers.

Our coming
to the Straits.

With our faire and large wind, wee ſhaped our courſe for the Straits, and the tenth of Febru-
ary wee had ſight of Land, and it was the head-land of the Straits to the Northwards, which
agreed with our height, wherein wee found our ſelves to be, which was in 32. degrees and 40.
minutes. Within a few houres we had the mouth of the Straits open, which lieth in 32. degrees
and 50. minutes. It riſeth like the North foreland in Kent, and is much like the Land of *Ma-
gates*. It is not good to borrow neere the ſhoare, but to giue it a faire birth; within a few houres
we entered the mouth of the Straits, which is ſome fixe leagues broad, and lieth in 32. degrees,
and 50. minutes; doubling the Point on the ſtarboard, which is alſo flat of a good birth, we opened
a faire Bay, in which we might deſcry the Hill of a ſhip beaten vpon the Beach. It was of
the *Spaniſh* Fleet, that were combait there, in *February* 1581, vnder the charge of *Pedro Sarmien-
to*, who at his returne was taken Priſoner, and brought into England. In this Bay the *Spaniards* 30
made their principall habitation, and called it the Cite of *San Philip*, and left it peopled; but
the cold barrenneſſe of the Country, and the malice of the *Indians*, with whom they badly a-
gred, made ſpeedy end of them, as alſo of thoſe, whom they left in the middle of the Straits,
three leagues from Cape *Proward* to the Eaſtwards, in another habitation.

Deſcription
thereof.

Pedro Sarmien-
to buildeth
San Philip.

We continued our courſe alongh this Reach (for all the Straits is as a Riuer altering his courſe,
ſometimes vpon one point, ſometimes vpon another) which is ſome eight leagues long, and lieth
Weſt North-weſt. From this we entered into a goodly Bay, which runneth vp into the Land
Northerly many leagues; and at firſt entrance, a man may ſee no other thing, but as it were, a
maine Sea. From the end of this firſt Reach, you muſt direct your courſe Weſt South-weſt, and
ſome fourteen or fifteen leagues lyeth one of the narroweſt places of all the Straits; This lea-
deth vnto another Reach, that lyeth Weſt and by North ſome fix leagues. Here in the middle of
the Reach, the wind rooke vs by the North-weſt, and ſo we were forced to anchor ſome two or
three dayes. In which time we went aſhoare with our Boats, and found neere the middle of the
Reach, on the ſtarboard ſide, a reaſonable good place to ground and trimme a ſmall ſhip; whereſt
higher ſome nine or ten foot water. Here we law certaine Hogs, but they were ſo farre from
vs, that we could not diſcerne whether they were of kinde of the Country, or brought by the
Spaniards; theſe were all the beaſts which we ſaw in all the time we were in the Straits.

Hogs.

Iſlands of Pen-
guins.
Note.

In two tides we turned through this reach, and ſo recoured the Iſlands of *Penguins*; they lyſt
from this reach four leagues South-weſt and by Weſt. Till you come to this place, care is to be
taken of not comming too neere to any point of the land; for being (for the moſt part) landy, they
haue ſhocking off them, and are ſomehow dangerous. Theſe Iſlands haue bene ſer forth by ſome
to be three, we could diſcouer but two; And they are no more except that part of the Mayne,
which lyeth ouer againſt them, be an Iſland; which carrieth little likelihood, and I cannot de-
termine it. A man may faile betwixt the two Iſlands, or betwixt them and the Land on the
Laboard ſide; from which Land to the bigger Iſland is as it were a bridge or ledge, on which is
four or five fathom water; and to him that commeth neere it, not knowing thereof, may juſtly
cauſe feare: for it ſeemeth to be ſolid water with his ripling, like vnto a Race. Betwixt the for-
mer Reach, and theſe Iſlands, runneth vp a goodly Bay into the Countrey to the North-wards.
It cauſeth a great Indraught, and about theſe Iſlands runneth a great ride from the mouth of the
Straits to theſe Iſlands, the Land on the Laboard ſide is low Land and landy (for the moſt part,
and without doubt, Iſlands) for it hath many openings into the Sea, and forcible Indraughts by
them, and that on the Starboard ſide is all his Mountainous Land, from end to end; and is no
wood on either ſide. Before we paſſed theſe Iſlands, vnder the Lee of the bigger Iſland we an-
chored, the wind being at North-eaſt, with intent to reſreſh our ſelves with the Fowles of theſe
Iſlands.

Since it hath
bin plainly
found that all
the South part
are Iſlands.

Iſlands they are of diuers ſorts, and in great plenty, as *Penguins*, wild Ducks, Gulls and *Gannets*; of
the principall we purpoſed to make prouiſion, and thoſe were the *Penguins*.
The *Penguin* is in all proportion like a Gooſe, and hath no feathers, but a certaine downe vpon
all parts of his bodie; and therefore cannot ſlee, but auayleth himſelfe in all occaſions with his
feet, running as faſt as moſt men. He liueth in the Sea, and on the Land feedeth on fiſh in the
Sea, and as a Gooſe on the ſhore vpon graſſe. They harbour themſelves vnder the ground in Bur-
rowes, as the Conies; and in them hatch their young. All parts of the Iſland where they haunted
were vndermined, ſauely one Valley which (it ſeemeth) they reſerued for their food; for it
was as greene as any Meadow in the month of April, with a moſt fine hort graſſe. The fiſh of
theſe *Penguins* is much of the labour of a certaine Fowle taken in the Iſlands of *Lundy* and *Sally*;
which we call *Puffins*, by the taſte it is eaſily diſcerned that they feed on fiſh. They are very fat,
and in dreſſing muſt be head as the Byer; they are reaſonable meate roſted, baked, or ſodden;
but beſt roſted. We ſalted ſome dozen or ſixteen Hogheads, which ſerued vs (whiſt they la-
ſted) inſtead of powdered Beefe. The hunting of them (as we may well terme it) was a great
recreation to my company and every one with a cudgell in his hand, to compaſſe them round a-
bout, to liſing them, as it were, into a Ring; if they chanced to breake out, then was the ſport;
for the ground being vndermined, at vnwares it failed, and as they ranne after them, one fell
here, another there, another offering to ſtrike at one, liſting vp his hand, ſunk vpon to the arme-
pits in the earth, another leaping to auoid one hole, fell into another. And after the firſt laugh-
ter, inſeruing vs on the ſhoare, they hunted vs, and procured to recouer the Sea: yea many times
ſeruing themſelves perſecuted they would tumble downe from ſuch high Rocks and Mountaines, as
it ſeemed impoſſible to eſcape with life. Yet as ſoone as they came to the Beach, preſently we
ſhould ſee them runne into the Sea, as though they had no hurt. Where one goeth, the other fol-
loweth, like ſheepe after the Bel-weather; but in getting them once within the Ring cloſe to-
gether, few eſcaped, ſauely ſuch as by chance hid themſelves in the borrowes, and ordinarily there
was no Droue which yeelded vs not a thouſand, and more: the manner of killing them which
the Hunters viſed, being in a cluſter together, was with their cudgells to knocke them on the
head, for though a bon gaue them many blowes on the body they dyed not: Beſides the fiſh
which hee could not get to keepe. The maſſacre ended, preſently they cut off their heads, that they
might be ſold well; ſuch as we determined to keepe for ſtore, we ſaued in this manner. Firſt, we
ſplit them, and then waſhed them well in Sea-water, then ſalted them, hauing laine ſome ſeuerall
houres in Salt, we put them in preſſe eight houres, and the blood being ſoaked out, we ſalted
them againe in our other caſke, as is the cuſtome to ſalt Beefe, after this manner they continued
good ſome two monthes, and ſerued vs in ſtead of Beefe.

The Gulls and *Gannets*, were not in ſo great quantitie, yet we wanted not young Gulls to eate
all the time of our ſtay about theſe Iſlands. It was one of the delicateſt foods, that I haue eaten
in my life.

The Ducks are different to ours, and nothing ſo good meate; yet they may ſerue for neceſſi-
tie: They were many, and had a part of the Iſland to themſelves ſeueral, which was the higheſt
Hill and more then a Muſket ſhot ouer. In all the dayes of my life, I haue not ſeene greater care
and curioſitie in creatures void of reaſon, then in the placing and making of their Neſts; all the
Hill being full of them, that the greateſt Mathematician of the World, could not denie how
to place one more then there was vpon the Hill, leauing only one path-way for a Fowle to paſſe
betweene. The Hill was all lowly, as if it had bene ſmoothed by arte; the Neſts made only of
earth, and ſeeming to be of the ſelfe ſame mould; for the Neſts and the ſole is all one, which,
with water that they bring in their Beakes, they make into Clay, and a certaine daube, and after
faſhion them round, as with a compaſſe. In the bottome they containe the meaſure of a foot; in
the height about eight inches; and in the top, the ſame quantitie ouer; there they are hollowed
in, ſomewhat deep, wherein they lay their Eggs, without other precaution. And I am of opinion,
that the Sun helpeth them to hatch their young: their Neſts are for many yeares, and of one
proportion, not one exceeding another in bigneſſe, in height, nor circumference; and in propor-
tionable diſtance one from another. In all this Hill, nor in any of their Neſts, was to be found a
blade of graſſe, a ſtraw, a ſicke, a feather, a meat, no, nor the ſkin of any Fowle, but all the Neſts
and paſſages betwixt them, were ſo ſmooth and cleane, as if they had bin newly ſwept & waſhed.

One day hauing ended our hunting of *Penguins*, one of our Mariners walking about the Iſland,
diſcouered a great company of Seales, or Sea-wolves (ſo called for that they are in the Sea, as the
Wolves on the Land) aduſing vs, that he left them ſleeping, with their bellies toaſting againſt
the Sunne: we provided our ſeues with ſtaues and other weapons, and fought to ſteale vpon
them at vnwares, to ſurpriſe ſome of them, and comming downe the ſide of a Hill, we were not
diſcouered, till wee were cloſe vpon them, and comming downe the ſide of a Hill, we were not
could approach) with a great howle we ſaw them, notwithstanding, their Sentinel (before we
were) they hunted vs not; for they came directly vpon vs, and though we dealt here and there
a blow, yet not a man that wiſhfood them, eſcaped the ouerthrow. They reckon neere
of

Good prouiſi-
on in the
Straits.
The deſcripti-
on of the
Penguin.

Hunting the
Penguin.

The keeping
for ſtore.

The Gulls.

Ducks.

Cunning Art
chicatrice.

Their nature.

Of Seales, or
Sea-wolves.

Description of the Seale.

Their Situation.

The second peopling of the Spaniards.

Elizabeth Bay.

The River of Irenna.

Another channel.

Blanchet Bay.

Objection of waine Answer.

Warning a. patish worms which are to be supplied. This Artificer, or B. one, as all the Countries enter into the plankes of ships, and all the

of a Muskett shot, a sword pierceth not their skinn, and to give a blowe with a staffe, is as to smite vpon a stone: only in giuing the blowe vpon his snout, presently he falleth downe dead. After they had recovered the water, they did as it were, looke vs, deffe vs, and daunced before vs, vntill we had shot some Muskett through them, and so they appeared no more.

This fish is like vnto a Calfe, with foure legs, but not about a spanne long: his skinn is hairy like a Calfe: but these were different to all that euer I haue seene, yet I haue seene of them in many parts: for these were greater, and in their former parts like vnto Lions, with flaggie haire, and molatches. They liue in the Sea, and come to sleepe on the Land, and they euer haue one that watcheth, who adueth them of any accident. They are beneficiall to man in their skynnes for many purposes: In their molatches for Pick-tooths, and in their fatte to make Traine-oyle.

We embarked our filures, and set sayle with the winde at North-west, which could serue vs but to an end, or that reach, lone dozen leagues long, and some three or foure leagues broad. It lieth next of any thing, till you come to Cape *Agrada*, South-west: from this Cape to Cape *Freward*, the coast lieth West South-west. Some saie leagues betwixt them, was the second peopling of the Spaniards: and this Cape lieth in 55. degrees and better. Thwart Cape *Freward*, the winde larged with vs, and we continued our course towards the Iland of *Elizabeth*; which lieth from Cape *Freward* some foureteen leagues West and by South. Thier reach is foure or five leagues broad, and in it are many channels or openings into the Sea: for all the land on the South part of the Straits are Ilands and broken land; and from the beginning of this reach to the end of the Straits, high mountainous Land on both sides, in most parts covered with Snowe all the yeere long. Betwixt the Iland *Elizabeth*, and the Maine, is the narrowest passage of all the Straits; it may be some two Muskett shot from side to side. From this Straite to *Elizabeth Bay*, is some foure leagues, and the course lieth North-west and by West. This Straite is all lande, and cleane ground on the Easterne part; but before you come at it, there lieth a point of the shoare a good birth off, which is dangerous. And in this reach, as in many parts of the Straits, runneth a quicke and forcible tide. In the Bay it higheth eight or nine foot water. The Northern part of the Bay hath foule ground, and Rocks vnder water: and therefore it is not the whollome borrowing of the Maine. One of Maister *Thomas Candish* his Pinacles (as I haue been informed) came aground vpon one of them, and he was in hazard to haue left her there.

From *Elizabeth Bay* to the River of *Irenna*, is some five leagues. The course lieth West and by North, and West. Here the winde faired, and forced vs to seek a place to anchor in. Our Boats going along the shoare, found a reasonable Harbour, which is right against that which they call, *River Irenna*: but it is another channel, by which a man may discombe the Straite, as by the other which is accustomed; for with a storme, whichooke vs one night, suddenly wee were forced into that opening vnwittingly; but in the morning, seeing our error, and the winde larging, with two or three boates we turned into the old channel, not daring for want of our Pinacle to attempt any new Discouerie. This Harbour wee called *Blanchet Bay*; for that it was found by *William Blanchet*, one of our Maisters Mates. Here hauing moored our ship, we beganne to make our provision of wood and water, whereof was plenty in this Bay, and in all other places from *Penguin* Ilands, till within a dozen leagues of the mouth of the Straits.

Now finding our Decke open, with the long lying vnder the Line, and on the coast of *Brill*, the Sunne hauing bene in our Zenith many times, we called our ship, within boord and without, about the Deckes. And such was the diligence wee whil that at foure dayes end, we had about threefoote Pipes of water, and twentie Boats of wood flowered in our ship: no man was idle, nor otherwise labored but in necessary workes: some in telling and cleaving of wood; some in carrying of water; some in ransaging; some in walking, others in baking; one in beating of Pitch, another in gathering of Mudd: no man was exempted, but knew, at evening, wherunto he was to beke his hand the morning following.

Some man might aske mee, how wee came to haue so many emptie Casks in lesse then two monthes; for it seemeth much, that so few men in such short time, and in so long a Voyage should waste so much? Whereto I answered, that it came not of excellent expence; for in health we neuer exceeded our ordinarie; but of a mischance which befall vs vnknowen in the Iland of *Saint James*, or *Saint Anne*, in the coast of *Brill*: where wee refreshed our felch, and according to the custom, laid our Casks a shoare to trimme it, and after to fill it, the place being commodious for vs. But with the water a certaine worme, called *Broma* by the Spaniards, and by vs *Arters*, crept aliq, which eate it full of holes, that all the water leaked out, and made much of our Casks of small vs. This wee remedied the self wee could, and discharged it long before we came to this place.

Hereafter I sheweth take warning, in no place to haue Casks on the shoare, whereto may be ascribed, patish worms which are to be supplied. This Artificer, or B. one, as all the Countries enter into the plankes of ships, and all the

all the Countries enter into the plankes of ships, and all the

the current of the Rivers are brought into the Sea) but experience teacheth, that they breede in the great Sea, in all hot climates, especially neere the Equinotall Line: for lying so long vnder, and neere the Line, and towing a Shalop at our sterne, coming to cleane her in *Brill*, we found her all vnder water covered with these Wormes, as bigge as the little finger of a man, on the outside of the plank, not fully covered, but halfe the thickness of their bodie, like to a gelie wrought into the plank as with a Gouge. In little time, if the ship be not heathed, they put all in hazard: for they enter in no bigger then a small Spanish Needle, and by little and little their boies become ordinarily greater then a mans finger. The thicker the plank is, the greater he groweth, yet, I haue seene many ships so eaten, that the moit of their plankes vnder water haue bene like *Horne-combs*, and especially those betwixt winde 10 and water. If they had not bene heathed it had bene impossible that they could haue summme. The current of the water is hereby to be discerned, the moit of them being, small as the head of a Pinne. Which, all such as purpose long Voyages, are to prevent by heathing their ships.

And for that I haue seene diuers manners of heathing, for the ignorant vs to see them done, which by experience I haue found best. In *Spain*, and *Portugall*, some heath their ships with *Lead*; which, besides the cost and weight, although they vse the thinnest sheet-lead that I haue seene in any place, yet it is nothing durable, but subiect to many casualties. Another manner is vnto double plankes, as thick without as within, after the manner of furring; which is little better then that with *Lead*: for besides the weight, it durst little, because the Worme in small time passeth through the one and the other. A third manner of heathing had bene used amongst some with fine *Cannex*; which is of small continuance, and is not to be regarded. The fourth prevention, which now is most accounted of is to burne the upper plankes till it come to be in every place like a Cole, and after to pitch it: this is not bad. In *China*, (as I haue bene informed) they vse a certaine Betise or Varnish, in manner of an artificiall Pitch, wherewith they trimme the outside of their ships. It is said to be durable, and of that verue, as neither worme, nor water pierceth it; neither bar the Sunne power against it. Some haue devised a certaine Pitch, mingled with Glasse, and other ingredients, beaten into powder, with water if the ship be pitched, it is said, the worme that toucheth it, dieb; but I haue not heard, that is hath bene of effect. But the most approved of all is the manner of heathing vnto new adaxes on England, with some boards, halfe inch thick, the thinner the better, and these better then Oake; for it smeth not, it is vnder better vnder water, and yieldeth better to the ship's side.

The invention of the materials incorporated betwixt the plankes, and the heathing, is it indeed which anayleth; for without it many plankes were not sufficient to hinder the entrance of this worme: this manner is thus: Before the heathing board is nayled on, vpon the inner side of it, they smere it over with Tarre, halfe a finger thicke, and vpon the Tarre, another halfe thicke of haire, such as the *Whit-limers* vse, and so maye it on, the wayes not about a spanne distance one from another: the thicker they are driuen, the better. Some hold opinion, that the Tarre killeth the worme; others, that the worme passing the heathing, and seeking a way through, the haire and the Tarre so insolate, that bee is choked therewith; which mee thinketh is most probable: this manner of heathing was invented by my Father; and experience hath taught it to be the best, and of least cost.

Such was the diligence we vied for our dispatch to shoot the Straits, that at foure dayes end, we had our water and wood fowed in our ship, all our Copper-work finished, and our ship called from *Pull to Summe*: the first day in the morning (the winde being faire) we brought our felous into the channell, and layled towards the mouth of the Straits, praising God: and beginning our course with little winde, wee desired a fire vpon the shoare, made by the *Indians* for a light to call vs; which fence, I caused a Boat to be sent to see what they meant, and to see what their meaning was, and approaching neere the shoare, we saw a Canoe made fast vnder a Rocke with a Wyth, most artificially made with the rindes of trees, and fowed together with the finnes of Whales; at both ends flured and turning vp, with a greene bough in either end, and ribbes for strengthening it. After a little while we might discern on the fall of the Mountain (which was full of trees and shrubs) two or three *Indians* naked, which came out of certain Caves or Cotes. They spake vnto vs, and made diuers signes; now pointing to the Harbour, out of which we were come; and then to the mouth of the Straits: but we vnderstood nothing of their meaning. Yet left they vs with many imaginations, suspecting it might be to aduise vs of our Pinnae, or some other thing of moment: but for that they were vnder court, and might worke vs some treacherie (for all the people of the Straits, and the Land neere them, vse all the vllante they can towards white people, taking them for *Spaniards*, in reuenge of the deceit that *Narion* hath vied towards them vpon sundry occasions) as also for that by our stay wee could reape nothing but hinderance of our Navigation, we halted to our ship, and layled on our course.

From *Blanchet Bay* to long Reach, which is some foure leagues, the course lieth West South-west entering into the long Reach, which is the last of the Straits, and longest. For it is some thirte two leagues, and the course lieth next of any thing North-west. Before the setting of the Sunne, we had the mouth of the Straits open, and were in great hope the next day to be in the South Sea: but about feuen of the clocke that night, we saw a great cleauide arise out of the North-east, which began to cast forth great flashes of lightnings, and suddenly flying with

a fresh

Of heathing ships.

In *Spain* and *Portugall*, with double plankes.With *Cannex*.

With botte plankes.

In *China* with Varnish.In *England*,

With botte plankes.

In *England*,

With botte plankes.

With botte plankes.

With botte plankes.

With botte plankes.

With botte plankes.

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With botte plankes.

With botte plankes.

Note.

Tempest.

a fresh gale of winde at North-east, another more forcible tooke vs a layes, which put vs in danger: for, all our layes being a taut, it had like to haue ouerfet our ship, before we could take in our layes. And therefore in all such semblances it is great wisdom to carrie a short layle, or to take in all layles. Here we found what the *Indians* were warned vs of: for they haue great insight in the change of weather, and besides haue secret dealing with the Prince of Darknesse, who many times declareth vnto them things to come: By this means and other witch-crafts, which he teacheth them, he possideth them, and causeth them to doe what pleaseth him. With in halfe an houre it began to thunder and raine, with so much winde as wee were forced to lie a hull, and so dark; that we saw nothing, but when the lightning came. This being one of the narrowest Reaches of all the Straits, we were forced, every glasse, to open a little of our fore-sayle, to call about our ships head: any man may conceiue if the night seemed long vnto vs, who desire we had to see the day. In fine, *Phaebus* with his beautiful face lightened our Hemisphere, and reioyced our hearts (hauing durst about twentie foure leagues in twelue houres lying a hull: whereby is to be imagined the force of the winde and current.)

Wee fet our fore-sayle, and returned to our former Harbour: from whence, within three or foure dayes, we fet sayle againe with a faire winde, which continued with vs till we came within a league of the mouth of the Strait; here the winde tooke vs againe contrarie, and forced vs to returne againe to our former Port: where being ready to anchor, the winde leant with vs in such manner, as we were forced to make aboard. In which time, the winde and tide put vs so farre to lee-wards, that we could by no means seize it: So wee determined to go to *Elizaburgh Bay*, but before we came at it, the night ouertooke vs: and this Reach being dangerous and narrow, we durst neither hull, nor turt, or turne to and againe with a short layle, and therefore bare along in the middle of the channell, till we were come into the broad Reach, then lay a hull till the morning.

English Bay.

The nauies boules.

When we fet sayle and ran along the coast, seeking our Boate some place to anchor in; some foure leagues to the West-wards of Cape *Freuere*, we found a goodly Bay, which we named *English Bay*: where anchored, we presently went ashore, and found a goodly Bay of fresh water, and an old Canoe broken to pieces, and some two or three of the houles of the *Indians*, with pieces of Scale flinking ripe. These houles are made in fashion of an Ouen foun or eight foot broad, with boughs of trees, and couered with other boughs, as our Summer houses; and doubtlesse doe serue them but for the Summer time, when they come to fish, and profite themselves of the Sea. For they retire themselves in the Winter into the Countrey, where it is more temperate, and yeeldeth better fullenance: for on the Mayne of the Straits, we neither saw beast nor fowle, Sea-fowle excepted, and a kinde of Black-bird, and two Hogs towards the beginning of the Straits. Here our ship being well moored, we began to supplie our wood and water, that we had spent. Which being a dayes worke, and the winde during many dayes contrary, I endeauored to keep my people occupied, to diuert them from the imagination which some had conceiued; that it behoued we should returne to *Brasill*, and winter there, and so forth the Straits in the Spring of the yeete. One day we rowed vp the Riuer, with our Boate and Light-foresmen, to discover it, and the Inland: where hauing spent a good part of the day, and finding shoald water, and many Trees taller than it, and little fruit of our labour, nor any thing worth the noting, wee returned. Another day, we trained our people ashore, being a goodly family Bay: another, wee had a hurling of Batchelors against married men; this day we were builed in wrestling, the other in shooting; so we were neuer idle, neither thought we the time long.

Storie caused of imagination.

After wee had past here some fouen or eight dayes, one evening with a flaw from the South, our shipdroue off into the channell, and before wee could get vp our Anchor, and let our Sayles, we were driuen fo farre to lee-wards, that wee could not recouer into the Bay; and night coming on, with a short sayle, we beate off and on till the morning. At the break of the day conferring with the Captaine and Master of my ship, what was best to be done, we were reloued to seeke out *Tobias Cove*, which lieth ouer against Cape *Frye*, on the Southerne part of the Straits, because in all the Reaches of the Straits (for the most part) the winde bloweth trade, and therefore little profit to be made by turning towinde-wards. And from the Islands of the *Penguin* to the end of the Straits towards the South-east, there is no anchoring in the channell: and if we should be put to lee-wards of this *Cove*, we had no recourse till we came to the Islands of *Freuere*; and some of our companie which had been with *M. T. Candish* in the Voyage in which he died, and in the same *Cove* many weekes, undertooke to be our Pilots thither. Whereupon wee bare vp, being some two leagues thither, hauing so much winde as we could carrie lie by it with our courle and bonnet of each; but bearing vp before the winde, we put our Toppesails and Spritsayle, and within a little while the winde began to fayle vs, and immediately our ship got a mightie blowe vpon a Rocke, and fluke fast vpon it. And had wee had but the fourth part of the winde, which we had in all the night past, but a moment before we flucke the Rocke, our ship, doubtlesse, with the blowe had broken her selfe all to pieces.

Sinking of the ship vpon a Rocke. To the laborious God propitious.

All our labour was fruitlesse till God was pleased that the flood came, and then wee had her
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off with great joy and comfort, when finding the current fauorable with vs, wee flood our to *English Bay*, and fetching it, we anchored there, hauing beene some three houres vpon the Rock, and with the blowe, as after wee saw, when our ship was brought a ground in *Perico* (which is the Port of *Panama*) a great part of her sheathing was beaten off on both sides of her Bulges, and some foure foot long, and a foot square of her false steme, ioyning to the Keele, wreited asroffe; like vnto a Hogs yoke, which hindered her laying very much.

They forbad a Coue some fixtene leagues from the mouth of the Straite, which after wee called *Crabby Coue*. It brooked his name well for two causes; the one, for that all the water was full of a small kinde of red Crabbes, the other, for the crabbed Mountaines which ouer-topped it: a third wee might adde, for the crabbed entertainment it gaue vs. In this Coue wee anchored, but the winde-freshing in, and three or foure Hills ouer-topping (like Sugar-loaves) altered and straightened the passage of the wind in such manner, as forced it downe with such violence in shawes and furiose blustering, as was like to ouerfet our ship at Anchor, and caused her to drike, and vs to weigh; but before we could weigh it, she was so neere the Rocks and the puffes and galls of wind so fudden and vncertain, sometimes leant, sometimes lyeigh, that it forced vs to cut our Cable, and yet dangerous our ship did not call the right way. Here necessitie, nor being subiect to any law, forced vs to put our selues into the hands of him that was able to deliuet vs. Wee cut our Cable and Sayle all in one instant: And God to shew his power and gracious bountie towards vs, was pleased that our ship cut the contrarie way towards the shoare, fetching that hie with his owne hand did wend her cause: for in leffe then her length, the flatted, and at all the Voyage but at that instant, shee flatted with difficultie, for that shee was long; the worst propertie shee had. On either side we might see the Rocks vnder vs, and were not halfe a ships length from the shoare, and if shee had once touched, it had beene impossible to haue escaped.

Gods gracious deliurance.

From hence wee returned to *Blanches Bay*, and there anchored, expecting Gods good will and pleasure. Here beganne the bitterness of the time to encrease with blustering and sharpe winles, accompanied with raine and heeting snowe, and my people to bee dismayed againe, in manifesting a desire to returne to *Brasill*, which I would neuer consent vnto, no, not so much as to heare of.

And all men are to take care, that they do not one foote backe, more then is of meer force: for I
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Voyage ouerthrowne by giuing way to murderers. Edward Fennes and Master Thomas Candish.

hate not men, that any who haue yielded thereto, but presently they haue returned home. As in the Voyage of Master Edward Fennes, in that which the Earle of Cumberland set forth, to his great charge; as also in that of Master Thomas Candish, in which he died. All which pretended to foeste the Straits of Magellan, and by perswasion of some ignorant persons, being in good subtilities, were brought to consent to returne to *Brasill*, to winter, and after in the Spring to attempt the passing of the Straite againe. None of them made any abode in *Brasill*: for presently as fone as they looked homeward, one, with a little blustering winde taketh occasion to leaue companie; another complaineth, that he wanteth victuals; another, that his ship is leake; another, that his masts, sayles, cordage fayleth him. So the willing neuer want probable reasons to further their pretences. As I saw one (being but young, and more bold then experienced) in the yeere 1582, in a Voyage, under the charge of my Uncle

Master William Hamers.

William Hawkins of Plymouth, Esquire, in the Indies, at the West end of the Iland of San Iuan de Portorico; One of the ships (called the Baite bonnet) being somewhat leake, the Captaine complained that shee was not able to endure to England: whereupon a Council was called, and his reasons heard, and allowed. So it was concluded, that the Victuall, Ammunition, and what was vncarriable, should be taken out of her, and her men diuided amongst our other ships; the Hull remaining to be fittes, or to sink. To which I neuer saye word till I saw it refitted; being my part rather to leaue, then to aduise. But seeing that all former guesse, and supbetting that the Captaine made it worse then it was, rather upon policy to come into another ship, which was better of sayle, then for any danger they might runne into: with as much reason as my captiue could reach out, I dissuaded my Uncle primarily; And urged, that seeing we had profited the Aduenturers nothing, we should endeavour to preserve our principal; especially, blowing men and victuals. But seeing I prevailed not, I went further, and offered

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To find out in the same ship, and others, so many men, as with me would be content to carrie her home, giuing vs the third part of the value of the ship, as shee should be valued at, at her returne, by some indifferent persons; and to leaue the Vice-admirall, which I had vnder my charge, and to make her Vice-admirall. Whereupon it was condescended, that wee should all goe aboard the ship, and that there it should be determined. The Captaine thought himselfe somewhat touched in Reputation, and so would not that further trial should be made of the matter, saying, that if another man was able to carrie the ship into England, he would in no case leaue her, neither would hee forsake her till shee sunk vnder him. The Generall commended him for his resolution, and thanked me for my offer, sending to the generall goods, being so intent to force those who for guine could undertake to carrie her home, should as I doe it grate, according to their Obligation. Thus, this leake-ship went well into England; where, after shee made many a good Voyage in nine yeeres.

As the weather gaue leaue, I wee entertained our selues the first dayes in necessarie affaires and workes, and after in making of Coale, with intent (the winde continuing long very contrarie) to see if wee could remedie any of our broken Anchours; a Forge I had

in my ship, and of five Anchors which we brought out of *England*, there remained but one that was serviceable.

In the Islands of *Pangasinan* we lost one, in *Crabbe Cove* another; a third, upon another occasion, we broke an arme, and the fourth, on the Rocks had the eye of his Ring broken. Thus (one day deuilish with my selfe) I made to leue, without working him a new. Which when I tooke fitt in hand, all men thought it ridiculous: but in fine, we made it in that manner so serviceable, as till our ship came to *Aden*, which is the Port of *Lyma*, the scarce vid any other Anchor, and when I came from *Lyma* to *Panama*, which was three yeeres after, I saw it leue the Admirall in which I came (a ship of about 500. tuns) without other arte or addition, then what my own invention contriued.

The mending
of an un-
serviceable An-
chor.

And for that in the like necessity, or occasion, others may profit themselves of the industrie, I will recount the manner of the forging our eye without fire, or Iron. It was in this sort. From the eye of the shanke, about the head of the croffe, we gawe two tynes with a new frowne Halfer, betwixt three and foure inches, giuing a reasonable allowance for that, which should be the eye, and serued in stead of the Ring, then we fastned the two ends of the Halfer, so as in that part it was as strong as in any other, and with our Capstern stretched the two bights, that every part might beare proportionably, then armed we all the Halfer round about with fixe yams Synners, and likewise the shanke of the Anchor, and the head with a smooth Mat made of the same Synnet: this done, with an inch Rope, we woollid the two bights to the shanke, from the croffe to the eye, and that also which was to serue for the Ring, and fitted the flocks accordingly. This done, those who before derided the invention, were of opinion, that it would serue for need; onely they put one difficultie, that with the fall or pitch of the Anchor in hard ground, with his weight he would cut the Halfer in sunder on the head; for preuention whereof, we placed a panch (as the Mariners terme it) vpon the head of the Anchor, with whose fustesse this danger was preuented, and the Anchor putt for serviceable.

Entertainment
of time to a-
void idleness.
A kind of hot
Spice in the
Straits.

In gathering of
Winters Barkes.

O' Pearles in
the Straits.

Discourse of
Pearles how
they breed.

Preuention of
Rats.

Some of our idle time we spent in gathering the barke and fruit of a certaine Tree, which we found in all places of the Straits, where we found Trees. This Tree carrieth his fruit in clusters like a Hawthorne, but that it is greene, each berry of the bignesse of a Pepper-corne, and euery of them containyng within foure or fise granes, twice as bigge as a Multi-pli-fred, which broken, are white within, as the good Pepper, and bite much like it, but hotter. The barke of this Tree, hath the fauour of all kinde of Spices together, most comfortable to the stomack, and held to be better then any Spice whatsoer. And for that a learned Countinour of ours Doctor *Tucker*, hath written of it, by the name of *Winters Bark*, what I haue said may suffice. The leafe of this Tree is of a whitish greene, and is not vnlike to the Aspen leafe.

Otherwhiles we entertained our selues in gathering of Pearles out of Mufcles, whereof there are abundance in all places, from Cape *Froward*, to the end of the Straits. The Pearles are but of a bad colour, and small, but it may be that in the great Mufcles in deeper water, the Pearles are bigger, and of greater value, of the small feed Pearle, there was great quantitie, and the Mufcles were a great refreshing vnto vs: for they were exceeding good, and in great plenty. And here let mee craue pardon if I erre, seeing I disclaime from being a Naturalist, by deliuering my opinion touching the breeding of these Pearles, which I thinke to be of a farre different nature and qualitie to those found in the East and West Indies, which are found in Oyfters, growing in the shell, vnder the ruffe of the Oyfter, some say of the dew, which I hold to be some old Philosophers conceit, for that it cannot be made probable, how the dew should come into the Oyfter: and if this were true, then, questionlesse, we should haue them in our Oyfters, as in those of the East and West Indies: but those Oyfters were by the Creator, made to bring forth this rare fruit, all their shels being (to looke to) Pearle it selfe. And the other Pearles found in our Oyfters and Mufcles, in diuers parts are ingendred out of the fatnesse of the fish, in the very substance of the fish, so that in some Mufcles haue bin found twentie and thirte, in seuerall parts of the fish, and these not perfect in colour, nor cleernesse, as those found in the Pearle-oyfters, which are euer perfect in colour and cleernesse, like the Sunne in his rising, and therefore called Oriental, and not (as is supposed) because out of the East, for they are as well found in the West, and no way inferior to those of the East Indies. Other fish, besides Seales and Crabbes, like Shrimpes, and one Whale with two or three Porpusses, we saw not in all the Straits.

Heere we made also a furay of our victuals, and opening certaine Barrels of Quaten meale, we found a great part of some of them, as also of our Pipes and Fats of bread, eaten and consumed by the Rats; doublelesse, a hift part my company did not eate so much, as these deured, as we found daily in coming to spend any of our provisions. When I came to the Sea, it was not suspected, that I had a Rat in my ship; but with the bread in Cask, which we transported out of the *Hawke*, and the going to and againe of our Boats vnto our prize, (though we had diuers Cats and vild other preuentions) in a small time they multiplied in such a manner, is incredible; it is one of the general calamities of all long Voyages, and would be carefully prevented, as such as may be. For besides that which they consume of the best victuals, they eate the sayles; and neither packe, nor cheit, is free from their surprizes. I haue knowne them to make

make a hole in a Pipe of water, and fying the Pumpe, haue put all in feare, doubting lest some leak had bin sprung vpon the ship. Moreover, I haue heard credible persons report, that ships haue bene put in danger by them to be funke, by a hole made in the bulge. All which is easily remedied at the first, but if once they be somewhat increased, with difficultie they are to be destroyed. And although I propounded a reward for euery Rat which was taken, and fought meanes by poison, and other inventions to consume them, yet their increase being so ordinary and many; we were not able to cleare our selues from them.

At the end of fourteen dayes, one euening being calme, and a goodly cleare in the Easter-boord, I willd our Anchor to be weyed, and determined to goe into the Channell, being gotten into the Channell, within an houre, the wind came good, and we sailed merrily on our Voyage; and by the breake of the day, we had the mouth of the Straits open; and about foure of the clock in the afternoon, we were thwart of Cape *Defire*; which is the Westmost part of the Land on the Souther side of the Straits.

The calamities
they bring to a
ship.

Backwardnes
in the compass
ny.

Cape Defire.

§ IIII.

Entrance into the South Sea; discovery of the South parts of the Straits to bee but Islands by Sir FRANCIS DRAKE (which the Hollanders ascribe to MAIRK and SCHOUTEN.) Of the Island Mocha, and the parts adjoining.

From Cape *Defire*, some foure leagues, Northwest, lie foure Islands, which are very small, and the middlemost of them is of the fashion of a Sugar-loafe. We were no sooner cleere of Cape *Defire*, and his ledge of Rocks (which lie a great way off in-to the Sea) but the wind tooke vs contrary by the North-west; and so we stood off into the Sea two dayes and two nights to the Westwards. In all the Straits it ebbed and flowed more or lesse, and in many places it bieth very little water, but in some Bayes, where are great Indraughts, it highesth eight or ten fote, and doublelesse, further in, more.

If a man be furnished with wood and water, and the winde good, hee may keepe the Mayne Sea, and goe round about the Straits to the Southwards, and it is the shorter way; for besides the experience which we made, that all the South part of the Straits is but Islands, many times hauing the Sea open, I remember, that Sir *Francis Drake* told mee, that hauing shot the Straits, a storme tooke him first at North-west, and after vered about to the South-west, which continued with him many dayes, with that extremitie, that he could not open any sayle, and that at the end of the storme, he found himselfe in fiftie degrees, which was sufficient testimony and prooffe, that he was beater round about the Straits, for the least height of the Straits is in fiftie two degrees and fiftie minutes; in which Island the two entrances or mouthes. And moreover, hee said, that standing about, when the winde changed, hee was not well able to double the Southermost point of the Island, and so anchored vnder the lee of it; and going ashore, caried a Compasse with him, and seeking out the Southermost part of the Island, cast himselfe downe vpon the vttermost point groweling, and so reached out his bodie ouer it. Presently hee imbarked, and then recounted vnto his people, that he had bene vpon the Southermost knowne Land in the World; and more further to the Southwards vpon it, then any of them, yes, or any man as yet knowne. These testimonies may suffice for this truth vnto all, but such as are incredulous, and will beleue nothing but what they fee; for my part, I am of opinion, that the Straite is nauigable all the yeere long, although the best time bee in Nouember, December, and Ianuary, and then the windes more favourable, which other times are variable, as in all narrow Seas.

Being some fiftie leagues a Sea-board the Straits, the winde vering to the West-wards, wee cast about to the Northwards; and lying the Coast along, shaped our course for the land *Mocha*, *Spaniards*, but since the *Indians*, in Anno 1599, disposed of it, and the *Concepcion*; which is name of a Spanish Captaine so called, whom afterwards the *Indians* tooke Prisoner, and it is from them, haying no title nor right therunto; he answered, to do Gold; which the barbarous vnderstanding, caused Gold to bee molten, and powred downe his throate, saying, *Gold was thy thy desire, giue thee with it*. It standeth in forty degrees, hath a pleasant Riuer and Nauigable; for a Ship of good burthen may goe as high vnto the Citie, and is a goodly Wood Coast: reyn. Heere our Beeffe began to take end, and was then as good, as the day we departed from *England*; it was preferred in Pickell, which, though it bee more chargeable, yet the profit payeth

South part of
the Straits
Islands.

The Hollanders
challenge the
discovery of
new Straits by
Maire and Schouten
beare twice fau-
red about by
Sir F. Drake.

See sup. the
Preface to the
second Chapter
of lib. 3.
Sir F. Drake
embraceth the
Southermost
point of the
World. Since
this, in that
Voyage where-
in W. Adams
was Pilot
(before South-
and Seb. Weter
ye haue in the
former Tome)
Theodore Ge-
rard, one of
that fleet, was
caried by tem-
pest (as they
wrote to 64
degrees South
in which height
the country
was mountai-
nous & covered
with fowle,
looking like
Newsp. It se-
med to extend
towards the I-
lands of Sili-
bura, Sumatra
to 64. 22. 11.

border another of that fleet after prosperous success in *Chile*, was taken by the Portuguese at the *Moluccas*, and carried to *Malacca*. *Baldina* and *Concepcion* were taken by the *Spaniards* by the *Indians*, Beeffe kept most lately in Pickell.

the charge, in that it is made durable, contrary to the opinion of many, which hold it impossible, that Beete should be kept good passing the Equinoctiall Line. And of our Porke I ate in the house of *Don Beltran de Castro* in *Lyma*, neere four yeeres olde, very good, preferred after the same manner, notwithstanding, it had lost his Pickle long before.

Some degrees before a man come to *Baldonia* to the Southwards, as *Spaniards* have told mee, lyeth the *Iland Chule*, not easily to be discerned from the Mayne; for he that passeth by it, cannot but thinke it to be the Mayne. It is said to be inhabited by the *Spaniards*, but badly, yet rich of Gold.

Land Chule

Iland Mocho

Note

The nineteenth of April, being Easter-euen, we anchored vnder the Iland *Mocho*. It lyeth in thirty nine degrees, it may be some foure leagues ouer, and is a high mountainous Hill, but round about the foot thereof, some halfe league from the Sea-shore, it is a plain ground, well inhabited and manured. From the Straits to this Iland, we found, that either the Coast set out more Westward then it is, or that we had a great current, which put vs to the Westward; for wee had not sight of Land in three dayes after our reckoning was to see it; but for that we could not see the Land, I cannot determine, whether it was caused by the current, or lying of the Land. But *Spaniards* which have layed along it, haue told mee, that it is a bold and safe Coast, and reasonable founding of it.

In this Iland of *Mocho* we had communication and contradiction with the Inhabitants, but with great vigilance and care; for they and all the people of *Chily*, are mortal enemies to the *Spaniards*, and held vs to be of them; and so esteemed *Sir Francis Drake*, when hee was in this Iland, which was the first Land also that hee touched on this Coast. They vied him with so fine a treachery, that they possessed themselves of all the Oares in his Boat, fawing two, and in striving to get them also, they flus, and hurt all his men; himselfe who had fewest wounds, had three, and two of them in the head. Two of his company which liued long after, had, the one fuentee; his name was *Iohn Brunt*, who afterwards was Pilot with *Master Candish*; and the other aboute twentee, a *Negro* Seruant to *Sir Francis Drake*. And with me they vied a policie, which amongst barbarous people was not to be imagined, although I wrought sure; for I suffered none to treat with me, with any people with Armes. Wee were armed, and met vpon a Rocke compassed with water, whether they came to parley and negotiate. Being in communication with the *Caliquas*, and others, many of the *Indians* came to the heads of our Boates, and foment into them. Certaine of my people standing to defend the Boats with their Oares, for that there went a bad fege, were forced to lay downe their Muskets, which the *Indians* perceiving, endeauoured to fill the barrels with water, taking it out of the Sea in the hollow of their hands. By chance casting mine eye aside, I discovered their dysnec, and with a Truncheon, which I had in mine hand, gaue the *Indians* three or foure good Lambeskinnes.

Treachery of the Indians

Of Sheepe

The sheepe of this Iland are great, good, and fat; I haue not tasted better Muston any where. They were as ours, and doubtlesse of the breed of those, which the *Spaniards* brought into the Country. Of the sheepe of the Country, we could by no means procure any one, although we saw of them, and vied meanes to haue had of them.

This Iland is situate in the Prouince of *Araucana*, and is held to bee peopled with the most valiant Nation in all *Chily*, though generally the Inhabitants of that Kingdome are very courageous. They are clothed after the manner of antiquitie, all of woollen; their Callicottes make like a Sacke, square, with two holes for the two armes, and one for the head; all open below, without lining or other; but of them, some are most curiously wrought, and in colours, and on both sides alike. Their houses are made round, in fashion like vnto our Pidgeon houses, with a steeple in the top, to euacuate the smoke when they make fire. They brought vs a strange kinde of Tobacco, made into little cakes, like Pitch, of a bad smell, with holes through the middle, and so laced many vpon a string. The people of this Iland, as of all *Chily*, are of good stature, and well made, and of better countenance then those *Indians* which I haue seene in many parts. They are of good vnderstanding, and agilitie, and of great strength; Their weapons are Bowes, and Arrows, and Macanas, their Bowes short and strong, and their Arrows of a small Reed, or Cane, three quarters of a yard long, with two Feathers, and headed with a flint-stone, which is loofe, and hurting, the head remaineth in the wound, some are headed with bone, and some with hard wood, halfe burnt in the fire. We came betwixt the Iland and the Mayne; On the South-west part of the Iland lieth a great ledge of Rockes, which are dangerous; and it is good to be careful how to come too neere the Iland on all parts.

Their apparel

and housing

Strange Tobacco

People of Chily

Their weapons

Their hate to the Spaniards

Impartiall

Immediately when they discovered vs, both vpon the Iland and the Mayne, we might see them make sundry great fires, which were to giue aduice to the rest of the people to be in a readinesse: for they haue continuall and mortall warre with the *Spaniards*, and the ships they see, they beleeue to be their Enemies. The Cite *Imperiall* lyeth ouer against this Iland, but eight or ten leagues into the Country: for all the Sea-coast from *Baldonia*, till thirtie fixe Degrees, the *Indians* haue now (in a manner) in their hands free from any *Spaniards*.

Hauiug refreshed our selues well in this Iland, for that little time we stayed, which was some three dayes we set saile with great ioy, and with a faire winde sayled along the Coast, and

some eight leagues to the North-wards, we anchored againe in a goodly Bay, and sent our Boats a-shore, with desire to speake with some of the *Indians* of *Araucana*, and to see if we would be content to entertaine amitie, or to chop and change with vs. But all that night and the next morning appeared not one person, and so we set saile againe; and towards the Evening the wind began to change, and to blow contrary, and that so much, and the Sea to rise so suddenly, that we could not take in our Boats, without spoyleing of them. This storme continued with vs tenne dayes beyond expectation, for that we thought our selues out of the Climate of fowle weather, but truly it was one of the sharpest stormes that euer I felt to endure so long.

A cruel storme in the Sea of Ladies. In it they left their light boats in Saint Martin.

To The storme tooke end, and we shaped our course for the Iland of *Saint Maries*, which lyeth in thirtie deegrees and fortie minutes, and before you come vnto the Iland some two leagues, in the Trade way lieth a Rocke, which as farre off, seemeth to be a ship vnder saile. This Iland is little and low, but fertile and well peopled with *Indians* and some few *Spaniards* in it. Some ten leagues to the Northwards of this Iland, lieth the Cite *Conception*, with a good Port; in which this we coasted along till we came in thirtie three deegres and fouenteen leagues from the shore, plentifull of fish, and good for retreihing. I purposed for many reasons not to discourse my selfe vpon this Coast, till we were past *Lyma*, (otherwise called *Ciudad de los Reyes*, for that it was entered by the *Spaniard* the day of the three Kings;) but my company vied me to turne, that I should seeme in all things to ouer-bear them, in not condescending to that which in the opinion of all (but my selfe) seemed profitable and best, I could not but yeeld vnto, though it carried a false colour, as the end proved, for it was our perdition. This all my company knoweth to be true, whereof some are yet liuing, and can giue testimonie.

City of Conception. Iuan Fernandes.

Good to avoid discouery.

But the Mariner is ordinarily so carried away with the desire of Pillage, as sometimes for very appearances of small moment, he looeth his Voyage, and many times himselfe. And so the greedinesse of spoile, onely hoped for in ships of Trade, which goe too and fro in this Coast, blinded them from foreseeing the perill, wherein we were exposit our Voyage, in discouraging our selues before we past the Coast of *Calao*, which is the Port of *Lyma*; To bee short, we had the Coast aboard, and that Evening we discovered the Port of *Valparaiso*, which serueth the Cite of *Saint Iago*, standing some twentie leagues into the Country; when presently we defined foure shippes at an Anchor: wherevpon we manned, and armed our Boate, which rowed towards the shippes: they likewise vs turning in, and fearing that which was, ranne ahoare with that little they could lue; and left vs the rest: whereof, we were Masters in a moment, and had the rising of all the Store-houses on the shoare.

Wilfulness of Mariners.

They seize vpon foure ships.

This night, I set a good guard in all the shippes, longing to see the light of the next morning, to put all things in order; which appearing, I beganne to stirray them, and found nothing of moment, save sue hundred Barozios of Wine, two or three thousand of Hennes, and some refreshing of Bread, Bacon, dried Beefe, Waxe, Canles, and other necessaries. The rest of their lading was planks, Sparres, and Timber, for *Lyma*, and the Valleys, which is a rich Trade; for it hath no Timber, but that which is brought to it from other places. They had also many packs of *Indian* Mantles (but of no value vnto vs) with much Tallow, and *Maniceras*, *Puerres*, and abundance of great new Chetts, in which we had thought to be some great malle of wealth. After opening them, found nothing but Apples therein; all which was good as the like, and therefore in the first predicament. The Merchandise on shore, in their Store-houses, was the like, and at a reasonable price they would redeme their ships and lading, which I harke- ned vnto; and so admitted certaine persons which might treat of the matter, and concluded with them for a small price, rather then to burne them, fearing for the grasse, which I carried with me, more to giue satisfaction to my people, then for any other respect; because they would not be perfwaded, but that there was much Gold hidden in her; otherwise she would haue yeelded vs more then the other three.

And the Wares beuies.

Being in this Treaty, one morning, at the break of day, came another ship towing into the harbor, and standing into the shoare, but was hecalmed. Against her we manned a couple of Boats, and tooke her before many houres. In this ship we had some good quantitie of Gold, which shee had gathered in *Baldonia*, and the *Conception*, from whence shee came. Of this ship was Pilot, and part owner, *Alonso Perez-bueno*, whom we kept for our Pilot on this Coast; till moued with compassion (for that he was a man charged with wife and children) we let him ahoare betwixt *Santa* and *Trancillo*. One of this ship we had also foure good Bacon, and some prouision of Bread, 60 Hens, and other victuall. We giue them the ship, and the greatest part of her lading freely. Here we supplied our want of Anchors, though not according to that which was requisite, in regard of the burden of our ship, for in the South Sea, the greatest Anchor for a ship of fixe or eight hundred tonnes, is not a thousand waight; partly, because it is little subiect to Rormes, and partly, because those they had till our coming, were all brought out of the North

They seize vpon another ship, and some gold. The Anchors brought from the North Sea.

or ship (vnder my charge) which had borne at any time more then his ordinary allowance, mifdoubting, leaft through the violence of the double charge, the Pece may be craied within, orio forced, as at another ocation, with his ordinary allowance he might breake in peces, & how many men fo many mindes: for to others, this may feeme harfh, for that the contrary cuftome hath fo long time bene receiued, and therefore I fubmit to better experience, and contradiet not but that in a demy cultering, a man may put two Saker or Minor fhots, or many of fmaller weight: and fo in a Mufket, two Caluer fhots, or many fmaller, fo they exceede not the ordinary weight, prefcribed by proportion, art, and experience.

Having vifited our prizes, and finding in them nothing but fifh, we tooke a little portion for our victualling, and gave the bigger Ship to the *Spaniards* againe, and the leffer we kept with purpofe to make her our Pinnace. The *Indians* (which we tooke in her) would by no meanes depart from vs, but defired to goe with vs for *England*, laying that the *Indian* and *English* be brothers; and in all places where wee came, they fhewed themfelues much affeetionated vnto vs. Thefe were Natives of *Moromoro*, and the moft brutifh of all that euer I had feene: and except it were in forme of men and fpeech, they feemed altogether void of that which appertained to reafonable men. They were expert fwimmers, but after the manner of *Spaniels*, they dived and abode vnder water a long time, and fwallow the water of the Sea, as if it were of a fifth Riuier, except a man fee them, he would hardly beleue how they continue in the Sea, as if they were *Nermites*, and the water their natural Element. Their Countrey is moft barren, and poore of foode: if they take a fith alme out of the Sea, or meete with a peece of dried fifh, they will deuoie it without any dreffing, as fauourily as if it had bene moft curioufly foddren, or dreffed, all which makes me beleue, that they fubfift themfelues of that which they catch in the Sea. The *Spaniards* profit themfelues of their labour and traual, and recompence them badly, they are in worfe condition then their flaves, for to thofe they gae fuffitance, houfe-rooms, and cloathing, and teach them the knowledge of God; but the other they vie as beafts, to doe their labour without wages, or care of their bodies or foules.

§. V.

The *Viceroy* fends an *Armado* againft the *English*; which vieweth them and returneth: is againe fet forth: their fight; the *English* yeelde vpon composition: *Diners martiall difcourfes*.

Bay of Pifca.
Capetangalen

Chilca.

Adulte giuen
by Sea and
Land.

By general accord we eafed our felues of a leake priſe, and continued our courſe alongſt the coaſt, till we came thwart of the Bay of *Pifca*, which lyeth within 15. degrees and 15. minutes. Prefently after we were cleare of *Cape Sengalen*, and his Ilands, we ranged this Bay with our Boate and Pinnace. It hath two ſmall Ilands in it, but without fruit, and being decayed, we anchored two dayes thwart of *Chilca*.

By Sea and by Land, thofe of *Cyly* had giuen aduife to *Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, *Marquis of Canete*, *Vice-roy of Peru*, refident in *Lima*, of our being on the Coaſt. He prefently with all poffible diligence, put out fix Ships in waſlike order, with well nere two thouſand men, and diſpatched them to ſeeke vs, and to fight with vs, vnder the conduct of *Don Behrian de Caſtro Tulaſeca*, his wifes brother; who departing out of the Port of *Callao*, turned to wind-ward, in fight ouer the ſhore, from whence they had daily intelligence, where wee had bene diſcouered. And the next day after our departure out of *Chilca*, about the middle of May, at brake of day, we had fight each of other, thofe of *Canete*, we being to wind-wards of the *Spaniſh Armado*, ſome two leagues, and all with little or no winde. Our Pinnace or prize being furniſhed with *Oute* came vnto vs, out of which we thought to haue taken our men, and ſo to leaue her: but being able to come vnto vs at all times, it was held for better, to keepe her till neceſſite forced vs to leaue her: and fo it was determined, that if we came to likelihood of boarding, the ſhould lay our Boate aboard; and enter all her men, and from thence to enter our Ship, and ſo to forſake her: Although by the euent in that ocation, this proud good, nor withſtanding I hold it to be reprobred, where the enemy is ſurely ſuperiour in multitude and force, and able to come and board, if he liſt: and that the ſureſt courſe, is to forſiſe the principall, and the beſt that may be, and to cut off all impediments, where a man is forced to defence, for that no man is affixed to haue time anfwerable to his purpoſe and will, and vpon doubt whether the others in hope to ſaue themſelues, will not leaue him in greateſt extremite.

We prefently put our felues in the beſt order we could, to fight, and to defend our felues: our prayers we made vnto the Lord God of battels, for his helpe and our deliuerance, putting our felues wholly into his handes. About nine of the clocke, the Breſe began to blow, and wee to ſtand off into the Sea, the *Spaniards* cheeke by iole with vs, euer getting to the wind-wards vpon vs; for that the ſhipping of the South Sea, is euer moulded ſharpe vnder water, & long; all

all their voyages depending vpon turning to wind-wards, and the Breſe blowing euer Soath-erly.

As the Sunne began to mount aloft, the winde began to freſh: which together with the rowling Sea, that euer beateth vpon this coaſt, coming out of the weſterne-bord, caufed a chipping Sea, wherewith the Admirall of the *Spaniards* ſnapt his maine Maſt aſunder, and ſhe began to lagge a ſterne, and with him, other two Ships. The Vice-admirall ſpit her maine-ſaile, being come within ſhot of vs vpon our broad ſide, but to lee-wards: the Rear-admirall cracked her maine-yard aſunder in the middelt, being a head of vs: one of the *Armado*, which had gotten vpon the broad ſide of vs, to wind-wards, durſt not affaile vs.

- 10 With theſe diſgraces vpon them, and the hand of God helping and deliuering vs, night coming, we began to conſult what courſe was beſt to be taken, to free ourſelues; wherein were diſſent opinions: ſome ſaid it was beſt to ſtand off to the Sea cleſt by, all the night: others, ſo by its hull, others to caſt about to the ſtoore-wards two glaſſes, and after all the night to ſtand off to Sea cleſt by. The Admirall of the *Spaniards* with the other two were a ſterne of vs, ſome four leagues: the Vice-admirall a mile right to lee-wards of vs: the Rear-admirall in a manner right a head, ſome cultering ſhot; and one vpon our toſt, with that alſo, the Moone was to riſe within two houres. After much debating, it was concluded, that we ſhould beare vp before the winde, and ſeeke to eſcape betwixt the Admirall and the Vice-admirall, which we put in execution, not knowing of any other diſgrace befallen them, but that of the Rear-admirall: 20 till after our ſurrender, when they recounted vnto vs all that had paſt. In the morning at brake of day, we were cleare of all our Enemies, and ſo ſhaped our courſe alongſt the Coaſt, for the Bay of *Atacames*, where we purpoſed to trim our Pinnace, and to renew our wood and water, and ſo to depart vpon our Voyage with all poſſible ſpeede.

The *Spaniſh Armado*, returned prefently to *Callao*, which is the Port of *Lima*, or of the Citie of the *King*. It was firſt named *Lima*, and retaineth alſo that name of the Riuier, which paſſeth by the Citie called *Lima*, the *Spaniſh Armado* being entred the Port, the people began to goe aſhore, where they were fo much ſetled and formed by the women, as ſcarce any one by day would ſhow his face, they ruled them with the name of cowards and gollins, and granted licence of the Vice-roy to admit them into their rooms, and to undertake the ſurrounding of the *English* Shippe. I haue bene certified for truth, that ſome of them affronted their Souldiers with Daggers and Piſtols by their ſides. This wrought ſuch effects in the hearts of the diſgraced, as they vowed either to recouer their reputation loſt, or to follow vs into *England*, and ſo with expedition, the Vice-roy commanded two Shippes and a Pinnace to be put in order, and in them placed the chiefe Souldiers and Marriners of the reſt, and furniſhed them with victuals and munition.

The foreſaid General is once againe diſpatched to ſeeke vs; who ranged the Coaſts and Ports, enforming himſelfe what he could: Some fiftie leagues to the North-wards of *Lima*, in ſight of *Mogon*, we tooke a Ship halfe loaden with Wheate, Sugar, *Mulle de Maſs*, and Cordouans kins: which for that the ſea was leake, and failed badly, and tackled in ſuch manner (as the Marriners would not willingly put themſelues into her) we tooke what was neceſſary for our provision, and fired her. Thwart of *Trucillo*, wee ſet the company of her alhoare, with the Pilot which we had taken in *Bahia*, reſtoring the Pilot of the burnt Shippe, and a Greeke, who choſe rather to conſume with vs, then to hazard their liues in going aſhore; for that they had departed out of the Port of *Santa* (which is in eight degrees) being required by the liſtice not to weigh anchor before the Coaſt was knowne to be cleare.

It is a thing worthy to be noted, and almoſt incredible, with how few men they were to faile a Shippe in the South Sea, for in this priſe, which was about an hundred tundes, were but eight perſons: and in a Ship of three hundred tuns, they were not to put about fouretee or fifteene perſons: yea I haue bene credibly entormed, that with fouretee perſons, a Ship of ſue hundred tuns hath bene carried from *Guayaquil* to *Lima*, deepe loaden: which is about two hundred leagues. They are forced euer to gaine their Voyage by turning to wind-wards, which is the greateſt toyle and labour that the Marriners haue; and ſlow ſometimes in this Voyage foure or ſue monthes, which is general in all the Nauigations of this coaſt; but the Security from ſtormes, and certainty of the Breſe (with the deſire to make their gaine the greater) is the cauſe that euer a man forceth himſelfe to the vttermoſt, to doe the labour of two men.

In the height of the Port of *Santa*, ſome ſeuen hundred and fiftie leagues to the Weſt-wards, by the Ilands of *Salomon*, of late yeares diſcouered. At my being in *Lima*, a Fleet of foure ſaile waſient from thence to people them; which through the emulation and diſcord that aroſe among them, being lamed and ſetled; which through the emulation and diſcord that aroſe among them, being lamed and ſetled; which through the emulation and diſcord that aroſe among them, being lamed and ſetled;

- 60 Shippe, with ſome few of the people, after much miſery, got to the *Philippines*. This I came to the knowledge of, by a large relation written from a perſon of credit, and ſent from the *Philippines* to *Panama*: I ſaw it at my being there, in my voyage towards *Spain*. Having edged neere the coaſt, to put the *Spaniards* on ſhore, a thicke fogge tooke vs, ſo that we could not ſee the land, but recouering our Pinnace and Boate, we failed on our courſe, till wee came thwart of the Port called *Malabrigo*. It lieth in ſeuen degrees.

Returne of the
Spaniſh Armado

Scotled at.

They ſet forth
the ſecond
time.

From men
a Ship in the
South Sea.

Port of *Santa*.
Planition of
the Ilands of
Salomon.

Philippines
In

Current.

Punta de Auguffa.

In all this Coast the current runneth with great force, but neuer keepeth any certaine course, fauing that it runneth along the coast, sometimes to the South-wards, sometimes to the North-wards, which now runneth to the North-wards, forced vs to farre into the Bay (which a point of the land cauleth, that they call *Punta de Auguffa*) as thinking to cleare our felues by rounding North-west, we could not double this point, making our way North North-west. Therefore speciall care is due to be had of the current: and doubtlesse, if the providence of Almighty God had not freed vs, we had runne ashore vpon the Land, without feeling or suspecting any such danger, his name be our exalted and magnified, for deliuering vs from the vnknewen danger, by calming the winds all night: the Suns rising manifested vnto vs our error and perill, by discovering vnto vs the land within two leagues right ahead. The current had carried vs without any winde, at the least foure leagues: which fence, and the winds beginning to blow, we brought our tacks aboard, and in short time cleared our felues.

Point of Auguffa.

Ilands Lobos.

Thwart of this point of *Auguffa*, lye two desert Ilands; they call them *Ilas de Lobos*, for the multitude of Seales, which accustom to haunt the shore. In the bigger is very good harbour, and secure: they lye in six degrees and thirty minutes. The next day after we lost sight of those Ilands, being thwart of *Punta*, which lyeth in five degrees, and hauing manned our Pinnace and Boate to search the Port, we had sight of a tall Ship, which hauing knowledge of our being on the coast, and thinking her selfe to be more safe at Sea, then in the harbour, put her selfe then vnder saile: to her we gave chase all that night, and the next day; but in fine, being better off saile then we, she freed her selfe. This being to leeward of the Harbour, and discovered, we continued our course along the shore. That evening, we were thwart of the River of *Gonyagui*, which hath in the mouth of it two Ilands: the Southermost and biggest, called *Puma*, in three degrees; and the other to the North-wards, *Santa Clara*.

Puma.

Puma is inhabited, and is the place where they build their principall shipping: for this River, *Lima* and all the valleys are furnished with Timber, for they have none but that which is brought from hence, or from the Kingdom of *Chile*. By this River passeth the principall trade of the Kingdom of *Quito*; it is Navigable foure leagues into the Land, and hath great abundance of Timber.

Medicinal River.

Those of the *Puma*, vnto ground and trim their Shippes in *Puma*, or in *Panama*, and in all other parts they are forced to carene their Shippes. In *Panama* highest and fallest, fiftene or sixteene foute water, and from this Iland, till a man come to *Panama*, in all the coast it ebboeth and floweth more or less; by keeping the ordinary course, which the Tides doe in all Seas. The water of this River, by experience, is medicinal, for all aches of the bones, for the stone and strangurie: the reason which is giuen, is because all the bankes and low land adioyning to this River, are replenished with *Salsaperrilla*: which lying for the most part soaking in the water, it participeth of this vertue, and giueth it this force. In this River, and all the Rivers of this coast, are great abundance of *Alagateres*; and it is said that this exceeded the rest, for persons of credit haue certified me, that as small fishes in other Rivers abound in shoales, so the *Alagateres* in this: they doe much hurt to the *Indians* and *Spaniards*, and are dreadful to all whom they catch within their clutches.

P. de S. Elena.

Puerto Viejo.

Some foure or six leagues to the North-wards of *Puma*, is the *Punta de Santa Elena*; vnder which is good anchoring, cleane ground, and reasonable succour. Being thwart of this point, we had sight of a Shippe, which we chased, but being of better faile than wee, and the night coming on, we lost sight of her; and so anchored vnder the *Ilas de Plata*; to recover our Pinnace and Boate, which had gone about the other point of the Iland, which lyeth in two degrees, and fortie minutes. The next day we put in sight of *Puerto Viejo*, in two degrees ten minutes, which lying without shipping, we directed our course for *Cape Passas*. It lyeth directly vnder the Equinoctiall line; some fourecore leagues to the West-wards of this Cape, lyeth a heape of Ilands, the *Spaniards* call *Ilas de los Galapagos*; they are desert and beare no fruite: from *Cape Passas*, we directed our course to *Cape Saint Francisco*, which lyeth in one degree to the North-wards of the line: and being thwart of it, we deliered a small Shippe, which we chased all that day and night, and the next morning our Pinnace came to board her; but being a Ship of aduile, and full of passengers, and our Ship not able to fetch her vp, they entreated our people badly, and freed themselves, though the feare they conceiued, caused them to cast all the dispatches of the King, as also of particulars into the Sea, with a great part of their loading, to be lighter and better off saile, for the Ships of the South Sea load themselves like lighters or land barges, presuming vpon the security from stormes.

Being out of hope to fetch vp this Shippe, we stood in with the Cape, where the Land beginneth to trend about to the East-wards. The Cape is high land, and all couered over with trees, and so is the land ouer the Cape, and all the coast (from this Cape to *Panama*) is full of wood, 60 from the Straits of *Magellan*, to this Cape of *Saint Francisco*. In all the coast from head-land to head-land, the courses lye betwixt the North and North and by West, and sometimes more Westerly, and that but seldom: It is a bold coast, and subiect to little foule weather, or alteration of winds, for the Breeze, which is the Southerly winde, bloweth continually from *Balparicio* to Cape

Cape Saint Francisco, except it be a great chance. Trending about the Cape, we heled in East North-west, to fetch the Bay of *Atacama*, which lyeth some seuen leagues from the Cape. In the mid way (some three leagues from the shore) lyeth a banke of sand, whereof a man must haue a care; for in some parts of it there is but little water.

Bay of Atacama.

The tenth of Iune we came to an anchor in the Bay of *Atacama*, which on the Wester part hath a round hammock. It seemeth an Iland, & in high Springs, I iudge, that the Sea goeth round about it. To the Eastwards it hath a high sandie Cliffe, and in the middle of the Bay a faire birth, from the shore lieth a bigge blacke Rocke above water: from this Rocke to the landy Cliffe, is a drowned Marth ground, caused by his lownesse; And a great River, which is broad but of 20 no depth.

Manning our Boate, and running to the shore, we found prefently in the Westerne bight of the Bay, a deepe River, whose Indraught was so great, that we could not benefit our felues of it, being brackish, except a low water, which hindered our dispatch, yet in five dayes, we filled all our emptie Casks, supplied our want of wood, and grounded and put in order our Pinnace. Here, for that our *Indians* serued vs to no other vife, but to consume our victuals, we eated our felues of them; gave them Hookes and Lines which they craved, and some bread for a few dayes, and replanted them in a farre better Countrey, then their owne, which fell out luckily for the *Spaniards* of the Shippe, which we chased thwart of *Cape Saint Francisco*; for victuals growing short with her, hauing many mouths, shee was forced to put ashore fifty of her passengers, neerer the Cape; whereof more then the one halfe died with famine, and continuall wading through Rivers and waters: the rest (by chance) meeting with the *Indians*, which we had put ashore, with their fishing, guide, and industry were refreshed, and brought to habitation.

They dismiss these Indians.

Distresse of Spaniards.

Occasion of their crueltie.

Our necessary businesse being ended, we purposed the fiftenth day of May, in the morning, to set saile, but the fourteenth in the evening, we had sight of Shippe, some three leagues to Sea-wards; and through the importunitie of my Captaine and Companie, I concluded that our Pinnace should giue her chase, which I should not haue done, for it was our destruction; if I had given precise order, that if they stood not in againe at night, they should seeke me at *Cape Saint Francisco*, for the next morning I purposed to let Lyle without delay, and to seeing that our 30 Pinnace slowed her coming, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we waied our Anchors, and stood for the Cape; where we beate off and on two dayes: and our Pinnace not appearing, we stood againe into the Bay, where we deliered her, turning in without a maine Mast, which standing off to the Sea, close by, with much winde and a chapping sea bearing a saut-fayle, where a little was too much (being to small purpose) sodainly they bore it by the board; and standing in with the shore, the winde, or rather God blinding them for our punishment, they knew not the land; and making themselves to be to wind-wards of the Bay, bare vp and were put into the Bay of *Saint Matthew*: It is a goodly harbour, and hath a great fresh River, which higheth fiftene or sixtene foute water, and is a good Countrey, and well peopled with *Indians*; they haue store of Gold and Emerals. Here the *Spaniards* from *Gonyagui* made an habitation, whilst I was prisoner in *Lima*, by the *Indians* content; but after not able to suffic the infolencies of their guilts, and being a people of insolence and presumption, they sufficed themselves to be pertwaded by a few *Indians*, that they were many yeeres before had fled vnto them from the *Spaniards*, him they had long time held in reputation of their Captaine General, and was admitted also vnto a chiefe Office by the *Spaniards*, to gaue him vnto them. But now the *Indians* vnting themselves together, presuming that by the helpe of this *Melano* they should force the *Spaniards* out of the Countrey; put their resolution in execution, drove their enemies into the woods, and slew as many as they could lay hands on, few escaped with life; and those who had that good hap, suffered extreame misery before they came to *Quito*; the place of neerest habitation of *Spaniards*.

A raine title of that which prophesied by the vessel high for the vessel high by of S. Mateo.

The Indians led by a deuto Chie, the Spaniards.

To this Bay, as soone as our people in the Pinnace saw their error, they brought their tacks aboard, and turned and ryded it vp, as they could. As soone as we came to Anchor, I procured to remedy that was amisse; in two dayes we dispatched all we had to doe, and the next morning we reloued to set saile and to leaue the coast of *Perna* and *Quito*. The day appearing, we began to weigh our Anchors, and being a Pike ready to cut layle, one out of the top deliered the *Spaniards* Armado, comming about the Cape: which by the courie it kept, presently gaue vs to vnderstand, who they were: though my company (as is the custome of Sea men) made them to be the Fleete bound for *Panama*, laden with treasure, and importuned that in all haste we should cut layle and stand with them, which I contradicted, for that I was assured that no Shipping would stirre vpon the coast, till they had secutue of our departure (except some Armado that might be sent to seeke vs) and that it was not the time of the yeare to carry the treasure to *Panama*. And besides, in riding still at an Anchor, they our came neerer vnto vs, for they stood directly with vs, and we kept the weather gage; where if wee had put our felues vnder saile (the ebbe in hand) we should haue giuen them the aduantage, which we had in our power, by reason of the point of the Bay. And being the Armado (as it was) we gained time to fit our felues, the

Spaniards Armado.

Pride and
ruffinest
for
runners
of
ruine.

The vna-
dued
courage
of the
multitude.

The beginning
of the fight.
The inexperience
of the
Spaniards,
and
of the English
Gunner.
And capelin,
nephew of the
English.

How farre a
Commander
is to trust his
officers.

Deceit of the
Gunner, and
his extreme
carelessness,
and suspicious
of all.

the better to fight. And truly (as before, to a stiff-necked Horse) so now againe, I cannot but resemble the condition of the Mariner to any thing better, then to the current of a furious River, repelled by force or Arte, which neuertheless cleaeth not to seek a way to ouerthrow both fence and banke: Euen so the common sort of Sea-men, apprehending a conceit in their imaginations, neither experiment, knowledge, examples, reasons nor authority, can alter or remove them from their conceited opinions. In this extremitie, with reason I laboured to convince them, and to contradict their pretences: but they altogether without reason, or against reason, broke out, some into vanishing and bragging, some into reproaches of want of courage, others into wilfulness, that they had neuer come out of their Countrey, if wee should refuse to fight with two ships whatsoeuer. And to mend the matter, the Gunner (for his part) assured me that with the first fire of shot, he would by the one of them in the fowle: And our Pinnace, that the would take the other to task. One promised, that he would cut downe the Main-yard, another that hee would take their Fliege; and all in generall shewed a great desire to come to battell with the Enemy. To some I turned the deafe eare, with others I debfined, and armed my selfe with patience (hauing no other defence nor remedie for that occasion) soothing and animating them to the execution of what they promised, and perswaded them to haue a little sufferance, seeing they gained time and advantage by it. And to giue them better satisfaction I considered, that our Captaine with a competent number of men, should with our Pinnace goe to discover them; with order, that they should not engage themselves in that manner, as they might not be able to come vnto vs, or we to succour them. In all these diuisions and opinions, our Maister, *Hugh Darnley* (who was most sufficient man for government and valour, and well law the errors of the multitude) vfed his office, as became him; and so did all those of best vnderstanding.

In short space, our Pinnace discovered what they were, and casting about to returne vnto vs, the Vice-admirall (being next her) began with her chase to salute her with three or foure Peeces of Artillerie, and so continued doing her, and going on after. My Company seeing this, now began to change humour: And I then, to encourage and perswade them to performe the execution of their promises and vaunts of valour, which they had but euen now professed, and giue assurance of, by their profers and forwardnesse. And that we might haue Sea-room to fight, we presently weighed Anchor, and flood off to Sea with all our Slayes, in hope to get the weather gage of our contraries. But the winde fainting with vs, and larging with them, we were forced to lee-ward. And the Admirall weathering vs, came roome vpon vs; which being with in Musket shot, we hailed first with our noisier Trumpets, then with our Waytes, and after with our Artillerie: which they answered with Artillerie, two for one. For they had double the Ordnance we had, and almost ten men for one. Immediately they came shoaring aboard of vs, vpon our lee quarter contrary to our expectation, and the custome of men of Warre. And doubtlesse, had our Gunner beene the man hee was reputed to be, and as the world fold him to me, hee had receiued great hurt by that manner of boording: But contrary to all expectation, our sterne Peeces were vnpierced, and so were all those, which we had to lee-ward (saue halfe one in the quarter) which discharged wrought that effect in our contraries as that they had fire for fire: water in hold, before they suspected it.

Herby all men are to take warning by me, not to trust any man in such extremities, when he himselfe may see it done: and comming to fight, let the Chieftaine himselfe bee free to haue all his Artillerie in a readinesse, vpon all occasions. This was my ouersight, this my ouerthrow. For I, and all my Company, had that satisfaction of the sufficiency and care of our Gunners, is not any one of vs euer imagined there would be any defect found in him. For my part, I with the rest of our Officers, occupied our selues in clearing our Deekes, lacing our Nettings, making of Bulwarkes, arming our Toppes, fitting our Waist-clothes, tallowing our Pikes, linging our Yards, doubling our Sheetes and Tackes, placing and ordering our People, and procuring that they should be well fitted and provided of all things; leaving the Artillerie, and other Instruments of fire, to the Gunners dispose and order, with the rest of his Mates and Adherentes; which (as I said) was part of our perdition. For bearing me euer in hand, that hee had fire hundred Cartridges in a readinesse, within one hours fight, wee were forced to occupy three persons, only in making and filling Cartridges, and of fire hundred elles of Canvas and other Cloth giue him for that purpose, at sundry times, not one yard was to be found. For this we haue no excuse, and therefore could not auoid the danger, to charge and discharge with the Ladie, especially in a hot or a fight. And comming now to put in execution the sinking of the ship, as he promised, hee seemed a man without life or soule. So the Admirall comming close vnto vs, I my selfe, and the Maister of our ship, were forced to play the Gunners.

Those Instruments of fire, wherein he made me to spend exactly (before our going to Sea) now appeared not: Neither the braffe Balls of Artificiall fire to be shot with Sharvies, (whereof I had fixe Bowes, and two hundred Bals, which are of great account and seruice, either by Sea or Land) hee had stowed them in such manner (though in double Barrells) as the salt water had spoyled them all; so that comming to vie them, not one was seruicable. Some of our Company had him in suspition, to be more friend to the Spaniard, then to vs; for that hee had str-

ued some yeares in the *Tercera*, as Gunner, and that hee did all this for purpose. Few of our Peeces were cleere, when we came to vie them, and some had the shot nry put in, and after the powder. Besides, after our furyndry; it was laid to his charge, that hee should giue a Brother that letted the King in *Pern*, and that hee thought hee was in the Armadoe; how hee would not for all the world, hee should be blame, Whether this were true or no, I know not, but I am sure all in generall gaue him an ill report, and that hee, in whole hands the chiefe execution of the whole fight consisted, executed nothing as was promised and expected.

It is requisite that all Captaines and Commanders were such, and so experimented in all offices, that Who to acc- they might be able as well to controule as to examine all manner of errors in officers. For the Government contr- a true Mariner. 10 at Sea hardly suffereth a head without exquisite experience. The difference wherof hath occasioned some ancient Sea-men to straggle by the tribute of Mariner's fault, for as that it ought not to be giuen but to the man who is able to build his Ship, to fit and provide her of all things necessary, and after to carry her about the world: residue, to be but taylers. Heerby giuing vs to vnderstand, that hee should know the parts and peeces of the Ship, the value of the timber, planks and Ironwork, so to be able of well to build in proportion, as to procure all materials at a just price. And againe, to know how to cut his sayles, what length is competent to every Roape, and to be of sufficiency to reprehend and reforme those who erre, and die amiss. In providing his Ship for victuall, munition and necessities, in season it must be expedient that hee be able to make his estimate, and (that once provided and provided) in season, with expedition to see it laden and stowed commodiously, with care and proportion. After that, Hee is to 20 order the spending thereof, that in nothing he be defrauded at home, and at Sea, euer to know how much is spent, and what remaineth to be spent. In the Art of Navigation, he is bound also to know, so much, as to be able to giue directions to the Pilot & Maister, and consequently to all the rest of inferior officers.

In matter of guide and disposing of the Saylers, with the tackling of the Ship, and the works which belong thereto, within board and without, all is to be committed to the Masters charge. The Pilot is to look carefully to the Sterrage of the Ship, to be watchful in taking the heights of Sounes and Starres; is to 30 take notice of his Ship, with the changing of the winds, &c. The Boatswaine is to Pilot. The Boat- and to see his Ship kept cleere from all Males, yards and tacklings well coated, matted and armed, his broad- side and flukes well fitt; his sayles repaired, and sufficiently pruned with masts, blades, and cables; his boats fitted with Sayle, Oares, thonghts, tholes dandy, muddles and other: His Anchors well boyed, safe- 35 ly flopped and secured, with the rest to him appertaining. The Steward is to see the preservation of Vt- tiles and necessities, committed vnto his charge; and by mensaure and weight to deliuer the portions ap- pointed, and with discretion and good termes, to giue satisfaction to all. The Carpenter is to view the masts and yards, the sides of the Ship, her deckes and cabins; her pumps and boate; and moreover to occupy himselfe in the most feasible works, except hee be otherwise commanded. The Gunner is to care for the brisling and tackling of his Artillerie; the fitting of his shot, Tompkins, coynes, crones and 40 muskets, &c. To be present in working his fire works, in making and filling his Cartriges; in accompan- ying his Ladies, sponges and other necessities; in sifting and drying his powder; in cleaning the armes, munition, and such like works; intrusted vnto him.

In this manner every officer in his office, ought to be an absolute Commander, yet ready in obedience 45 and low, to sacrifice his will to his superiors commands. This cannot but cause onitie; and vnto cannot his superiors a charge of blame to satisfy all parts. Lastly, except it be urgent and precise cases, the Head should neuer direct his command in any, but the officers, and these secretly, except the occasion require licence, or that it touch all in general. Such orders would be (for the most part) in writing, that all might know what in general is commanded and required.

The reason why the Admirall came to lewards (safer I vnderstood) was for that her Artil- lery being very long, and the winde fresh, bearing a taut sayle, to fetch vs vp, and to keepe vs company, they could not vie their Ordnance to the weather of vs, but lay laking in the winde: And doubtlesse it is most proper for shippes to haue short Ordnance, except in the sterne or chafe. The reasons are many: viz. easier charging, ease of the Shippes side, better tra- 50 uelling and mounting, yea, greater securitie of the Shippes, and consequently of the Shipper. For the longer the Pece is, the greater is the retention of the fire, and so the torment ad longer the Pece the greater. But here will be contradiction by many, that dare auouch that longer Peeces are to be preferred; for that they burne their powder better, and carry the shot further, and so necessarily of better execution: whereas the short Artilleary many times spend much of their powder without burn- ing, and workes thereby the slender effect. To which I answer that for Land seruice, Forts, or Castles, the long Peeces are the preferred; but for shipping, the shorter are much more seruicable. And the powder in them, being such as it ought, will be all fired long before the shot come forth; and to reach farre in 60 fights at Sea, is a little effect: For he that purpoiseth to annoy his Enemy, must not shoot at random, nor at point blank, if the purpose to accomplish with his deuote, whether must hee find his shot nor powder, but where a pot-gun may reach his contrary: how much the nearer, so much the better: and this doeth ex- ecuted, the short Artilleary will work his effect, as well as the long; otherwise, neither short nor long are of much importance: but here, my meaning is not, to approve the ouerlong Peeces, denied by some per- sons, which at enery shot they make daunce out of their carriages, but those of indifferent length, and which keepe the meane, betwixt sixteen and eight foot.

The entertainment we gave vnto our contraries, being otherwise then was expected, they fell off, and ranged a head, hauing broken in peeces all our gallerie: and presently they cait a bout vpon vs, and being able to keepe vs company, with their fighting failes lay a weather of vs, ordinarily within Musket shot; playing continually with them and their great Artillerie; which we endured, and answered as we could. Our Pinnace engaged her selfe so farre, as that before she could come vnto vs, the Vice-admirall had like to cut her off, and coming to lay vs aboard, and to enter her men, the Vice-admirall boarded with her; so that some of our company entered our Ship over her bow-sprit, as they themselves reported. Wee were now a little conficted with the sight of our people in safetie, within our Ship, for in all, wee were but threecore and fiftene men and boyes, when we began to fight, and our enemies thirteene hundred men and boyes, little more or lesse, and those of the choise of Peru.

The English vs.
The Spaniards
1300.
The Spanish
discipline.

Here it shall not be out of the way, to discourse a little of the Spanish Discipline, and manner of their government in generally, which is in many things different to ours. In this expedition came two Generals, the one Don Beltran de Caltro, who had the absolute authoritie and command: The other Michael Angell Pilipon, a man well in years, and came to this preferment by his long and painefull service, who though he had the title of General by Sea, I thinke it was rather of courtesye then by Patent; and for that he had beene many yeares: General of the South Seas, for the carriage and swiftnesse of the Silver from Lymsa to Panama; Hee seemed to be an able man, to supply that with his counsell, aduice, and experience, wherof Don Beltran had neuer made trauell (for he commanded not absolutely, but with the confirmation of Don Beltran) for the Spaniards neuer giue absolute authoritie to more then one. A custome that hath bene, and is approved in all Empires, Kingdomes, Common-wealths, and Armies, rightly disciplined: the mixture hath bene feldome giue to prosper, as will manifestly appeare, if we consider the issue of all actions and iourneys committed to the government of two or more Generals.

The Spaniards in their Armadaes by Sea, imitate the discipline, order and officers, which are in an Army by Land, and consider themselves more then bodies, to wit, Souldiers, Mariners, and Gunners: These Souldiers ward and watch, and their officers in every Ship round, as if they were on the shore; this is the only task they vndergoe, except cleaning their Armes, wherein they are not ouer curious. The Gunners are exempted from all labour and care, except about the Artillerie. And these are either Almaynes, Flemmings, or strangers for the Spaniards are but indifferently practised in this Art. The Mariners are bus as bus to the rest, to moyle and to toyle day and night, and they but few and bad, and not suffered to sleepe or flake themselves vnder the decks. For in ayre or foule weather, in stormes, fumes or raine, they must passe vnde of court or succour.

There is ordinarily in every Ship offiour a Captain, whose charge is, as that of our Masters with vs, and also a Captain of the Souldiers, who commandeth the Captaine of the Ship, the Souldiers, Gunners, and Mariners in her; yea, though there be duers Captaines, with their companies in one Ship (which is vsuall amongst them) yet one hath the supreme authoritie, and the residue are at his ordering and disposing. They haue their Maiores de Campo, Sergeant, Maister, General (or Captaine) of the Artillerie, with their Order Maior, and all other officers, as in a Campe. If they come to fight with another Armada they order themselves as in a battell by land: In a Vanguard, rearward, maine battell, and wings, &c. In every particular Ship the Souldiers are set all vpon the decks, their forecables they assume, if their head front, or the aft end of their company, that aloft the Mast, the sternway, and the wings, the maine battell, wherein they place their principal force, and on which they principally rely, which they call their place de armas or place of a Armes; which taken, their hope is lost. The Gunners fight not, but with their great Artillerie; the Mariners attend only on the tackling of the Ship, and bandling of the sailes, and are unarmed, and subiect to all misfortunes; nor permitted to shelter themselves, but to be still afloat, whether it be necessary or needefull. So ordinarily, those which first faile are the Mariners and Sailors, of which they haue greatest neede. They use few close fights or fireworks; & all this proceedeth (as I haue) of error in placing Land Captaine for Governour and Commanders by Sea, where they feldome vnderstand what is to be done or committed.

Some that haue bene our prisoners, haue perfited themselves of that they haue scene amongst vs: and yet others disguised vnder colour of treatie for ransoming of prisoners; for bringing of presents, & other traffages; haue noted our forme of shipping, our manner of defence and discipline: Since which they haue in such actions as they haue bene employed in they seek to imitate our government, and reformed discipline at Sea: which doubtles is the best, and most proper that is at this day knowen, or practised in the whole world, if the execution be referrible to that which is known and reformed for true and good amongst vs. In the Captaine (for to the Spaniards call their Admirall) was an English Gunner, who to gaine grace with those vnder whom he serued, preferring himselfe, and offered to inke out our Ship with the first shot he made; who, by the Spaniards relation, being trauesing a peece in the bowe, to make his shot, had his head carried away with the first or second shot, and made out of our Ship. It flew also two or three of those which stood next him, A good warning for those which fight against their Countrey.

The fight continued fo hot on both sides, that the Artillerie and Muskets neuer ceased playing. Our contraries, towards the evening, determined the third time to lay vs aboard, with resolution to take vs, or to hazard all. The order they set downe for the execution hereof,

Officers in a
Ship of War,
Captaine of
the Ship,
Captaine of
the Souldiers,
Major de Campo,
&c.

Ill order.

Prying of
the Spaniards
into our Discipline.

Their imitation
of our Discipline.

Englishmen lost
their ship and
therefore the
man.

hereof, was, that the Captaine (or Admirall) should bring himselfe vpon our weather bow, and fo fall asecond of vs, vpon our broad side: And that the Vice-admirall, should lay his Admirall aboard vpon his weather quarter, and fo enter his men into her; that from her, they might enter vs, or doe as occasion should miniter.

The Captaine of the Vice-admirall, being more hardie then confiderate, and presuming with his ship and company to get the prize, and chiefe honour, waited not the time to put in execution the direction giuen, but presently came aboard to wind-wards vpon our broad side. Which doubtlesse was the great and especiall Prouidence of Almighty God, for the discouraging of our enemies, and animating of vs. For although the was as long, or rather longer then our ship, being rarely built, and vnto without fights or defence; what with our Muskets, and what with our fire-works we cleared her decks in a moment; so that scarce any person appeared. And doubtles if we had entered but a dozen men, we might haue enforced them to haue rendered vnto vs, or taken her, but our company being few, and the principall of them flaine, or hurt, we durst not, neither was it wisdom, to aduventure the separation of those which remained: and fo sell that for the best and soundest resolution, to keepe our forces together in defence of our owne.

The Vice-admirall feeling himselfe in great distresse, called to his Admirall for succour: who presently laid him aboard, and entered a hundred of his men, and fo cleared themselves of vs. In this boording the Vice-admirall had at the least thirte and six men hurt, and flaine; and amongst them his Pilot shot through the bodie, so as he died presently. And the Admirall also received some hurt; which wrought in them a new resolution; only with their Artillery to batter vs; and fo with time to force vs to surrender, or to sink vs, which they put in execution; and placing themselves within a Musket shot of our weather quarter, and sometimes on our broad side, lay continually beating vpon vs without intermission, which was doubtles the best and securer determination they could take, for they being rare ships, and without any manner of close fights, in boording with vs, their men were all open vnto vs, and we vnder couert and shelter. For on all parts our ship was Musket free, and the great Artillery of force must cease on either side (the ships being once grappled together) except we refused to sacrifice our selues together in fire. For it is impossible, if the great Ordnance play (the ships being boarded) but that they must lie near on the ship they shoot at; and then no suretie can be had to free himselfe, as experience daily confirmeth. A peece is as a Thunder-clap: As was leene in the Spanish Admirall after my imprisonment, crossing from Panama to Cape San Francisco, a Rayas, (for to the Spaniards call a Thunder-clap) brake our out ship, killed one in the fore-top, aflashed either two or three in the shoulders, and split the Mast in strange manner; where it entered, it could hardly be discerned, but where it came forth, it drue out a great splinter before it, and the main flaine, was cleane in a manner without figure or token of hurt, although all his bones turned to powder, and those who liued and recovered, had all their bodies blacke, as burnt with fire. In like manner the Peece of Occurrence hureth not those which stand aside, nor those which stand aloofe from his mouth, but those alone which stand directly against the true point of his leuell: though sometimes the wind of the shore ouerthroweth one, and the splinters (being accidents) mayne and hurt others. But principally where the Peece doth resemble the Thunderclap, as when the ships are boarded. For then, although the Artillerie be discharged without shot, the fury of the fire, and his piercing nature is such, as it entrench by the seams, and all parts of the ships sides, and meeting with it to matter as Pitch, Tarre, Osombe, and sometimes with powder, presently conuertereth all into flames. For auoyding whereof, as also the danger and damage which may come by Pikes and other inuentions of fire, and if any ship be oppressed with many ships at once, and subiect by them to be boarded, I hold it a good courte to strike his fire and mayne yards close to his dekke, and to fight with spirit-laile, and mylon, and top-failes loose: to shall hee bee able to hinder them from oppressing him. Some haue thought it a good policie to launce out some ends of matts or yards by Policies to be bound.

So neuer fo strong the weight of the bigger will beate out the opposite sides, and doe hurt, and make great spoile in the lesser. And in boording, ordinarily the lesser ship hath all the harme, which the one ship can doe vnto the other.

Here is offered to speake of a point much canvassed amongst Carpenters, and Sea Captaines, diuersly maintained, but yet undetermined: that is, whether the race or losse build ship be best for the Merchant, and those which employ themselves in trading: I am of opinion, that the race ship is most convenient; yet so, as that every mercantile ship ought to haue two decks, for the better strengthening of herselfe, better succoring of her peoples, the better performing of her Merchandise and traffage, and for her greater safetie from Sea and stormes. But for the Princes ships, and such as are employed continually in the warre, to bee built loose I hold very necessary for many Reasons. First, for Maistie and terror of the Enemy; the Prince his ship being so, for harbouring of many men: Thirdly, for accommodating more men to fights: Fourthly, for placing and using more Artillerie; Fifthly, for better strengthening and securing of the ship; Sixthly, for our topping and subiecting the Enemy; Seventhly, for greater safeguard and defence of the ships and company. For it is plain, that the ships with three decks, or with two and an halfe, liues more pompe than another of her burthen with a dekke and halfe, or two decks, and

The Spaniards
pay deely for
their discipline.

And take a
new resolution

Great Ordnance
is a ship piece.

Springe of
the flaine.

Policies to be
bound.

Dispute concerning
ships of Trade.

Ship.

rall, and to compound the best *partido* he could by surrendring our felues into his hands, vpon condition of life and libertie. This hee declared vnto mee, being in a manner word of fence, and out of hope to liue or recouer: which considered, and the circumstances of his relation, I answered as I could, that he might iudge of my fate, ready euery moment to giue vp the Ghost, and vnable to discerne in this caule what was conuenient, except I might see the present state of the Ship. And that the honour or dishonour, the well-fare or misery, was for them, which should be partakers of it: As hit, for that I had satisfaction of his valour and true dealing in all the time, hee had serued me, and in consequence of it, had giuen him (as was notorious) charge and credit in many occasions. I found him, by the love and regard hee sought me, and by the faith and dueitie to Almighty God, to tell me truly, if all were as hee had declared, Whereunto he made answer, that hee had manifested vnto me the plaine and naked truth, and that hee took God to witnesse of the same truth: with which receiuing satisfaction, I forced my selfe what I could, to perswade him to amaine his companions, and in my name to intreate the Captaine and the rest to perseuere in defence of their libertie, liues, and reputation, remitting all to his discretion: not doubting, but hee would be tender of his dueitie, and zealous of my reputation, in preferring his libertie, and the libertie of the Company above all respects whatsoeuer. As for the welfare hoped by a surrendrie, I was altogether unwilling to be partaker thereof: Death threatening to deprive me of the benefit, which the enemy offered; but if God would be pleased to free vs, the joy and comfort I should receiue, might perhaps giue mee force and strength to recouer helpe.

Which answere being deliuered to the Captaine, he presently caused a flagge of truce to be put in place of our Ensigne, and began to parley of our surrendrie with a Spaniard, which Don Beltran appointed for that purpose, from the poop of the Admirall, to see in his name, the conditions before specified: with his faithfull promise and oath, as the Kings Generall, to take vs as a *buena guerra*, and to be to us all our owne Country. The promise he accepted, and said, that vnder the same hee would, and surrendrie himselfe, Ship and Company. Immediately, there came vnto me another knight of mine, and told me, that our Captaine had surrendrie himselfe and our Ship, which vnderstood, I called vnto me Iuan Gomez de Pineda, a Spanish Pilot, which was our Pilot, and in all the fight wee had kept close in hold, and willed him to goe to the Generall Don Beltran de Castro from me, to tell him, that if hee would giue vs his word and oath, as the Generall of the King, and some pledge for confirmation, to receiue vs as a *buena guerra*, and to giue vs our liues and libertie, and present passage into our owne Country, that wee would surrendrie our felues, and Ship into his hands: Otherwise, that hee should neuer enioy of vs, nor ours any thing, but a resolution euery map paye fighting.

With this Message I dispatched him, and called vnto me all my Company, and encouraged them to sacrifice their liues fighting and killing the enemy, if hee gaue but a fillip to any of our companions. The Spaniards willed vs to hoist our owne boate, which was thot all to peece; and so was theirs. Seeing that hee called to vs to amaine our failies, which wee could not well doe, for that they were lunged, and wee had not men enough to land them. In this parley, the Vice-admirall coming vpon our quarters, & not knowing of what had past, discharged for two chiefe peeces at vs, and hurt our Captaine very sore in the thigh, and maimed one of our Masters Matias, called *Huigo Maeris*, in one of his Armes, but after knowing vs to be rescued, hee secured vs: And we satisfied them that we could not hoist our boate, nor strike our rayles, the Admirall laid vs aboard, but before any man entred, Iohn Gomez went into the Generall, who receiued him with great courtesie, and asked him what we required: whereunto hee made answer that my demand was that in the Kings name, hee should giue vs his faith and promise, to giue vs our liues, to keepe the Lawes of faire warres and quarter, and to send vs presently into our Country: and in confirmation hereof, that I required some pledge, whereunto the Generall made answer, that in the Kings Majesties name his Master, hee receiued vs as a *buena guerra*, and iwore by God Almighty, and by the habit of *Alcantara* (whereof hee had receiued Knighthood, and in token whereof, hee wore in his breast a greene croce, which is the ensigne of that Order) that hee would giue vs our liues with good entreatie, and send vs as speedily as hee could into our owne Country. In confirmation whereof, hee took off his glove, and sent it to me as a pledge.

With this message Iohn Gomez returned, and the Spaniards entred and tooke possession of our Ship, euery one crying *buena guerra, buena guerra, y per manana para ti*: with which our Company began to secure themselves.

The Generall was a principall Gentleman of the ancient Nobilitie of Spain, and brother to the Conde de Lemus, whose intention no doubt was according to his promise; and therefore considering that some bad interest and infidelity might be offered vnto me in my Ship, by the common Soldiours, who seldom haue respect to any person in such occasions, especially in the case I was, whereof hee had enformed himselfe; for prevention, hee sent a principall Captain, brought vp long time in *Flanders*, called Pedro Aluarez de Fulgar, to take care of me, and whilst the Ship were one about the other, to bring me into his Ship: which hee accomplished with great humanity and courtesie; despising the barres of Gold which were shared before his face, which hee might alone haue enioyed, if hee would: And truly hee was, as after I found by triall, a true

true Captaine; a man worthy of any charge, and of the noblest condition that I haue knowne any Spaniard.

The Generall receiued me with great courtesie and compassion, euen with teares in his eyes. The mildnesse and words of great consolation and commanded mee to be accommodated in his owne Cabine, where hee sought to cure and comfort mee the best hee could; the like hee vsed with all our hurt men, fixe and thirtie at least. And doubtlesse as true courage, valour, and resolution, it requirde in a Generall in the time of battell, So humanity, mildnesse, and courtesie after victorie.

Whilst the ships were together, the Maine-mast of the *Daintie* fell by the boord, and the people being occupied in ransacking and seeking for spoile and pillage neglected the principall; whereof ensued, that within a short space the *Daintie* grew so deepe with water, which increased for want of preuention, that all who were in her desired to forsake her, and weaned and cried for succour to be saued, being out of hope of her recouerie. Whereupon, the Generall calling together the best experienced men hee had, and consulting with them what was best to be done: it was resolved, that Generall Michael Angel should goe aboard the *Daintie*, and with him threecore Mariners, as many Soldiours; and with them the *English* men, who were able to labour to free her from water, and to put her in order if it were possible: and then to recouer the Port of *Panama* for that of thofe to wind-wards it was impossible to turne vp to any of them, and neuer then to leeward was not any thing that could supply our necessities and wants, which lay from vs East, North-east, about two hundred leagues.

Michael Angel, being a man of experience and care accomplished that hee took to land, shod, clothed in cleering and baying the water, in placing a pumpe, and in fitting and mending her. For shee had spent about fixe and thirtie hours. During which time the Ships lay all a ball, but this worke ended, they set saile and directed their course for the Isles of *Pearles*: And for that the *Daintie* sailed badly, what for want of her Maine-mast, and with the aduantage which all the South Sea ships haue of all thofe built in our North Sea. The Admirall gaue her a way, which notwithstanding (the wind calming with vs as wee approached neerer to the Land) twelve daies were spent before wee could fetch sight of the Ilands, which lie along the Coast beginning some eight leagues West South-west from *Panama*, and run to the Southwards neere thirtie leagues. They are many and most inhabited, and thofe which haue people haue some *Negros*, slaues vnto the Spaniards, which occupie themselves in labour of the Land, or in fishing for Pearles.

In times past many enticed themselves with that trade, but now it is growne to decay. The manner of fishing for Pearles is, with certaine long Pinnasses or small Barks, in which there goe foure, fise, fixe, or eight *Negros*, expert swimmers and great divers, whom the Spaniards call *Bufo*, with tract of time, vie, and continuall practise, hauing learned to hold their breath long vnder water for the better arching their worke. These throwing themselves into the Sea, with certaine instruments of their Art, goe to the bottome and seeke the Bankes of the Oyfters in which the Pearles are ingendred, and with their force and Art remove from their foundation, in which they spend more or lesse time, according to the resistance the firmnesse of the ground affords. Once folded, they put them into a bag vnder their armes, and after bring them vp into their Boats, hauing laden in they goe to the shoare, there they open them and take out the Pearles: they lie vnder the vntermost part of the circuit of the Oyfter in ranks and proportions, vnder a certaine part which is of many pleights and folds, called the Ruffe, for the similitude it hath vnto a Ruffe. The Pearles increase in bignesse, as they bee neerer the end or ioynt of the Oyfter. The meate of thofe which haue these Pearles is milkie, and not verie wholsome to be eaten. In *June* 1585, in the Iland of *Margarita*, I was at the dregging of Pearle Oyfters, after the manner we use Oyfters in *England*, and with mine owne hands I opened many, and tooke out the Pearles of them, some greater, some lesse, and in good quantitie.

They are found in diuers parts of the world, as in the West *Indies*, in the South Sea, in the East *Indian* Sea, in the Straits of *Magellane*, and in the *Scottish* Sea. Thofe found neerer the Poles are not perfectly, but are of a thicke colour, whereas such as are found neerer the line are most orient and transparent: the curious call in their water, and the best is a cleere white shining, with ferie flames. And thofe of the East *India* haue the best reputation, though as good are found in the West *India*: the choicest ones are of great value and estimation, but the greatest that I haue heard of, was found in these Ilands of *Pearles*: the which King Philip the second of Spain, gaue to his daughter *Elizabeth*, wife to *Albertus*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, and Gouernour of the States of *Flanders*, in whose possession it remaineth, and is called, *la Peregrina*, for the rarenesse of it, being as big as the pomell of a Poniard.

In this Nauigation, after our surrendrie, the Generall took speciall care for the good intreatie of vs, and especially of thofe who were hurt. And God so blessed the hands of our Surgions (besides that they were expert in their Art) that of all our wounded men not one died, that was aloue the day after our surrendrie, and many of them with eight, ten, or twelve wounds, and some with the sicke and more. The thing that ought to moue vs to giue God Almighty especiall thanks and praises

The *Daintie* in danger of Perishing.

Michael Angel recouereth the ship.

Many Ilands.

Fishing for Pearles.

The places where Pearles are found.

Great Pearle.

The Generall continueth his courtesie towards the sicke and wounded.

The *English* surrendrie.

Glove sent for pledge.

Brave & worthy Spaniard.

Surgeons
and Surgeons

was, that they were cured in a manner without Instruments or Salues: For the Cheilts were all broken to pieces; and many of their Simples and Compounds throwne into the Sea; those which remayned, were such, as were throwne about the ship in broken pots and bugges, and such as by the Divine Providence were refused, at the end of three dayes, by order from the Generall, were commanded to be sought and gathered together. Thole with some Instruments of small moment, bought and procured from thofe, who had refered them to a different end, did not ouely lenie to our cures, but also aid for the curing of the Spaniards, being many more, then thole of our Company. For the Spanish Surgeons were altogether ignorant in their profession, and had little or nothing wherewith to cure. And I have noted, that the Spaniards in generall are nothing so curious, in accomodating themselves, with good and carefull Surgeons, nor to fit them with that which belongeth to their profession, as other Nations are, though they have greater need then any, that I doe know.

At the time of our furrender, I had not the Spanish Tongue, and so was forced to vie an Interpreter, or the Latine, or French, which holpe mee much for the understanding of thole, which spake unto mee in Spanish; together with a little smattering I had of the Portugall.

Through the Noise proceeding of Don Beltran with vs, and his particular care towards mee, in curing and comforting me, I began to gather heart, and hope of life, and healthily my feruours which were on foot, aduied me ordinarily of that which paſt. But some of our enemies, badly inclined, repined at the proceedings of the Generall; and said, he did all to vie vs so well: That we were Lutherans; and for that cause, the fact which was given vs, was not to be kept nor performed. Others, that we had fought as good Soldiers, and therefore deserved good quarter. Others, nicknamed vs with the name of Corraios, or Pirats; not discerning thereby that they included themselves within the same imputation. Some were of opinion, that from Panama, the Generall would send vs into Spane; Others said, that he durst not dispose of vs, but by order from the Vice-roy of Peru, who had given him his authority. This hit the nail on the head.

To alluage the hearing, and laid vp in the store-houle of my memory, that which I thought to be of assistance, and in the store-houle of my consideration, endeauoured to frame a proportionable resolution to all occurrences, conformable to Gods most holy Will. Withall I provided my selfe of the means, which should be offered, and haue greatlie probable to worke our comfort, helpe, and remedie. And so, as time ministred opportunitie, I began, and endeauoured to persuade (to the best reason I could) that wee might be sent presently from Panama: Alleging the promise giuen vs, the cost and charges ensuing, which doubt lesse would be such as detoured consideration and excuse: besides that, as yet whilst wee was in place, and power, and authority in his hands, to performe with vs, that he would looke into his honour and profit himselfe of the occasion, and not put vs into the hands of a third person; who perhaps being more powerful then himselfe, he might be forced to pay and intreate the performance of his promise; whereunto he gaue vs the hearing, and bare vs in land, that he would doe.

Misprison of
the terme Pir-
rats.

What a Pirte
is,

Three forces of
defiance.

The Generall, and all in generall, not only in the Peru, but in all Spaine, and the Kingdomes thereof (before our surrender) held all Englishmen of Warre, to bee Corraios, or Pirats; which I laboured to reforme, both in the Peru, and also in the Countie of Spaine, and amongst the Chieftaines, Soldiours, and better sort, with whom I came to have conversation; Alleging that a Pirate, or Corraio, is he, which in time of peace or truce, robbeth thole, which haue peace or truce with them: but the English haue neither peace nor truce with Spaine, but warre; and therefore not to bee accounted Pirats. Besides, Spaine broke the peace with England, and not England with Spaine; and that by Ymburg, which of all kinds of defiance, is most reproued. And of least reputation: The ransom of prisoners, and that by the Canon, being more honorable, but above all, the most honorable is with Trumpet and Herald, to proclaim and denounce to warre by publicke defiance. And if they should confound the English for Pirats, of force, they must first confound themselves. Moreover, Pirats are thole, who range the Sea without licence of their Prince, who when they are met with, are punished more severely by their own Lords; then when they fall into the hands of strangers: which is notorious to bee a severely presented in England (in time of peace) then in any the Kingdomes of Christendome. But the English haue all licence, either immediately from their Prince, or from other thereunto authorized, and so cannot in any sense be comprehended vnder the name of Pirats, for any kishite undertaken against Spaine, or the dependencies thereof.

The custom
of Spaine for
warre.

And so the state standing as now it doth, if Spaine a particular man should arme a ship, and goe in warre with it against the English, and happened to be taken by them: I make no question, but the company should be intreated according to that manner, which they haue ever vsed since the beginning of the warre: without making further misgion. Then if he were rich or poore, to see if he were able to giue a ransom, in this also they are not very curious. But if this Spanish ship should fall a thwar to his King's Armado, or Gallies, I make no doubt but they would haue the Captaine and his company for Pirats: they refuse vs, for that by a speciall Law it is enacted: that no man in the Kingdomes of Spaine, may arme any ship and goe in warre, without the Kings special licence and commission; upon paine to be regarded a Pirate, and to be chastised with the punishment due to Corraios. In England the case is different,

The custom
of England.

for the warre once proclaimed, every man may arme that will, and both wherewith, which maketh for our greater exemption, from being comprehended within the number of Pirats.

With these, and or like Arguments to this purpose (to auoid tediousnesse) I omitt, I conuinced all thole whom I heard to laipe vpon this string; which was of no small importance for our good entreatie, and motives for many, to further and fauour the accomplishment of the promise lately made unto vs.

One day after dinner (as was the ordinary custome) the Generall, his Captaines, and the better sort of his followers, being assembled in the Cabbin of the Poope in conference, an eager contention arose amongst them, touching the capitulation of Buena Quetra and the purport thereof. Of some said, that only life and good entreatie of the prisoners, was to be comprehended there- in; others enlarged, and restrained it, according to their humours and experience. In fine my opinion was required, and what I had leene, and knowinge touching that point: wherein I pawled a little, and suspending the Work, feared that it might be a baite laid to catch me withall, and so excused my selfe, saying, that where so many experienced Soldiours were ioynt together, my young judgement was little to be respected; whereunto the Generall replied: That knowledg was not alwaies incident to yeeres, (though reason requirith, that the aged should be the wisest) but an Art acquired by adition, and management of affaires. And therefore they would bee but certified, what I had leene, and what my iudgement was in this point, vnto which, seeing I could not well excuse my selfe, I confended; and calling my wits together, holding it better, to

A disputati-
on, concern-
ing
Buena Quetra.

thorow out my bolt, by yielding vnto reason, (although I might erre) then to stand obstinate, my will being at warre with my content, and fearing my denail might be taken for discourteise, which peraduenture might also purchase mee mislike with thole, who seemed to with mee comfort and restitution. I submitted to better iudgement, the reformation of the present assembly: saying, Sir, vnder the capitulation of Buena Quetra, (or sure warre) I haue neuer understood, and so it hath bene obserued in these, as also in former times, that preservation of life, and good entreatie of the prisoners, haue bene comprehended: and further by no means to be vied to any thing contrary to his conscience, as touching his Religion, nor to be seduced, or menaced from the allegiance due to his Prince and Country: that rather to ransom him (in this monthes pay, And this is that which I haue knowne practised in our times, in general amongst all Civil and Noble Nations, but the English, haue enlarged it one point more towards the Spaniards rendered a Buena Quetra, in these warres; haue neuer deli- uered them, which haue bene taken open (such compositions without ransom: but the consequence of our age hath brought in many abuses, and excluded the principall Officers from partaking of the benefit of this privilege; in leaving them to the discretion of the Viceroy, being many times poorer, then the common Soldiours, their qualities considered, whereby they are commonly put to more, then the ordinary ransom, and not being able of themselves to accomplish it, are forgotten of their Princes, and sometimes suffer long imprisonment, which they should not.

The Resolu-
tion, &c.

With this, Don Beltran said, This ambiguitie you haue well resolved; And like a worthy Gentleman (with great courtesie and liberality) added; Let not the last point trouble you: but be of good comfort, for I heere giue you my word asseuer, that your ransom (if any shall be thought due) shall be due to a couple of Grey-hounds; for mee; and another two for my Brother, the Conde de Lemca, And this I sweare by the hand of Alcantara. Provided alwayes, that the King my Master leaue you to my discre- tion, as of right you belong vnto me.

The noble
vise of the
English.
But should it
these dayes,

For amongst the Spaniards in their Armadoes, if there bee an absolute Generall, the tenth of all is due to him, and he is to take choise of the best: wherein other Countries, it is by lot, that the Generals tenth is giuen; And if they be but two ships, hee doth the like, and being but one, the is of right the Generals. This I hardly believed, vntill I saw a Letter, in which the King willed his Vice-roy, to giue Don Beltran thanks for our ship and Artilletry, which hee had giuen to his Maiestie. I yielded to the Generall, most heartie thanks for his great fauour, wherewith he bound me euer to seeke how to serue him, and deserue it.

In this discourse Generall Michael Angell demanded, for what purpose feared the little shot Arrows, which we had in our ship, and thole in so great quantitie? I satisfied them, that they were for our Muskets. They are not as yet in vie amongst the Spaniards, vied of singular effect and execution as our enemies confided: for the vpper worke of their ships being Muskets prooff, in all places they pulled through both sides with facilitie, and wrought extraordinary differences, themselves secure; and by no means could find where they entred, nor come to the sight of any of the shot.

Short arrows
for Muskets.

Hereof they proued to profit themselves after, but for that they wanted the Tamping, which are first to be driven home, before the Arrow bee put in, and then vnderstood not the secret, they reiected them, as vncertaine, and therefore not to be vsed, but of all the thot vied now a full piece of dayes; for the annoying of an Enemie in sight by Sea, few are of greater moment for many re- spects, which I hold not conuenient to treat of in publick.

A little to the Southwards of the Hand of Pearle, betwixt seven and eight degrees, is the great Pece, River of Saint Buena Ventura. It falleth into the South Sea with three mouths, the head of

Tamping is a
piece of
wood turned
to the
mouth of a

John Oxnam's
Voyage to the
South Sea.
What the Symarons are.

Their habitation.

Their assistance.

John Oxnam
captivated
with them,

His folly,
and
Breach of promise.

His pursuit.

See the Story
before. This
is added of later
intelligence.

La Pacheta.

The General
certifieth the
Audience of
his success.
The great joy
of the Spaniards.

which, is but a little distant from the North Sea. In the yeere 1575, or 1576, one *John Oxnam* of *Plymouth*, going into the *West Indies*, joyned with the *Symarons*. These are fugitive *Negroes*, and for the bad intreatie which their Masters had given them, were then retired into the Mountains, and liued upon the spoyle of such *Spaniards*, as they could master, and could neuer be brought into obedience, till by composition they had a place limited them for their freedom, where they should liue quietly by themselves. At this day they haue a great habitation neere *Panama*, called *Saint Lago de los Negros*, well peopled, with all their Officers and Commanders of their owne, (save only a *Spanish* Gouverneur.

By the assistance of these *Symarons*, hee brought to the head of this Riuer, by piece-meale, and in many Iournies, a small Pinnace, hee fitted it by time in warlike manner, and with the choice of his Companie, put himselfe into the South Sea, where his good happe was to meete with a couple of shippes of traile, and in the one of them a great quantitie of Gold. And amongst other things two pieces of speciall imitation, the one a Table of massy Gold, with Emeralds, sent for a present to the King; the other a Lady of singular beautie, married, and a mother of children. The latter grew to bee his perdition: for hee had capitulated with these *Symarons*, that their part of the bootie, should be onely the prisoners, to the end to execute their malice vpon them, such was the rancour they had conceived against them, for that they had bene the Tyrants of their libertie. But the *Spaniards* not contented to haue them their flues; who lately had bene their Lords, added to their feruencie, cruell intreaties. And they againe to feede their insatiable reuenges, accustomed to roast and eate the hearts of all those *Spaniards*, whom at any time they could lay hand vpon.

John Oxnam (I say) was taken with the loue of this Lady, and to winne her good will, what through her teares and perswasions, and what through feare and detestation of their barbarous inclinations; breaking promise with the *Symarons*, yielded to her request, which was, to giue the prisoners libertie with their shippes; for that they were not vntilful for him: notwithstanding *Oxnam* kept the Lady, who had in one of the reformed shippes, either a Sonne, or a Nephew. This Nephew with the rest of the *Spaniards*, made all the haste they could to *Panama*, and they vied such diligence, as within few houres, some were dispatched to seeke those, who little thought so quickly to be ouertaken. The pursuers approaching the Riuer, were doubtfull by which of the store-remembered three mouthes, they should take their way. In this waivering one of the Souldiers ecried certaine feathers, &c.

Commig in sight of the *Ilands of Pearles*, the winde beganne to fresh in with vs, and wee profited our felues of it: but comming thwart of a small Iland, which they call *La Pacheta*, that lieth within the *Pearle Iland*, close aboard the Mayne, and some eight or tenne leagues South and by West from *Panama*, the winde calmed againe.

This Iland belongeth to a priuate man, it is a round humocke, containing not a league of ground, but most fertile. In somuch that by the owners indutrie, and the labour of some few flaves, who occupie themselves in mawring; and two Barks, which he employeth in bringing the fruit it giueth, to *Panama*; it is said to be worth him euery weeke, one with another, a barre of siluer; valued betwixt two hundred and fiftie, or three hundred Pezos: which in *Europe* money, may amount to fiftie or threecore pound: and for that, which I saw at my being in *Panama*, touching this, I hold to be true.

In our course to fetch the Port of *Panama*, we put our felues betwixt the Ilands and the Main: which is a goodly Channell, of three, foure, and five leagues broad, and without danger, except a man come to neede, there is no danger any side; and that is thought the better course, then to goe a Sea-board of the Ilands, because of the wide running of the tides, and the aduantage to stop the ebbe: As also for luccour, if a man should happen to be becalmed at any time beyond expectation; which happeneth sometimes.

The fiftenth of Iuly wee had sight of *Perico*; they are two little Ilands, which cause the Port of *Panama*, where all the shippes vse to ride: It is some two Leagues West North-west of the Citie, which hath also a *Pere* in it selfe for small Barks, at full Sea, it may haue some fixe or seuen foot water, but at lowe water, it is drie.

The ninth of Iuly wee anchored vnder *Perico*, and the Generall presently aduised the *Audencia*, of that which had succeeded in his Iourney: which vnderstood by them, caused Bonfires to be made, and euery man to put Lumines in their houles; the talision is much vied amongst the *Spaniards* in their feasts of ioy, or for glad tidings; placing many lights in their Churches, in their windowes, and Galleries, and corners of their houles: which being in the beginning of the night, and the Citie close by the Sea-shore, (threwed to vs being farre off) as though the Citie had bene on a light fire.

About eight of the clocke all the Artillerie of the Citie was shot off, which wee might discern by the flash of fire, but could not heare the reports; yet the Armado being aduised thereof, and in a readinesse, answered them likewise with all their Artillerie: which taking end (as all the varieties of this earth doe). The Generall sent himselfe to dispatch aduise for the King, for the Vice-roy of *Pern*, and the Vice-roy of *Noua Spana*, for hee also had

had bene certified of our being in that Sea, and had fitted an Armado to seeke vs, and to giue his coast.

But now for a farewell, (and note it) Let mee relate vnto you this Secret; How *Don Beltran* (threwed mee a Letter from the King his Master, directed to the Vice-roy, wherein hee gaue him particular relation of my pretended Voyage; of the shippes; their burden; their munition; their number of men, which I had in them, as perfectly as if hee had seene all with his owne eyes; Saying vnto mee: *Hereby you may discern, whether the King my Master haue found in England, and good and speedy aduice of all that passe.* Whereunto I replied; It was no wonder, for that hee had plenty of Gold and Siluer, which worketh this and more strange effects: for my Iourney was publique and notorious to all the Kingdom, whereunto he replied, that I thought: it so conuenient, leaue should be giuen mee to write into *England* to the Queens Maiestie my Mistresse, to my Father, and to other personages, as I thought good; and leaving the Letters open; that hee would send some of them, in the Kings Packet, others to his Vncle *Don Rodrigo de Castro*, Cardinall and Archbishop of *Seuilla*, and to other friends of his: Not making any doubt but that they would bee speedily in *England*. For which I thanked him, and accepted his courteisie, and although I was my selfe vnable to write, yet by the hands of a servant of mine, I wrote three or foure copies of one Letter to my Father, Sir *John Hawkins*. In which I briefly made relation of all that had succeeded in our Voyage.

The dispatches of *Spain* and *New Spain*, went by ordinarie course in shippes of aduice; but so that for the *Pern* was sent by a kinsman of the Generall, called *Don Francisco de la Cueva*, which being dispatched, *Don Beltran* halted all that euer he could, to put his shippes in order, to returne to *Lyma*. Hee caused the *Daintie* to be grounded and trimmed, for in those Ilands it higheth and fallesth some fiftene or sixteene foot water.

And the Generall with his Captaines, and some Religious men being aboard her, and new naming her, named her the *Visitation*; for that shee was rendred on the day, on which they celebrate the Visitation of the Virgin *Maries*. In that place the ground being plaine, and without vantage (whereby to helpe the tender sided and sharpe Shippes) they are forced to thoare them on either side. In the middle of their solemnitie, her props and shores of one side flayed and so she fell ouer vpon that side suddenly, intreating many of them (which were in her) very badly, and doubtlesse had shee bene like the shippes of the South Sea, (hee had broken out her bulge; but being without Masts and emptie (for in the South Sea, when they bring around a shippe, they leaue neither Mast, Balast, nor any other thing aboard, besides the bare Hull) her strength was such, as it made no great howe to haue recieued any damage, but the feare shee put them all into was not little, and caused them to runne out of her faster then a pace.

In these Ilands is no luccour, nor refreshing; onely in the one of them is one house of straw, and a little spring of small moment. For the water, which the Shippes vse for their provision, they fetch from another Iland, two leagues West North-west of these; which they call *Tabaga*, hauing in it some fruit and refreshing, and some few *Indians* to inhabit it.

What succeeded to mee, and to the rest during our Imprisonment, with the rarities and particularities of the *Pern*, and *Tierra firme*, my Voyage to *Spain*, and the success, with the time I spent in prison in the *Pern*, in the *Tercera*, in *Seuilla*, and in *Madrid*, with the accidents which befell mee in them; I leaue for a second part of this discourse, if God giue life, and conuenient place and rest, necessarie for so tedious and troublesome a worke: desiring God that is Almighty, to giue his blessing to this and the rest of my intentions: that it and they may be fruitfull, to his glorie, and to the good of all: then shall my desires bee accomplished, and I account my selfe most happie. To whom be all glory, and thanks from all eternitie.

CHAP. VI.

A briefe Note written by Master JOHN ELLIS, one of the Captaines with Sir RICHARD HAWKINS, in his Voyage through the Straits of *MAGELLAN*, begunne the ninth of April, 1593, concerning the said Straite, and certaine places, on the coast and Inland of *Peru*.



He second of Februarie, 1593. wee fell with the Land of *Terra Australis*, in 50. degrees fiftie five leagues off the Straite of *Magelan*, which Land lay East and by North, or East North-east from the Straite, which is a part of *Terra Australis*: from which Land wee entred the Straite vpon the West South-west: then we ran ten leagues West North-west, oger ten leagues West South-west, then eight leagues South-west, and came to an anchor on the Starboard side, in a hooker where you may moore any ship in twelue fathomes water. From thence wee ranne South-west and by

B b b b b

South

Note.
English trea-
cherie procure
red by *Spain* for
Gold.

I haue this
Letter transla-
ted into *Span-
ish*, and print-
ed by them; I
together with
the discourse
of the whole
action, much
agreeing with
this, except
where they lift
to magnifie
their *Spanish*
worth.
The *Daintie*,
named the
Visitation.

CHAPTER VII.

*A briefe Relation of an * Englishman which had bene thirteene yeeres
Captiue to the Spaniards in Peru; &c.*

* I found this paper amongst others of Master Hagl, without the name of the Author.
Lima.
Payta.



Асарыца.

Summary:

Mexico.

Arizco.

22917001

Angels.

Друга група:

611

Sept 1, 1904

CHAP. VIII.

The Relation of ALEXANDRO VRSINO concerning the coast of Terra Firma, and the secrets of Peru, and Chili, where he had lived foure and thirte yeeres.

Saint Domingo.

From

Jamaica

Not one natu-
rall in *Hispani-*
els.

Abstract

Saint Mattheu.

Nombre de dis

Учаски.

Coqarica.

Results

Venezuela.

Grade

Quits:

Topic

Chili

F. P. Fozzard and

19 Sep

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is b

Five millions
Indian at Car-
tagena yearly
rise Kings and
as much of o-
ther Merchants
acquire.

Cuzco.

The Gold that is gathered in *Chili*, the Kings part: which is about a million, and of others a million and a halfe is brought by Sea unto *Lima*. All the Gold and Silver that comes to *Lima* is about twelve millions, from thence it comes to *Panama*, from *Panama* by land to *Nombre de Dios*, from thence by Sea to *Cartagena*, The Gold that comes out of the new Kingdom of *Granada* and the Province of *Isla de Salina* is brought by a River to *Cartagena*. So that at *Cartagena* there is laden out of those parts for *Spaine* every year of the Kings about five millions, and as much of other Merchants.

In all the Country of *Chili* there are not about 1300. *Spaniards*. At *reympe* is 17 leagues distant from *Cuzco* or *Quito* the ports: it hath about 200. *Spaniards*. In *Lima* 1000. *Spaniards*. In *Sevilla* 100. *Spaniards*. In *Trujillo* 500. it is a very wealthy towne (the Port of it *Malabar*) two leagues from *Trujillo*. The Cite of *Cuzco* is bigger then *Rome*: there is a Bishop and about 1000. *Spaniards*. They have the Inquisition in *Lima*. In *Paya* which is the harborough for all the Fleete for fresh provisions: there are 100. men. *Porto Vico*, is also another harborough where the Fleete taken in fish: there are not three *Spaniards* in the towne, but about five leagues off there is a small towne called *Manila*, where there are but 50. *Spaniards*. In *Panama* 400. In February the Silver comes from *Potosi* and *Porco* to *Lima*: about the same time the Ships returne from *Chili* to *Lima* with Gold.

In April they set forth from *Lima* four Ships, and in fifteene dayes they arrive at *Panama*. From the point *Saint Helen* to *Copaco* it neuer raineth: this dry tract extendeth from the Sea coast into the Country in many places 40. miles, in some places 50. and in sundry parts of the Country it is so hot that no man can endure it, and within six miles of that place so cold a gaine, that it is not enough to kill any man. This strange tract extends 1200. leagues. In the Cite of *Lima* and *Trujillo* there grow Oranges, Pomgranets, Citrons and Melons, bigger farre then those of these parts.

The *Lima* of *Cumanan* is a very fertile soile, yeelding abundance of grasse, which becommeth at *Cumanan* and pusheth by *Quito* towards *Chili*: eight leagues from *Cumanan*, the lame *Lima*, is in some parts within a mile of the Sea, and in other places a league off from the Sea. The lame *Lima* is in breadth in some places halfe a league, and in other places a league, which is the greatest breadth that it beareth.

Betweene this *Lima* of *Cumanan* and the Sea, is nothing growing but barren sands and stones. And within the said *Lima*, is also barren for the space of eight or ten leagues. And in all the said circuit both of the *Lima*, and from it to the Sea, and also in towards the land the said distance of eight or ten leagues it neuer raineth. But farther into the Land where the hills and mountains are, there it raineth and sometimes snoweth.

A di 24. Luglio 1581.

Alexandro Orsino Romano antico dice che son de tempo de cinquenta vno agnos. Io son stato Trenta quatro agnos nel regno del Peru, e lo camando todo el regno.

CHAP. IX.

Notes of the West Indies, gathered out of PEDRO ORDONNES de Cevallos a Spanish Priest, his larger observations.

Emeralds.



Anna Fe de Bogota, is the Mother Cite of the new Kingdom of *Granada*, an Archbishop See, and of the Chamber. *Aliso* is subject to it, where is store of the best Emeralds taken out of a rocke, which a long time cannot waite. The fifth thereof is of infinite value to the King. An Indian found there a stone which was sent to King *Phillip*, and his daughter *Clara Eugenia*, the price whereof was about all price, nor could the Goldsmiths value it. In *Saint Juan de los Rios* are men with white faces. In all the Kingdom the towne are very frequent. There are about 14000. *Negros* which worke in the Mines there.

14000. *Negros*.

In *Quito* two things are deere, Wine, which is worth eight Rials a quart, if brought from *Lima*, and twelue from *Spaine*: and Affes, of which one hath bene worth 1500. Pelos, and that for the store of Mares in those parts. It is a proverb, *What is dearest in Quito? An Affe*. In *Lima* no houses are covered with roofes, bee they neuer so large, because they neuer haue raine. No Cite in *India* is richer then it.

Wine and Affes deare. *Quito*. *Lima*.

Out of *Potosi* are yearly gathered great treasures. Over the top of this Mountain alway hangs a cloud, even in the clearest dayes, as it were marking and pointing out the riches thereof. It is rich in forme of a *Pyramis*, three leagues high, enuironed with cold ayre. At the foot is the Cite *Potosi*, inhabited by twentie thousand *Spanish* men, and ten thousand women, as many *Negros* and foure thousand *Indians*. Within six leagues about is no pasture of grasse, so that to it, Wood, and Corne are brought from other places. The Entrance and Myne-workes, are dangerous,

dangerous, what they which goe in, vie to take the Sacrament of the Altar, as if they went to their death, because few returne. The Earle of *Villar* made a proclamation, that all the *Indians* should haue leave and libertie to labour in their Myne, and to haue four Rials a day for each mans worke, which they were before forced to doe for nothing: since which the King hath receiued greater profit. The King receiue thence yearly eight or ten millions of Silver. The metals lie two hundred Stades (or mans heights) beneath the earth. Raine is very needfull for the Myne-workes, which usually falls about *Christmas*. Then the President of *Chacrus* comes thither (as also to haue care of the Quick-silver) that in *February* and *March* they may be ready for *Lima*. *Chile* hath two Bishopricks, of *Chile* and *Saint Lago*. It bringeth forth the 10 fruits of *Cafile*, greater then *Spaine* it lieth. There are many Gold Mines, if the *American Indians* could be compelled to the worke, which doe our Cite from *Pern*, and thence returned to *Quito*.

Mexico is as great a *Smith*. There dwell in it three thousand *Spaniards*, many more women, two hundred thousand *Indians*, twentie thousand *Negros*. The Natives are capable of Arts and Discipline. They very much honour Priests, Monks, and Regulars, and when the Bull rings to Sermon, the *Indian* Boyes run vp and downe the streets crossing their fore-heads. When they goe out of the Church, they cry, *Blessed be our Lord Iesus Christ, and blessed be his Mother Saint Marie*, the Priest answers, *For euer, and they, Amen*. They are libeall Almet-givers: to mee lying Maile, I remember they gaue an hundred Duckets. D. *Martin Cortes*. Marquisse: of *Valle*, was author of this reuerence to Priests by his owne example, which would stand still bare headed, till a Priest were past, and sometimes would goe forth to meet him and kisse his hand. In *New Spaine* is such store of cattell, that one man often kills one thousand Beeces, and as many Goates, and sends their hides into *Spaine*. The *Magueira* tree or *Cabuya* yeelds Wine, Vinegar, Honey, Beds, Trenches, Needles (out of the prickles of the leaues) Tables and harts of Knives besides many medicinale viles. From *Mexico* to *Acapulco* the Haven on the South Sea, are ninetie leagues, and well inhabited.

The Vice-roy is President at the Court at *Lima*, and Governor and Capitaine General of that Territory, and of *Chacrus* and *Quito*. He hath fortie thousand Duckets salary, and the charges of Warre are paid by the King. The Territory of *Lima* containeth in circuit three hundred leagues. 30 *Callao* is the Port, two leagues from *Lima*, the chief in all the South Sea, where the Vice-roy vouch to abide much for furnishing the Fleets which carry the treasure.

The Mynes of *Orisco* are given ouer for want of Quick-silver, or as some say, left the inhabitants of *Potosi* should remove thither. *Guaconelica* hath rich Silver Mynes, which yearly yeeld eight thousand Quinials. But some Mountaines falling haue stopped the mynings. Saint *Francis* of *Quito* is vnder the line very temperate, three hundred leagues from *Lima*. There is a Chancery, Bishop, Deane, and Vniuersitie. The Territory of this Court extends two hundred and sixtie leagues. Neere the Cite are many burning Hills.

There is a twofold government in the *Indies*, one of *Spaniards*, which is the same with that of *Spaine*: the other of *Indians*. The *Spaniards* in these parts neither plow the ground, nor worke in the Mynes, especiall there where they are accounted gentlemen. Scarcely shal you find any *Spanish* youth, which will betake himselfe to the seruice of any man, except the Vice-roy. They trade with Merchandise, are set ouer the Kings Rents, Garrisons, and Myners.

The *Indians* are bafe minded. They solemnize the Feasts of the Sacrament, Easter, and Midwinter, with Dances, Musike, Processions, and in the Temples religiously. On Mandy Thursday they are all chastised. In gulls they are obsequent. On a certaine day they are compelled to render account of all their goods and possessions. They procure Muske at Funerals. They are generally witty, liars, and strong drinkers. They will drinke two or three layes together drolly, and sometimes a whole weeke. Their Feasts are like the *Negros* with songs and dances. With their Rites they say they pray for the dead. They neuer make an end, till they haue spent all, and then they returne to their labours. They are very expert in the Arts which they learne, although it be writing or reading, which yet is not granted them to learne. They pay yearly to their Governours a certaine tribute of Silver and other things, after they are eightene yeeres old, till fiftie. The Commendator receiue these things, conditionally to maintaine a Priest and a Corrigidor, and to pay the tenths to the Church. Tens and other places are there given for two lues, the sonne or eldest daughter succeeding. The Corrigidors amongst the *Indians* are prohibited merchandise. A Visitor is appointed in euery Court to goe to the places of that Precinct to enquire of Affairs, and to decide conueneries.

The number of *Mestizos* is great, which wander vp and downe poore and beggarly, nor giue their minds to learne any handicrafts. It were good they were forced to labour.

A Council held at *Lima*, 1583. in the third Session, Chap. 22. approved of the Pope and our King, decreed that wherefoe one thousand *Indians* are found together, a Teacher and Priest should be set ouer them. The *Indian* Priests vie at the Kings charges to carrie with them many religious men: and the Iesuites by the supreme Council of *India*, with aduile of the BB. are commanded to send many thither for the Bishops assistance.

* The Latine word is *Stad*, which in ordinarily is used 25. miles. *Americanos* not used.

Mexico.

R. & 10 Priests.

Duete Maile.

Hides.

Magueira tree.

The Vice-roy of Peru. *Callao*.

Saint Philip of Austria.

Indian government.

Spaniards life.

Indians disposition & state.

Infinite innumerable.

Mestizos.

Indian Provincial Council.

The

Ecclesiastical
Reuennes.

Seminaries.

Kings Reue-
nu 5 12 Mil-
lions from
Springs.

The Rents and Tenths of Bishopricks are deuied into four parts, one of which goeth to the Bishop, a second to the Deane and Chapter, so as the Deanes proportion is 150. the dignities 100. the Canons 100. The third and fourth part are diuided into nine shares called Ninties, of which two returne to the King, and are bestowed on the buildings of Cathedral Churches; another ninth and halfe on the Fabrickes, another ninth and halfe on the Hospitall buildings, the fourth remaining are paid to the Vicars, Singers, Organists and other Church Officers. What remaineth is spent on the Fabrickes. All are laid out by the Bishops order. In my iudgement it were very good if every Bishoprick had Seminaries and Colledges wherein the children of their *Catholike* and chiefe men might be educated, to be maintained by the *Catholike*.

The Bishopricks of *Cusco* is 2000. leagues long and 70. broad: that of *Lima* is greater by the one halfe, as is that also of *Quito*. Wherupon the Bishops of the New World writ to the King that it were better to make them more Bishopricks, each of which shall yet remaine 30000. *Pezas*. Every fourth yeere ordinarily is a Prouinciall Synod in *Peru*, to which the Bishops come, some by Sea, some by Land 400. or 600. leagues, the wayes not admitting Coaches. Some haue sought for Vniuersities in some places to be erected (as those of *Quito*) at least for Diuinitie, and the liberrall Arts and Indian Tongue: the Professors to haue foure or 5000. Duckets a piece yearly. There is no question but of the *Indians* many learned men may adorne the Schooles and Pulpits.

The Kings Reuennue out of the West *Indies* is twelue Millions yearly growing out of the fifth of Gold and Silver, great Meltings, Customes of Ports, Indian Tributes, sale of Offices, the *Cruzada*, Tribute of Rents, Quisquillos, Fines of Courts, and the ninth part of Ecclesiastical Rents. Popes Bulls and Collations of Benefices Ecclesiastical and Secular are subiect to the King, and ordered by his supreme Council of the *Indies*.

CHAP. X.

Relation of the new Discoverie in the South Sea made by PEDRO FERNANDEZ GONZ. Portugal 1609. with his Petitions to the King, one Englished, another in Spanish.

This man being a famous Pilot was sent with two ships from *Peru* to discover the Islands of *Salomon*. After hee had taken his course in the height of the Straits of *Magellann*, little more or lesse, he did discover a mayne Land, and sayled eight hundred leagues vpon the Coast, until he came to the height of fiftene degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctiall Line where hee found a very fruitful and pleasant Country and well peopled, abounding with Pearles, Gold and Silver, great store of Limons; Orenges and other Fruites excellent good, and in great quantitie: great flocks of Geats, Hogges, Geese, Partridges, Conies and Fowle, Pepper and Spices. The Country is very temperate and healthfull, great store of fish of many different sorts; full of wood and goodly high Trees for shipping; very good pasture, ground for Corne and Cattell.

The men of the Country are some tawne, and some white of good disposition, more ciuill and politike then the *Indians* of *Peru* and *Nova Hispania*.

There is in the Coast a Bay of some twentie leagues into which there falls two great Riues out of the Country, which is the place where they purpose to settle their first Plantations.

There are many Ilands in the same Coast both great and little, plentifull they are all and well inhabited.

This Captaine *Gonz.* shall be presently sent vnto *Peru*, with order and Commission to take vp twelue hundred men and shipping with other necessities for the Voyage to inhabit, and as many more shall be sent the yeere following. From *Nova Hispania*, and for the whole businesse he is to recieue fise hundred thousand Duckets.

Waltham Crayley.

The Copie of a Petition presented to the King of Spaine, by CAPTAIN PETER FERDINAND DE QUIR, touching the Discoverie of the fourth part of the World, called Terra Australis incognita: and of the great riches and fertilitye of the same: Printed with licence in Siuill, An. 1610.

SIR,
I CAPTAIN *Fernandes de Quir*, shew vnto you, that this is the eighth * Petition, which by mee hath bene presented to your Maiesties view, to perswade the conduction of some Colonies, which followeth in Spanish, containing more particulars then this hath: Or else it may be of *Louis Verc*, &c.

nice, vnto the Land which your Maiestie hath commanded to be discovered in the parts of *Australis incognita*. And yet to this houre no resolution is taken, neither have I recieued any answer or hope, whereby I might rest assured to obtaine my dispatch, although I haue attended foureteen moneths in your Court, and haue employed foureteen yeeres in this Discoverie without any profit or other respect but the benefit thereof; with which notwithstanding infinite contradictions, I haue gone 20000. leagues by Land and by Sea, and haue diminished and sunke my estate, I haue trauelled with many afflictions in my selfe, and suffered such strange and extraordinary crosses that they seeme almost incredible to my selfe; and all, that so Religious an vndertake should not vnworthily be abandoned. In regard whereof, I do most humbly beseech your Maiestie in the bowels of the diuine charitie, that you would be pleased to take order, that I be not deprived of the fruits of this Designe, which with such inclination I doe desire, and which with so much iustice are due vnto my continuall paines and trauell: nor that I be debarred from the effects of so considerable and well grounded a request, whose principall scope is the glory of God, and of your Maiestie, and from whence infinite benefits are likely to issue forth, which will liue as long as the fabrick of the World shall subsist, and after the dissolution thereof will remaine to all Eternitie.

1. Touching the extent of these Regions newly discovered, grounding my iudgement on that which I haue seene with mine owne eyes, and vpon that which Captaine *Lewis Paez de Torres* Admirall of my Fleet hath represented vnto your Maiestie, the length thereof is as great as all *Europe* and *Asia* the lesse, vnto the Sea of *Bachy*, *Persia*, and all the Isles, alwell of the Ocean, as of the *Mediterranean* Sea, taking *England* and *Ireland* into this account. This unknowne Country is the fourth part of the Terrestrial Globe, and extendeth it selfe to such length, that in probability it is twice greater in Kingdomes and Seignories, then all that which at this day doth acknowledge subiection and obedience vnto your Maiestie: and that without neighbourhood either of *Turkey* or *Moor*, or of any other Nation with an attempt warre vpon continuing Dominion. The Land which we haue discovered, is all seated within the *Torrid Zone*; and a great part thereof reacheth vnto the Equinoctiall Circle; the breath may be of 90. degrees, and in some places a little lesse. And if the success prove answerable vnto the hopes, they will be found *Andalusias* vnto the better part of *Africke*, vnto all *Europe*, and to the greater portion of *Asia*. But you must obserue, that as the Countreys which we haue discovered in 15. degrees of latitude, are better then *Spain*, so the other which are opposed to their elevation, must by proportion and analogie prove some terrestrial Paradise.

2. All those quarters swarme with an incredible multitude of Inhabitants, whereof some are white, others blacke and in colour like *Mulatos*, or *half black*, and others of a mingled complexion. Some wear their haire long, blacke; and scattered, others haire curled and thick, and others very yellow and bright. Which diuersitie is an apparent argument that there is an apparent argument, that there is commerce and communication amongst them. And this consideration together with the bountie which Nature hath bestowed on the soile, their experience of Artillery and Guns, and their vskifullnesse in labouring in Mines, with other flexible circumstances, doth induce mee to inferre, that all the Country is well peopled. They know little what belongeth to artificiall Trades; for they haue neither fortifications nor wallies, and litle without a wreke of Kings or Lawes. They are a simple people contented into naturalities, and exercise much displeasure amongst themselves. The Armes which they vse are Bowes and Arrows, which are not poisoned or steeped in the iuice of venomous herbes, as the custom is of many other Countreys; They doe also carrie Clubs, Truncheons, Pikes, Darts to hurl with the arme, all which are framed only of wood. They doe cut themselves from the waite or girdling place down to the halfe of their thighs; they are very studious of cleanlinesse, tractable, cheerefull, and wonderously addicted to be gratefull vnto those that doe them a courtesie, as I haue experienced many times. The which doth build in me a beliefe, that with the assistance of God, if they may be gently and amiably intreated, they will be found very docible and easie of manage, and that we shall without much worke accommodate our selues vnto them. And it is most necessary to obserue this way of sweetnesse, especially in the beginning, that the Inhabitants may be drawne along to this holy and lauding an end, whereof we ought to take a particular care and zeale, alwell in small things, as in matters of more importance. Their houses are built of wood, couered with Palme-tree leaves; they haue Pitchers and Vessels made of earth, they are not without the mystrie of weauing, and other curiosities of that kind. They worke on Marble, they haue Flutes, Drummes, and wooden Spoons, they let apare certaine places for Oratories and Prayers, and for buriall places. Their Gardens are artificiallye seated into beds, bordered and puled; Mocher of Pearle and the shells which containe Pearle, they haue in much vsc and estimation, of which they make Wedges, Rasons, Calters, and such like Instruments. They also doe make thereof Pearles and great Beads to wear about their neckes. They that doe dwell in the Ilands, haue Boats very artificiallye made, and exceedingly commodious for sayling, which is a certaine argument that they confine vpon other Nations that are of a more polished and elegant behauiour. And this also they haue of our husbandry, that they cut Cocks and gold Beares.

See of their
Boats in
part 1.
Voyage.

3. Their

Vine of the
Coco.

3. Their bread is vially made of three sorts of Roots, which grow there in great abundance. Neither do they employ much labour in making this bread, for they do only roist the Roots vntill they are loft and tender. They are very pleasant to the taste, wholesome and nourishing, they are of a good length, like being of them an Ell long, and the halfe of that in bignesse. There is great store of excellent fruits in these Countreys. There are fixe kinds of Plane Trees, Almond Trees of foure sorts, and other Trees called *Oli*, resembling almost in fruit and greatnesse the *Melacanes*; store of Nuts, Oranges and Limons. They haue moreover Sugar-canes, large in size: and in great plenty, they haue knowledge of our ordinarie Apples; they haue Palme-trees without number, out of which there may easily bee drawne a iuyce, which will make a liquor alluding much to Wine, as also Whey, Vinegar, and Honey, the kernels thereof are exceeding sweet. And they haue fruits which the *Indians* call *Coco*, which being Greene doe make a kinde of twine, and the pith is almost like in taste vnto the Creame of Milke: When they are ripe they serue for meate and drinke both by Land and Sea: And when they wither and fall from the Tree, there is sweat out an Oyle from them, which is very good to burne in Lampes, and is medicinable for wounds, and not vnplesant to be eaten. Of their rindes or barks there are made Bottles, and other like Vessels, and the inner skin doth serue for calking of ships. Men doe make Cables and other Cordage of them, which are of sufficient strength to draw a Canon, and are fit for other domesticke vses. But that which is more speciall, they do there vnto the leaues of Palme-trees, which they smalt together, to make layes of them for Vessels of small bulke and burden. They make likewise thinne Mats of them, and they do serue to couer the houle with out, and for hangings within. And of them they doe likewise make Pikes, and other sorts of weapons, as also Oares to row with, and Veneils for the houle. You are to note, that these Palme-trees are their Vines, from whence they gather their Wine all the yeere long; which they make without much cost or labour. Amongst their herbage and Garden fruits; We haue seene Melons, Peares great and litle, and sundry sorts of pot-herbes. And they haue also Beanes for fish, they are stored with a great number of Hogs, which are as tame as ours: they haue Hennes, Capons, Partridges, Duckets Turtles, Pigeons, Stock-doves, and Goats, as one of our Captaines did see. And the Indians themselves haue giuen vs notice of Cowes and Oxen. There are also sundry sorts of fish, Harghis, Perceyres, Lize, Soles, Trowts, Shads, Macabiles, Calanes, Pampai, Pilchard, Thorn-backes or Skate-fish, Cuculi, Congers, Porpoises, Rochers, Mufcles, Lobsters, and many other, the names whereof I cannot now remember. But it is probable that there are divers other kindes, since those which I haue recounted were taken hard by our ships. And vpon ripe and serious consideration of that which I haue represented vnto you, a man may easily collect, that such plentifull and different varieties of all things, may yield great and singular delights. There is stiffe for Marchpanes and sweet Confections of all sorts, without borrowing any Spice for the composition of them elsewhere. And for my Mates the Mariners, besides those particulars which I haue before set downe, there will bee no want of Gammons, Sawages, and other litle meats which Hogges doe yeeld; neither of Vinegar, Spiceries, and other Sawces that serue for delicacie, and to awake the appetite. And you must obserue, that many of these things, are the same with those which we haue in our parts, and possibly they are there in greater abundance; by all which it is easily to be coniectured, that this Countrey is fit for the production of all that which groweth in *Europe*.

4. The Riches which I haue seene in those parts, are Silver and Pearle; another Captaine in his Relation, doth report that he hath seene Gold; which are the three most precious things that lie and are cherished in the bowels of Nature: we haue also both seene much Nutmeg, Mace, Ginger, and Pepper. There is also notice of Cinnamon; and it is likely that Cloues may be found in those parts, since so many other sorts of Spiceries and Aromaticall drugges doe prosper there; and that the rather, because these Countreys lye very neere the parallel of the Iles of *Ternate*, *Bachian*, and the *Molucces*. There are likewise materials for all sorts of Silke, and we haue seene Amfe-see, and excellent good Ebonie, as also other kindes of wood proper for the building of as many ships as one will desire, and stiffe to make layes for the same. Three sorts of materials there are wherewithall to make Cordage, and one of them is very like vnto our Hemp. Moreover out of the Oyle of *Coco*, whereof I haue already made mention, there is a kinde of bituminous stiffe extracted, called *Galagala*, which may be well vnto for Pitch. They make also a kind of Roien with which the *Indians* pitch their Boats, which they call *Piraguau*. And since there are Goats and Kowes in those parts, without question we shall haue Goat-skins, Leathers, Tallow, and Hain in full abundance. The Bees which we haue seene there doe make proofe, that there will be no lacke of Honey and Wax. And there is good appearance to discouer many other things which are not yet knowne, to say nothing of man may contribute to those parts, since there is such abundance of commodities which the Countrey at the doore yeeld, and such hope to transport thither those things which grow with vs (the best and cheefe which *Peru* and *New Spaine* bring forth, I haue referred to transcribe thither) it is to be hoped, that this will to enrich that Countrey, that it will be able to nourish and furnish not only the Inhabitants

tants of the same, and those of *America*, but giue an accession vnto *Spain*: it is selfe both of Riches and extent of command: and this may be accomplished after the manner which I haue projected, and will vtold vnto those which shall lend an assisting hand for the guiding and consummation of this worke. Now by that Land which we haue already discouered outwardly and along the shores, without entrance into the inward parts, we doe conceiue a certaine Argument, that as much Riches, Commodities, and the wealth may be hoped from thence, as we haue already in these Countreys. And you may be pleased to vnderstand, that my principal aime was to take a view only of these simple Regions which we haue discouered: for by reason of many kniues which haue weakened me, and some other chances whereof I will at this time make no mention, I was not able to survey all which I desired, neither could I in a full month haue seene all that, which I was of my selfe inclinable to view. You are not to make your iudgement of the *Indians* that inhabit these Countreys, according to the honour of the people here, or conceiue them to be affected with the same desires, pleasures, necessities, or estimation of things that we are: But you are to make account that they are a people whose care is studiously placed vpon this, that they may liue easily in this World, and passe their dayes with the least paine and perturbation they can. And this is indeed their practise, for they do not bestow themselves on those things, which with such vexation and torment we leete labour to obtaine.

5. There are found in this Countrey as many commodities, both for the support and delectation of the life of man, as may be expected from a soyle that is Manurable, pleasant and verie temperate. It is a fat and fertile Land, wherein many places clay is found which will proue of excellent vie to build houles, and to make Tiles and Bricks, and will serue for whatsoever is usually made of earth. There is Marble and other good stones, wherewith if there be occasion there may be built structures of greater State and Magnificence. The Countrey abounseth in wood, fit for all workes and vses, wherunto the same is commonly put. There are spacious and goodly plaines, and fields that are diuided and inclosed with Brookes, Trenches, and Runns. There are great and high Rocks, sundry Torrents, Riues great and litle, on the water-mills for Corne may with much commodiouse be built and placed, as also Engines to make Sugar, Tucking-mills, Forges, and all other Instruments which in their vie doe require water. We haue found Salt-pits there, and which is a note of the fertilitye of the soile, there are in many places Canes whereof some are five or fixe handfulls thick, with fruit answerable to that proportion. The top of that Fruit is verie small and hard, and the skinn thereof is exceeding sweet. There are also founts for fire, equall in goodnesse with those of *Madrid*. The Bay of *Saint James* and *Saint Philip*, hath twentie leagues of banke, and is without malle; into which there is a sure and easy entrance both by day and night. It is sheltered and covered with many houles, which in the day time we haue seene farre off to lend forth smoke, and in the night flote of fire. The Hauens called *The true Crosse*, is of that spacious capacitee, that it is able to containe a thousand ships. The bottom as I haue said is without mud, and hath a blackish coloured sand wherewithall it is covered. There are no gulfes or deepe pits, but an assured and easy anchorage in what port soeuer you will, from forty to halfe a fathom; and it is betweene the mouthes of two Riues, the one whereof is as great as that of *Guadagnay*, and hath much of a fastness deepe, ouer which our shallops and boats do passe. For the other Riue, when our Skiffe went to water there, they found the entrance litle & easie. And a man may from the very mouth of the riuer take in as much fresh water as he will. The place where ships may be vloaded hath three leagues of grauell mingled with litle flints blackish and very heauy, which will serue for ballast for ships. The bank is straight and vntied, on which much green graffe doth grow and prosper, and that makes me to conceiue that the Sea doth not beate or rage thereupon. I obserue that the Trees are straight, and the branches not dismembred, which is a token that there are no tempests there. Touching the Port, besides the commodities which I haue already discouered, there is one of marvellous pleasure and contentation. And that is, that at the dawning of the day you shall heare from a Wood which is neere at hand, a sweet and various harmonie of a thousand Birds of all sorts, among which we could distinguish the Nightingales, Black-birds, Quales, Gold-finches, Swallows almost without number Parrochios, and one Parrot we marked there, and at times of sundry other kindes, euen downe to Grasshoppers, and Field-cricketes. Every Morning and Evening we receiued a most odoriferous sweet smell, sent vnto our nostrils from the infinite diuersion of Flowres and Herbes which grow there, amongst which we obserued the softness of Orange and Basil. All which (with a number of other varieties) doth make vs thinke that the Aire is cleere and healthy, and that the nature of the place is of a good temperature. The Hauens and Bay are therefore of the greater estimation, because they haue the Neighbourhood of so many goodly Ilands that are there, and especially of those Iuen, which are said to haue two hundred leagues of extent: and surely one of them (which is some twelue leagues distant from the Hauens) is fiftie leagues in circuit. In briefe Sir, I doe asseure vnto your Maestie, that you may giue command to haue a goodly and great Citie built in this Port and Bay which are 15. degrees and fortie minutes of the Southerne Equacion, and those that shall inhabit there, shall haue plenty of riches, and all other conueniencies which they can desire. Time will shew and discouer all

P. de la Cruz

Riues.

Great Ilands.

Bavin 12 deg.
40. minutes.

all these commoditie, and in this place there may be made the discharge and vnlodging of all the wares and merchandizes of the Countries of *Chibuy, Peru, Panama, Nicaragua, Guatimala, New-Spain, Terre-nataua, the Philippine*, all which Countries are vnder the command of your Maiestie. And if you shall acquit vnto your selfe the Dominion of these Seigniories which I doe now present. I doe make to great an esteeme of them, that besides their being the Key of all the rest, they will (in my opinion) proue another *China or Iapan*, and equalize the other rich lands which are on this side of *Asia*, in trafique of curious and precious merchandizes, to speake nothing of the augmentation and extent of your power, and the establishment which you may make vnto your selfe of your Dominions, by the accession of so great a Countrie. That which I have giuen vnto your view in my discourse, is of much slenderesse, in regard of that which I doe probably conceiue of this land, the which I am ready to make appeare in the presence of Mathematicians. Neither will I vex this paper to demonstrate vnto you, that these Countries will be able to nourish two hundred thousand *Spaniards*. In summe, this is Sir, the world whereof *Spain* is the Center, and that which I have related, is the nable by which you may iudge of the whole body, which I pray you to take into your obseruation.

6. You may iudge by that which I have already represented, w^{ch} at the goodnesse and temperature of the ayre is: whereunto this may be added for a further testimonie, that although all our Companie were strangers, yet neuer a one of them was sicke, albeit they were in continuall travelling and labour, and did many times take weake. They dislike water fasting, and fed many times on that which the earth did there bring forth. Neither had they any regard to keep themselves from the *Serenes*, nor from the Moone or Sunne, which indeede in those parts is not our-revelment. Only about midnight, they couered themselves with Woolle, and did lye and repose themselves thereupon. And for the Inhabitants, they are commonly healthie, and many of them very aged, although they have nothing but the bare earth for their pallet; which is an argument of the wholecomfesse and purenesse of the soyle. For if it were a wet and weeping ground, or had any viciousnesse in the mould, they would raise their lodgings higher from the earth, as they doe that lye in the *Philippine*, and other Countries which I haue viewed. And this is further confirmed by their Flesh and Fish, which although it be vnalted, yet will it keepe sweete and without corruption two dayes and more. And the Fruits which are brought from thenceare exceeding good, as we had prooue by two that I tooke care to bring along with mee, although they had not their full maturity and growth when I gathered them from the Tree. We haue not seene any barren and sandie ground, nor any Thistles or trees that are thornie, or whose rootes doe these themselves, no Marishes or Fennes, no Snow vpon the Mountaines, no Snakes or Serpents, no Crocodiles in the Riueres, no Wormes that vnto with vs to hurt and consume our Graine, and to worke vs so much displeasure in our houses, no Fleas, Caterpillers, or Gnats. This is a Prerogative that hath the advantage of all the prouidings that nature hath bestowed on other places, and is worthy to be compared, or rather preferred before any delicacie of the Countries of *India*, some of which are abandoned and vninhabited, merely by reason of these incommodities, and of sundry others that are distastfull vnto the Inhabitants, my selfe haue oftentimes bene witnesse.

7. These (Sir) are the greatest and goodnesse of the Countries which I haue discoursed, of which I haue already taken the possession in the name of your Maiestie, and vnder your Royall Banner, as appeareth by the Acts which I keepe safely in my power, whereunto I proceeded after this ensuing manner. First (Sir) we erected a Crosse, and built a Church in honour of our Ladie of *Loretto*. Then we cauld twentie Masses to be celebrated there, and our troopes made haste thither to gaine some Indulgences, granted on Whit Sunday. We also made a solemne Profession, and obserued the Feast of the blessed Sacrament, the which was carried in Procession, your Banner being euer displayed, and marching before it, through a great circuit of Countre, which were honoured with the presence of the same. In three feuerall places we set vp your Title, in every one of which we prepared and erected two Columns, with the Armes of your Maie^{ty}, in iettie tricked and garnished therewith: so that I may with good right affirme, that since this time challenge to be one of the Parts of the world, the Empire of *Spain* vltra is accomplished, and because it directeth vnto the continent, whether it be forward or behinde it skills not, the bounds of your Dominions are with much spaciousnesse enlarged. Now all this which I haue performed, receiue its roote from this the faithfull zeale which I beare vnto your Maiestie, that to all the Titles which you already doe possesse, you may adioyne this which I represent, and that the name of the *Australia del Spiritu sancto*, may be blazoned and spread out the face of the whole world to the glory of God, who hath reuealed this Countre, and hath giuen mee the grace to guide my course thither, and to returne to the presence of your Maiestie, before whom I doe present and prostrate my selfe with the same affection and zeale vnto this worke which I had before, and which hath growne vp with mee as it were from my cradle, and for the noblesse and worth thereof, I doe full tender and cherish the same with the greatest loue that can be.

8. I doe confidently beleue, that your Maiestie doth vnto so much praezance in your Councils, and

and are so magnanimous and full of Christian pietie, that you will (with your best care) embrace all the condescendments which may further the habitation of these new-discovered Countries. And the principall reason to put a yee and obligation vpon vs not to leaue them abandoned, is in regard that this is the sole ordinary way to establish the knowledge of God, and fa^r him ought to be, and to bring to passe that his name may be adored and called vpon, where the Diuinitie vnto much reuerence and inuocation. And this ought to be embraced with the more reasonnesse, because it is the channell to conuey and disperse all abundance of commoditie amongst your subjects. And hereby you shall be eased of many disturbances and vexations, which will assuredly be put vpon you, in case the Enemies of the Church of *Rome* should enter and nestle there, and should vent their erroneous doctrines amongst them, whereby they would conuert all the blessings which I haue hitherto recounted vnto you, into assured incommodities and mischiefs, and would arrogate vnto themselves the names of the Lords of the *Indias*, to the vtter ruine and delolation of those Countries. I take no question but your Maiestie well weigheth of what importance this danger, of which I speake, may proue, and what euill consequence some other hazards may carrie with them, which are either at this time imminent, or may succede hereafter. And if this should happen, it would cost you innumerable thousands of gold and men, before they shall be able to gins a remedy vnto the same. Acquire therefore Sir, whilst that occasion is offered you (this one day you may purchase heauen vnto your selfe) acquire (I say) with a little effort which you multiply vnto *Peru*, a neuer-dying reputation, and this New-world with all the benefits which it reacheth out vnto you. And since there is none that craueth a reward for these good tidings, that is brought you concerning so great & singular a blessing, which God hath bin pleased to locke vp vntill your happy time, I am he Sir, that doe demand it, and my humble request vnto you is only this, that you would be of that graciously vnto mee, as to dispatch and giue me mine answer: for the Gallions are readie to hoist saile, and I haue much way to goe, and many things must be fitted and disposed for the voyage. There is no house pasteth, which carrieth not with it an assured losse both in regard of spiritual and temporal blessings, the damage whereof can neuer be made vp or repaired.

If vpon a bare supplication *Christopher Columbus* did pursue his designe with so much obstinacie, you are not to account it strange in me, if the things which I haue beheld with mine eyes, and touched with mine hands, doe put some kinde of constraint vpon mee to be importunate.

Let it therefore please your Maiestie, amongst so many expedients which you haue at hand, to feare and put apart some one for the accomplishment of this worke, that after all these languishings, I may at length meete with the successe of my desires. I doe assure you that you will finde my propositions most iust, and that I shall be of sufficient to giue you satisfaction in all things. This, Sir, is a great worke, amongst which the Diuelli doth bandie himselfe with all the puissance hee may: And it is necessary to reason, to abandon these Countries to his tyrannic and power, whereof, know your Maiestie is Defender.

Here followeth another Petition or Declaration in Spanish, which I haue now translated, that the Original may be of more autoritie: and haue added for further explanation and notice of particularities. I had thought also to haue giuen the other in Spanish, and had accordingly prepared it, but for the English Readers sake, haue corrected the once printed Copie by it, and not troubled you with both.

EL Capitan Pedro Fernandez de Quirós: Xa be diecho a V. M. que de la parte del Sur, esta oculta la quarta parte del Glos, y que el descubrimiento que en ella hizo, lo es de veinte y tres islas, cuyas nombres son: *La Encarnacion, San Juan Bautista, Sanctissimo, Las quatro Coronadas, San Miguel Archangel, La conversion de San Pablo, La Decana, La Saguaria, La Fugitiva, La del Peregrino, Nuestra Señora del Socorro, Olmesterro, Tropic, San Marcos, El Virgo, La Lagrima de San Pedro, Los portales de Belen, El Pilar de Zaragoza, San Raymundo, Tia la de la Virgen Maria, y finalmente de aquel las tres partes de tierra llamada la Austral del Egiptus finto, en la qual tierra se halla la Baya de San Felipe, y Santiago, y puerto de la Veracruz, adonde estuuiamos furto con las tres nauis treinta y seis dias. Entendiendose ser todas tres una gran tierra, y sus alturas y diladas Seranias, y aquel rio Jordan por su grandexa pare ce que se offuguran la de la tierra, como de todo mas largo conita por vna informacion quehize en Mexico, con diez testigos delos que fueron conmigo, a la qual me remito. Mande V. M. que sea vista, y que se haga una junta de Mathematicos, y Pilotos, y personas plasticas, que al presente las ay mis ynigues en esta Corte, y la causa lo merece, y a V. M. le importa muchisimo. Aduerto que esta informacion la hiziera, con todas quantas personas vine ron de la nobleza, si fuera bien admitida la ofrenda que para esto hizo, o sea tra yudado, o se pudiese, a que me oblige a impossibles, y me vco obligado a ellos.*

De los quos señor que en una isla que se llama Taumaco, que al parecer dista de Mexico mil y dos Taumaco islas, y en cuenta leguas, estuuiamos furto diez dias, y que el señor de aquella islas, cuyo nombre es Tamay, hombre de rason, buen cuerpo, tallo, y color algo moreno, los ois hermafros, la nariz afilada, las

Cccccc

barbari.

* Th. Sereno is the Dew which falls euery night in great (among) flowers, infusions to those which are abroad in the aire, as is before observed in *Drake Voyages*, &c.

Lof Loretto.

Yn vltra.

Nauis. into sea.

Des de finta
illa y una
grande tierra
que se llama
Atacucillo.

barbas, y los cabellos crudos, y crecidos, y a su modo grande, nos ayudo con su gente, y embarcacion, aha-
zer a guada y lena de que en aquella sazón enflamamos muy necesitados. Este tal vino a verme a la No-
che, y dentro en ella le ex- mine en la manera siguiente. Lo primero le mostre su isla y la mar, y nuestras mas,
y gente, y apunte a todas partes del Oriente, y baxe otras ciertas (venas, y con ellas le pregunte, si en ella vi-
en naves, y hombres como los nuestros, y a ello dice que no. Preguntele si habia de otras tierras, leco-
nopoladas, o deshabitadas, y le responde que me entiendo nombró a mas de treinta islas, y a una grande tierra,
que se llama Manicolo, y yegor las sus ficiencias a todas teniendo presente la guisa de navegar, para
saber hacia el rumbo que cada una demorara, que viene a ser de aquella faja de la parte del Sudeste. Sur
Sudeste, o Este, y Nordeste; y para que yo entendiese quales eran las pequeñas, hacia pequeños circulo-
s, y mostraba el mar con el dedo, y con el dano a entender cercana la tierra, y por las que eran mayores,
hacia mayores circulos, y las mismas demostraciones: y por aquella gran tierra abra ambos los brazos,
falsuierlos a tanto, mostrandome prefegencia. Y para dar a entender quales eran las lacunas, o fajas
de allí mas cerca, mostraba el Sol de Levante a Poniente, recostaba la cabeza sobre una mano, ostenta-
ba los ojos, y con una de los dedos las manos que en el camino se dormia, y por semejanzas de-
nia, quales gentes eran blancas, Negros, Indios, y mulatos, y quales estaban mezclados, y quales
van sus amigos, y enemigos, y que en algunas islas se comia carne humana, y quales
van su brago, mostrandole claro querir mal a el siguiente, y deshe, y de otros modos al parecer, si en-
tendia quanto dixo, y lo se repeti tantas vez, y que mostré, causarle dilla, y desde con la ma-
no hacia el Sur Sudeste, y otras partes, dio bien a entender quantas mas tierras aun me
desio de volver a su faja, dila cosas que le llevé, y lo despio de mi, dandome paz en el carrillo, y con
estas muestras de amor.

El siguiente dia fui a su pueblo, y para mas bien enterarme dello que Timar me declaró, lleve conmigo mu-
chos Indios a la playa, y teniendo en la mano el papel, y presente la aguja de marear, a todas las preguntas
mostrando muchas veces por las tierras a que Timar puso nombre, y en todo conformar todos, y diéron
narrativa de otras pobladas; todas, de gentes de los referidos colores, y juntamente de aquella grande tierra, en
la qual con proprias señas dixeron que avia Bascas, o Bafalos: y para dar a entender que avia perros la-
drones, y por gallos y gallinas, canarios, y por pueras granmanas. T. assi desta manera dexaron lo que quie-
ran, y respondian a quanto se le preguntaba: y por que los mostraron perlas en el boton de un refectorio,
dieron a entender las auas. Todas estas preguntas y diligencias, buxieron otras de mi compania eñadas
otras veces a ellos, y a otros Indios, y siempre dixeron lo mismo, y por esto se entendio fer gente que tra-
ta verdad.

Quando sali desta isla de Tawmoo, baxe oger quatro muy gallardas Indios, los tres se becharon a na-
do, y el que quedo, y despus se llama Pedro, declaró en el puerto de Acapulco, y por el camino, y en la ciu-
dad de Mexico anduvo murio alabando el arte de Atacucillo de Montez el siguiente, sin nunca va-
riar, aunque se le preguntó en diversis tiempos, y por muchas personas, y de muchos modos, si se ne-
gan, y contradiccion sin dicho.

Chicayana isla.

Lo primero dixo Pedro, fer natural suya que se llama Chicayana, mayor que la de Tawmoo a-
donde de ballamos, y que de la una a la otra ay quatro dias de camino, de sus embarcaciones, y que Chi-
cayana es tierra traza y muy abundante de los frutos y a referidos, y que la gente della es de la faja natu-
ral de Indio, cabello fuelto y largo, y que se labran como el elisano, poco en el rostro, ombros, y pechos, y que
tambien ay hombres blancos que tienen los cabellos rubios, y muy largos, y que ay mulatos, cuya cabella no
es firsada, ni de todo fuelto, y que el era suceder, y soldado fierro, y que en su lengua se llamaba Luca, faja
muger Layna, y su hijo Ley.

Dixo mas que en aquella faja ay muchas Ostras, como de las que vi sus conchas, y traxe algunas, que
aspi tuongo de tres tamanos. El primero, es el comen de la Margarita; el segundo mayor al doble; y el
tercero de palmo, muy y menor de diametro, y que a todas estas Ostras llaman Tiofse, y que en ellas se
hallan perlas, a las quales llaman Tatiqunipal: y por esto le mostre las conchas, y el las tomo en las ma-
nos, y en ellas se mostré las perlas de se fieron. T. preguntado quantas eran, y de que tamanos, dixo
que en unas se hallan mas, y en otras menos; y para dar a entender el grande dixo que las ay como avo-
na, y como faja, y como pedruzcos, y como cuentas de refectorio, y como botones como tierra en los co-
los, y 50 otras mayores, y que se pescan en menor de medio codo de fondo, de piedras y arena, y que sin muy gran
de los trechos de mar, que alli tienen poco fondo, y que el mismo fin cabullero, la faja con la mar, y
las ponis en su Canoa, y que solo las quieren para comer su carne, a la qual llaman Conosa, y que las
conchas les sirven para baxar anzuelos, cucharas, y otras cosas, y que las perlas son la firmeza madre.

Dixo mas, que ay en esta misma faja de Chicayana otra fuerte de ostras, a la qual llaman Taguila: y
para dar a entender su tamanos, señaló el grande de una buena rodela: y por bacerme increíble
mucha cantidad que dixo de todas perlas la grandeza destas Taguila, le pregunte si nacian dentro en
los cochos, o en los arboles, en las penas, o en la tierra, por fuera de las conchas, dixo que no se hallan
en el suelo del mar, y dentro en ellas las perlas; y que las ostras las unas estan recogidas a otras ladras; otras
en abietas hacia arriba, y que si en algunas destas ostras entran la mano que se cierra, y luego
ge dixo un ay mero, y que a esta causa las sacan con palos, y con lazadas de cuerdas, y que tienen
grande y muy buena carne que ellos comen, y no hacen caso de las perlas, y que las veces que se
quiere el mismo las pescan, y las llevan a su faja. T. como el Otro Viage yo mismo vi
a las Indios de la faja de Santacruz, traer del suelo cogidas muchas patenas mayores y menores.

He made two
Voyages.

todas de conchas de mar, entendi ser lo que Pedro me dixo, lo mismo de las patenas, y a esta causa no ha-
zia mucha cuenta de lo dicho: mas viendo que unas veces se comian, y otras con muy grande alimco
traban para darlos a entender, por esto le mostre un guajero negro y rodon de, del tamano de un cer-
tillo temprano, y le pregunte si en la tierra avia per las assi como aquella, dixo que no, porque aquel guajero
era negro, y las perlas blancas como papel, y que quando las miraba al Sol, que al surque aquel guajero
en los ojos, y assi hacia con ellos como si las tuviera presentes. T. preguntado si las avia tan grandes co-
mo el referido guajero, dixo que otras avia chiquitas como el guajero. T. luego unido la cabeza del dedo
pulgarc con el índice en forma de circulo, y alli con el dedo de la otra mano, fue señalando may or y
menores perlas, y que en cada hostia no ay mas de una sola; y con todo temiendo fer lo que decia, las pa-
tenas de mi sospecha, le pregunte si eran chatas, o redondas, o de otra forma. Nomo entendio por efleer
que ge. Luego bixe como que queria poner el guajero en el suelo a fin de correr: y asf como lo vi,
dixó con gran demostracion, que quando las echaba en el suelo y van rodando por manera que a mi entender
de claramen ta ser perlas redondas, y de los tamanos referidos, y que su hijo trahia al cuello una de ellas,
y que el mismo la berado con piedra blanca, y delgada, y que el fondo de adonde las sacaba, es de dos es-
tados mas y menos, y que en sus conchas dan de comer a los puertos. Preguntete si las grandes conchas tie-
nen el mismo lustre que tienen las ordinarias que le mostre dixo que si, y las otras y otras pequeñas le bice
mas trocadas, y como en su tierra se llaman los arcabuzes, y otras de nuestras cosas, dixo que no las ay por
manera que siempre parecen sin sospecha, y solo dos nombres con mucha refleccion a las cosas que ellos tie-
nen, yo asumo por verdad que no entendi efleer la grandeza, ni el mucho numero que dixo aver de
esta fuerte de perlas, por parecerme notoria nueva: y mas considerando que natural es el po-
dero para criar como ya fe bice visto grandes perlas, y de las conchas tan gran soma en el rio de
la Hacha, Margarita, y Chubasco, y yo porfe tan en inquirir eñada, fe declaración, parecime
dover dexar lo que efle Indio me dixo tantas veces, y a otras muchas personas, que no con me-
nor cuydado le examinaron, en suma yo bago las diligencias, y eñor como hombre que tengo de morir,
y no se quado.

Dixo mas que de la isla de Tawmoo a tres dias de camino, de Chicayana ad tres ay otra isla mayor que
las dos dichas, que se llama Guaytopo, poblada de gente tan blanca, como los en comen la nuestra,
y que hacia los hombres tienen rubios los cabellos mas y menos, y tambien negros, y que se labran las bar-
bigas, y a su rubel todo en rueda, y que todas tres islas son gente amiga, y de una lengua, y que van des-
de la paz en los carrillos, y que tienen por señal de enemigas quando beyen los rostros, y que en esta isla
ay muchos oñales de los tres generos menores, en grandes trechos de mar, de fondo asf como el de Chicayana,
y que tienen muchas perlas. T. preguntado si el avia estado en ella, dixo que no. Luego le bolvi a pre-
guntar como fe ha lo dicho: y lo comió de esta manera que de aquella isla salio un navio gran de los fijos,
con mas de cincuenta personas, a buscar conchas de Carey, de que osan hacer capillor, y otros ingre-
tos que estegan de las urenas, a otra isla poblada que llaman Mitecayapa, que estanda a vista de ella, se dio
un viento contrario que los obligó a enficar su faja, de la qual efleer cerca, y bolvió el viento a ser con-
trario, y que andando en estas bueltas fe le acedó el fustimento, a cuya falta murieron quarenta perso-
nas de hambre y sed, y que el eñaba en la faja de Tawmoo, quando efle navio aportó alli con estos fies
bombrs muy blancos, excepto el uno que era moreno, y con tres mugeres blancas, y hermosas como Es-
pafnolas, que tenían los cabellos rubios, y muy largos, y que todas tres venian cubiertas de adoberabilla
los pie con unos como mantos azules, o Negros, y muy delgadas, a que llaman fofafes, y que de todas estas
tres personas, solo quedó vivo el Indio Olan, al qual los nuestros quando alli lo vieron en Tawmoo, se
blanco y tan bermeo, le llama ron el Flomenco, como queda referido, y que este Indio Olan y otros le
contaron quanto b a dicho, de aquella isla de Guaytopo, y que el mismo vino ver a su faja de Chicayana, otro
nado de aquellos de dos vafos cargado de gente blanca y hermosa, y con muchas y muy lindas ma-
chuchas, y dio a entender contando por los dedos de diez, en diez, fer por todo ciento y diez, perso-
nas.

Dixo mas, que de otra isla que se llama Tucopio, que es a donde los dos Indios se celebran a nado, como
queda referido, a cinco dias de su navegar, ay aquella gran tierra Manicolo, poblada de mucha gente la-
ra y mulata en grandes pueblos, y para dar a entender su tamanos, señalé el de Acapulco, y otros may-
ores, y por esto le pregunte si en aquella faja tan grandes como Mexico, dixo que no, mas que muchas gen-
tes, y que son sus amigos, y no comen carne humana, ni se entienden las lenguas, y que es tierra de muy
altas ferra vias, y grandes rios, y que algunos dellas no se pueden oñear, sino passarse en canoas: y por
para ir de la faja de Santacruz a aquella tierra, quando sale el Sol se queda a la mano izquierda, que viene a
ser del Sur para el Sudeste. Digo pues, que si esto es asf como lo dice, que viene bien con la cordillera de
sierras que se vieron en corrido a la buelta del Poniente, como efle dixo en su lugar, quando fuimos
descerrando. Mucho encarecio Pedro la grandeza por placen y feruidad, y otras cosas desta tierra, y
que el y otros Indios fueron a ella en una de sus embarcaciones, a buscar un tronco de un grande arbol
de los muchos que ay en ella, para baxar una piragua, y que vino alli un puerto, y dio a entender fer mayor,
60 de boca mas cerrada que lo es de la Bahia de San Felipe y San Diego, y que el miró la faja de fer a erand,
y passó a Del asf como el otro ya dicho, y que tiene dentro quatro rios y mucha gente, y que por la faja
de aquella tierra anduvieron hacia el Poniente mas camino que ay de Acapulco a Mexico sin verle fin,
y bolveron a su isla. Advierto que como yo asf visto aquella isla de Tucopio, dize adrede que salta aver
en ella muchas otras perlas, y que dixo que no ay sino mucho fondo, y que es asf referido porque lo bice
sondar.

Guaytopo isla.

Mitecayapa isla.

Tucopio isla.
Manicolo tierra
grande.

Ccccc

Dize

Tons fono ifla.

Pilas, ifla.
Piguan ifla.Puro gran
tierra.25. Grados.
The first Voy.
836.

Dixomeis, que de Tamaucan a tres dias de camino, y con viento fresco a dos, ay otra ifla que se llama Fonceon, partida en muchas iflas pezenunas y rafas, y por esta a cautela le dixomeis, que an en ella gran-
tos rios: pero grandes rios en iflas pezenunas, y rafas, no los pueda aver, dixomeis que no fono pezo, y que
fon todas muy feriales, y muy pobladas de gentes loras, Indios, y mulatos, muy altos en demasia, y leu-
tes, que con fer algo mas alto que yo, fuenalo en una pared tanto quanto pudo alzarlos con los dedos, efien-
do, brafos y mas no, dixomeis fer aquella ifla fura, que fon fus amigos mas no de fe lengua, y que en ellas
iflas ay grandes trechos de mar, de poco y mucho fondo, con muchas de muchas boftras, y que en ellas
iflas fe facen para comerlas, y que se tienen por los tamaucos, que tiene dicho, excepto las Taguilar, y
que ay ali en muy buena puerto: tambien dixomeis que cerca de las iflas ay otra que fe dice Pigen, y otra
Niguan, y que tienen lo mismo de comidas gentes, y perlas, y de oydas y no de vifas, dio nombre a otras mu-
chas iflas, y de todas lo dio dicho. Advertierse, que en todas las Indias en fola la Indias en el mar, en el
rio de la bacofe, ha facado y va facando la multitud de las perlas: que fe sabe, dexa las pocas y no tan buenas
de Panama, y digomeis que fies afi como esta a dicho, que muchos numeros fe pueden esperar de adonde di-
la noticia, afi por fer muchas estas partes, como por la grandura de los mares que dixomeis tienen poco fondo,
mas fe advierte que fola dixomeis las dize, que alcanzan a ver los vientos, y fola con las manos cogen fus
abaxarfe, queriendo siempre referendadas las dize, quatro, ocho, y mas brafas como oy fe pejan en fa
Margaria.

En Mexico lleuame Pedro por tres veces a casa de un lordador de perlas, y a mi vielo el moftro de
todas las gentes comunes: a las muchas por las vias algo mucho, y dixomeis con gran demostracion y exco-
municacion que fus la tierra ay muchas perlas y mas blancas que aquellas. Adoftrale muy buenos, adof-
trale grandes y abromados, brafes mal gesto, y dixomeis que aquello no era bueno, y que en fu tierra auia me-
nor. Mas diftancia bice el Alcalde mayor del puerto de Acapulco, don Pedro Flores, que la moftro una
cadena de muchas series de perlas, y le preguntomeis fus fu tierra auia de aquellas cadenas, dixomeis que no. Le-
go fice de alli ciertas perlas, y fe las moftro en la mano, y le preguntomeis auia afi como aquello, dixomeis que
fi, mas que no efian borradas, fe puede perfumar que a fus de brocas, y de taladros, no fe aprouen-
das de las perlas y de las conchas fi por fer mayores, y del mismo lustre, y faciles de boradar.

Dixomeis, que en Tamaucan ay un Indio gran piloto, y que sabe los nombres de muchas tierras, en las
quales ha estado muchas veces, y que de una Grantiata que fe llama Pouron muy poblada, en y a gente
loras, Indios, algunos fon amigos y otros no, y otros muy belicofos y guerreros os entrefe, traxo a fus iflas
de Tamaucan un pagagayo de poco y mucho colorado, y ciertas flechas con puntas a forma de cuchillo, y que
el mismo las vio, y las tento, y dio a entender que las querian para con ellas matar mas facilmente, por efte
le moftro un cuchillo, y dixomeis que negro al refpeto de las puntas. Alftrele en vafio de plata, y dixomeis que
las puntas tan blancas como ella, muchas veces le contradixo efte dicho, y siempre mas fe afirmo.

Admiero, que en la Bahya de San Felipe y Santiago, fe hallaron en una casa muchas piedras negras
y pedradas, y que a caso me traeron dos partes gran cantidad, cada una de ellas como una uena, y que en la
ciudad de Mexico un don Francisco Pacheco duxero de minas, y un Diego Gomez, de Minas las ue-
ron en mi mi poftaja, y el uno de ellos me moftro a fus razones lo que el uno fuego que el otro fe diftando,
y afi me fue vio de toda via, yo mi auia quedado con la otra parte que el ensayador requemo y
en fite fue una puntilla que efierada al martillo fe toci luego en tres piedras, y dixerom fus platos
fer toques de plata y de mas certiffica: tocaron plomo y efianco, y otra plata confida nusto a
mi, ha buxo alli quien dixomeis que aquel en fite es auia de hazer por aquego, y otras que con faltron y ciertas
cofas, y el ensayador afirmo fer bueno el en fite, y aqui fe toci la puntilla y dixerom dos platos que es plata.

Estas piedras auia moftro a Pedro, y afi como las vio, dixomeis que en los cerros de Tamaucan ay mu-
chas dellas, y que fe llama Treque, y que tambien las ay en aquello gran tierra Manicelo, y que todos
los Indios las quieren, los unos para labrarfe, y otros para inuixer con ellas, y lo mismo dixomeis Paulo de
fu tierra, que es la Bahya de San Felipe y Santiago de adonde fe traxeron, y dicen muchos que adonde ay
inixura ay metales, y que por los inuixes fe descubren las minas de plata y oro de S. Luis de la nuna
Efpana, y las de aquego de Guanacacela del Piru. T advertio, que decir Pedro que vio flechas con
puntas de plata, parece que por razon de la poca que fe halló en aquel poco metal que tan a caso fero a
por la difpoficion de la tierra, y el fite por parte del Piru, bice a creer que puede fer afi como lo dize.

Advertierse, que Pedro despus que fapo dize a entender en nuestra lengua, conformo a como lo dize,
que dixerom los Indios de Tamaucan, efte afi en la tierra grande como en las muchas iflas y muchas con-
tes, y algunas con puntas labradas, y por labrar, quatro colores, largos cabelllos rubios, negros, freja-
dites, de que fe fcan pobladas, y yntinamente en la mucha abondancia de comidas de unos muy buenos
gentes, de que todos tienen. T tambien fe advierte, que to do lo referido lo aucom vifto de fite vez, y que leu-
ta a donde efianamos farios, parece fer la misma que va profiguiendo, y de la grandura que afi dicen
a fuma digo, fundado en razones fuertes, que aquellas gentes efian ali por vecindad y comunicacion
a las tierras mas de San, Lefe, y Oeliz, que fono ay milagro que en aquella oculta quarta de globe, efte
mas y muy efandadas puntas, llenadas de muchas y muy variadas gentes, y que en todos gener
aues auera ventura, quanto mas fueren fubiendo de quinze grados arriba y por vendierse tan caro, y fe dio
efierar mejor a en todo lo apuntado.

Advertierse que la primera vez que el Aclentado Aluaro de Mendaza fue, diftribuyos las gentes
llamo de Salomon, halló en ella, y fe traxeron cantidad de perlas efian ali, fuego, porque las inuix
fite

fite como la carne afuando las ofras, y que el segundo viage que hizo el mismo Aclentado, defen-
bio de nuevo la ifla de Sanctacruz, donde morio, y que en ella yo mismo vi muchas conchas, y a aquellas
muchas parecen de nacar referidas, y que de una cierta ifla alli cerca, fe traxe un muchacho que fe llama
Miguelillo, y que efte despus que fupo nuestra lengua, dio noticia de auer en fu tierra muchas perlas,
con grandes moftros de fer afi. Tambien fe advierte, que difta diez aueros vifto en tres iflas las conchas
de nacar, de los tres tamaucos, y en la una della Ofimio ficeo, adonde fe hallaron algunas perlas men-
das: por manera, que tanto lo que dixomeis Pedro, a lo que fe ha vifto, fon quinze las iflas de que ay noti-
cia que tienen perlas, y por la vifita de fus conchas, fe pueden, y deuen efperar, y tambien por aquella
poca altura, tan propia para criarse, y quanto aquellas grandes Taguillas, lo dexa al tiempo, fite aduen-
to, que pues Pedro dixomeis, que ay grandes perlas, que tambien dixomeis auer grandes conchas, capaz es dellas.
En fuma digo, que Dios nuestro Sennor, no da de una vez todo quanto puede, y que primero haze la
prueba del coftello, y fufrido amor que le tienen las personas, a quien encamina una tan gran cofa como a
O. M. en efte.

Dixomeis Pedro que al diablo llaman Terna, y que habla con los Indios de un palo, fite fer vifto, y que
a el mismo, y a todos ellos de noche, y muchas veces, les palpana los refpos, y los pechos con cofa muy
fria, y que queriendo fober lo que era no hallaban nada, y efte decia moftroando cierto recato y temor dan
lo bien a entender fe cofa mala y para ellos bien aborrecible, y tambien dixomeis a otros que yo auia, que antes
que fe fupiera fuerom, ya el diablo les oua die lo que los auian de ir a matar. CMoftrame muchos
dichos de bolver a fu tierra, para decir al fennor de Tamaucan, todo el bien que le auianmo dicho, y que los
otros Indios fus compañeros, ellos mismos fe becharon de las mas a nada, y que, noftros no les baxamos
ningun mal. T tambien mas, para decir a todos fus naturales que baxen cofa a fer Chriftiano, y que a
el despus que lo era, el diablo no le hablo, ni le oyó, ni de noche le palpo, y para irar fus bue-
nos, y venir con noftros. T tambien dixomeis que en fite de Chicayana, ay perros grandes como los muftros, y que
los llaman Tiguri, y que ay muchas auas como las de Europa, mas que no las faben comer: y una
fruta quifo decir manzana porque las vio, mucho genibre, y que en fu tiempo haze buen frio, fon buenos
para andar en ellos, mas no para fer feruido de los hombres. Era Pedro al parecer de edad de venticinco
años, y en aquella faxon que declaro fuba poco de la lengua Castellana, y a efte caufa cofto mucho tra-
bauo efte fu declaracion, porque fe le ha negado y repeti de muchas veces: y parece que fi viniera dize
mas razon que ha dado: mas yo creo que es mas para creer lo que efte dicho, que no lo fuera fi llegara a
fer latino, con que yo y todos quanto le tratare le teniamos por hombre de verdad, y de verguenza. Un
dia entro en la pfefta de San Francisco de Mexico, y por vez en ella muchos Chriftianos dize, que como
auia alli tantos Chriftos, fite decian que no auia mas que yo fite Dios Fuele refpondido fer todos retratos
de venticinco Chriftos. Con efte, y con lo demas que fe le dixomeis parecio jatisfacer a los frailes que le oyen
fer alegar por fer pregunta de hombre que fuba difuervo, y finalmente Domingo de Ramos mu-
rie: yo fite de la misericordia de Dios, que pues por un efianco modo le traxo al baxifmo, y a morir
confidado, y oia, lo en tan fennalada difa, y con moftros de buen Chriftiano, que ha fido para darle fu
fanta gloria. T efte fue fu dicho fin, del qual deuo eftar muy confolado, y parece que fu divina Ma-
jefad fu ordenando, que cafi no ay amedros humanos para acabar aquella fu tan grande obra, o alimen-
to que falten aquellos en que mas eftrime, o puedo efperar.

El otro Indio fe llamaua Paulo, era muchacho de hafta ocho años, de aquella fite, cabello frefido, tenia
muy hermosos ojos, muy buen tallo y mejor condicion, y tanto que todos quanto le trataron le querian mu-
cho, por fe tan docil, y agradable: fuba como Pedro las quatro oraciones, y fer fignaua con mucha ale-
gria, y bautizado y buen Chriftiano le lleuo Dios el dia della Afcenfion: daua razon del Demonio, y que
fe llamaua Hadanua, y de como habla con los Indios fin fer vifto, y tambien la daua de perros mayores y me-
nores, y de un animal como gato, y de un grandero baxas la parte de fu pueblo que en aquella fu tierra
ay mucha gente guerrera, enemiga una de otra, y que no fe come carne humana: y efte fe deue creer por la
muchas que tienen de puercos, y gallinas, y tantas otras comidas, pero el comerfe carne humana entre otras
gentes, parece proceder de la eftefidad de las tierras, o de la vifitadidad de los moradores: y porque era
tanta y efianca confirmo, no fe pudo fober del quanto fe quifo. Yo pe queno vocabulario tengo, y que es
lo que puede uisitar de las lenguas de Pedro y Paulo, le que dezir, que es muy pronunciabile.

Por todo lo dicho fe fue claramente, que fite ha auindado grandes partes de tierras a apartadas de
Europa, y de la Africa, y Asia: la primera es la America, que diftribio Chriftifal Colon, y la fe-
gunda y poftrema del mundo, es la que vio, y pretendo poblar, y acabar de defender para O. M. Efte
grandes a deu de fer abraçada, afi por tener tanto de Dios, como por fer de principio a una tan grande
obra, y de tantos, y tan grandes bienes, que ninguna otra de fus genero puede fer mas, ni tanto al presente,
ni adelante, como lo podre mofttar fi fe oydo y preguntado.

Siendo pues efte caso tan admirable quanto fenna, y uenido, tan empenada mi conciencia, y firme fa-
tor, tan grandes y tan peftidas, cargas, que por abrenir, prometo a O. M. de padiere llegar con ellas,
6) y tuuere de licencia, y aora, para mas obligar a V. M. a lo que tan obligado le tiene el titulo de Rey Catolico,
y de fite de la F. E. reuerendo, gran Real, y fennalada merced de Dios en efte, negada a todos los
Reyes del mundo, y fite a V. M. concedida, cuyo fennido, o reien, es fuerza cargar grandes inuidias, y a
fe fagar de todos ellas V. M. ha de confeguir el mas principal intento que es fite hazer la guerra al infier-
no, que tanto eftrago haze en un numero tan copiofo de almas, redimidas por la perfona de Chrifti-
fo

The fecond
Voyage.
ifl. de Sancta
Cruz.

con la esperanza que queda de quantas se han de salvar andando tiempos, siendo la salvacion de una sola de tanto precio, que si necesario fuera el mismo Christo viniera, a dar la vida por ella. Y con esto queda Senor bien entendido de quanto vale el mismo lecho, y quantos premios dara Dios, por averlo (costando amor y seruir) intentado, y quantos mas grados de gloria tendra. V. M. si da fin a esta obra de tanta piedad y misericordia, y tan digna de recibir en la memoria de las gentes: admitiendo que no sea con tanto gajido de dineros, ni de hombres, ni con aquellos estragos, ruynas, y escandalos, que suele aver para averiguar el derecho de muy pocos enojados. sino poner debajo de la proteccion Real con medios todos muy suaves, y significados: quanto los puedo mostrar una tan gran parte de toda la tierra poblada, para en ella sembrar bienes, y cosechar frutos que yo oferto en Dios han de ser muchos, muy dulces, muy ricos, muy duraderos: y solo quiero por paga de tanto quanto tanto vale, que V. M. crea la importancia del caso, y quanto conviene loque pido, y que en todo trato veridico, y que es animo de vender todo lo pasado, presente, y venidero por un precio, y este es Senor de valide.

A note of *Australia del Espritu Santo*. Written by
Maffter HAKLUYT.

Simon Fernandez, a Pilot of Lisbon, told me Richard Hakluyt, before other Portugals in Lima, the eighteenth of March 1604. That he having bene in the Citty of Lima in Peru, did possibly remember that four Ships and their departs from the said Citty of Lima, about the yeere 1600. 10 in the month of February tomo d the Philippines. Their Generall was a Melitio, that is to say, the Sonne of a painter, and an Indian woman. And that taking to make way towards the Philippines, they were d two with strong Northerne winds to the South of the Equinotiall Line, and fell into divers rich Cor treyes and Ilands, as it is writ, not farre from the Iles of Salomon. One chiefe place they called Monte de Plata, for the great abundance of silver that is like to be there. For they found two cruises worth of silver, as he reported, in two handfulls of dust. And the people gave them for Iron as much, and more in quantitie of silver. They report that this place is two moneths sayling from Lima, and as much backe againe.

Concerning this Voyage also the Licentiate Luis de Tribaldo, a Gentleman of qualitie in the Conde de villa Mediana, the Spanish Ambassadors house, told me Richard Hakluyt, that two yeeres past he saw at Madrid, a Captaine of quality sung for license to conquer this place, & that he obtained the same. And that divers religious men and Fathers were to goe to convert them to Christianitie. They arrived at their retourne from this Voyage at Peru, in the month of August.

CHAP. XI.

The Historie of LOPEZ VAZ a Portugall taken by Captaine WILKINGHON at the River of Plate, Anno 1586. with
this Discourse (about him) touching American places, discoveries and occurrences
abridged.

Part of this
Discourse was
published by
M. Hakluyt out of
a written copie
concerning
the whole. I
have added &
interred that
things which I
thought it leav-
ing out of
as before have
bin by others
delivered.
The Ports.
Saint Iuan de
Luz.
Mexico.



Una Hispania was called so by the Spaniards, when they made Discovery of it, for that it was like the Country of Spaine, though the people of the Country termed the Land after their owne Country Language (some one parafater one, some after another) the most part of the people called it *Eucaria*. This Country hath sundry great Provinces in it, so fruitful of all kinde of necessities in it for man, that there is neither *Africa*, *Asia*, nor *Europe*, that is better; for that of fruit- 10 for man to cate or to live, with great store of Silkes, Mynes of Gold, Silver, Stones, and Pearle. The Country is very well inhabited, so that it is thought there is no part of the World better. The King of Spaine because hee hath many other Countries under him, hee doth little esteeme of this Country, but doth take out of it all things that are for his profit, having viled those people with great cruelty, and taking of them much Tribore; this Land hath many Ports in the North Sea, and much more in the South Sea, the principall Ports in the North side is Saint Iuan de Luz. At this place doth he discharge the Armadas that come from Spaine, and from this place they carrie their Merchandize to the great Citty of Mexico: which Citty is fixtie leagues within the Land, and is knowne by the Parishes in the same, to have a hundred and fixtie thousand faire houses of Indians, and fix thousand faire houses the Spaniards have in it.

The feare and reverence that they vie towards the Spaniards is such that one Spaniard may goe among a thousand of them, and strike the chiefe of them and vie his pleasure, without any word given by the Indians to the contrary, such is the feare that these filly people have of the Spaniards.

Spaniards. But now, thanks be to Almighty God, the Indians of that Country and Kingdome are become Christians: yet notwithstanding now and then the old men, having not forgotten their former Law, doe vie their Idolatry, which being knowne are very cruelly corrected by the Kings for the same offence. The people of this Kingdome are of a sharpe wit, and good understanding, for whatsoever it be, Sciences or other Arts, these people are very apt to learne it with little instructing: the Indians of this Countrey doe make great store of Woollen Cloth and Silkes, so that they now beginne to carrie of these Silkes for Spaine. And have all these things necessarie for any other Kingdome of the Christians have, only Wine and Oyle, which the King of Spaine deneth to have made there, but such as cometh from Spaine, because of his customes, notwithstanding the King doth allow them to plant Vineyards for to cate of the Grapes. This Land is greatly commended not for that about mentioned, nor yet for the Gold and Silver Mynes that it hath, but for the great number of Ports for shipping it hath in the South Sea, where they make many great ships, with the which ships they have traffique with them of Peru, and Panama, and then they have a Trade to the Philippines, and to the Ilands of Malacca and China, so that the commodities which the Portugall carrieth for Portugall out of the East Indies, are likewise brought to the Citty of Mexico, by reason of their shipping, although not in so great quantitie, as they carry for Lisbon, not for that they of Mexico either want Shipping or ability, but because the Spaniards would conquer it with the Sword as he hath done other Lands, and not by the way of Traffique, as the Portugall doth, the principall Port from whence this Merchandize 20 doth come, is called *Aguatere*, in the Coast of China on the North side.

After the Conquest of this Kingdome of Mexico, the order how the Spaniards did divide this Land, was this. The principall Citty they reigned to the King of Spaine, and to the General of this Countrey, who was renowned *Ferdinando Cortes*, they assigned vnto him a great Valley, or as we call it a low Land between two Mountaines, which was called *Cornucopia*, by which Valley he had the name of *Marguiffe of the Valley*, where there were great Townes, in which some affirme to be about 400000. hre houles; whereby the rent was to him better worth then three hundred thousand Duckets by the yeere. These Rents were confirmed to him and his for ever.

The other part of the Land that remayned, was parted among the rest of the Captaines and Souldiers which were at this Conquest, some had a hundred thousand Duckets by yeare, and 30 other forty thousand Duckets, and some fixtie thousand Duckets, and hee that had least had ten thousand Duckets by the yeere, so that now there are very few which have this Rent, for that they are most of them dead, so that great part of the said Rents are fallen into the Kings hand, wherefore there are many insurrections against the King, which cost many a mans life.

And now to proceed farther along the Coast, which is a Land full of great Mountaines, and very hot with much raine, for which cause it is a very unhollome Country, where breedeth all noisome wormes and brasts, therefore there are very few Indians dwelling there, and no Spaniards, so that the Countrey is almost desolate. The first Land that is inhabited by the Spaniards along the Coast, is called *Veragua*, this is the most richest Land of Gold then all the rest of the Indies: therefore it is inhabited with Spaniards. In this place the people are always sicke, and it raineth 40 continually, and the Land yeldeth no fruit, so that all their sustentance cometh from other places, all which necessities the Spaniards suffer with great patience for the countenance of the Gold, the which Gold they get out of the Rivers with the helpe of a number of Negroes. I doe verily beleue that if this Land were now the ancient Romans, or else the Egyptians, they would surely make a channell from the end of this River de *Carinas* (which issueth from the Lake of *Nicaragua*) to the South Sea, for that there is no more but four leagues between the Sea and the River, so that there they might Trade to the Molucces, and to the Coast of China, so would it be sooner and easier done then the long and troublesome Voyages of the Portugals, and sooner made, then to goe through the Straits of *Magellan*, which is almost impossible to passe thorow.

From this Land of *Veragua* vnto the Iland of *Margarita*, the Coast along is called the firme Terra firme. 50 Land, not for that the other places are not of the firme Land, but because it was the firme firm Land that the Spaniards did conquer after they had paled the Ilands. This Land is very hot, and hath much raine, and for this cause is very unhallittull, and the most vilest place of all the rest is called *Nombre de Dios*: which is the first place inhabited after you have passed *Veragua*. There may be in *Nombre de Dios* about foure hundred houles, and hath a very good Port for shipping. The cause why the Spaniards inhabited here in this place, was for that it should be the way by Land to the South Sea, and for the Trade of Peru, that is from hence vnto the Citty of Panama eightene leagues. And Panama standeth on the Coast of the South Sea. To this Towne of *Nombre de Dios* doe come all Spanish shipping, and there discharge them, then put they the goods into small Barkes that goe vnto a River to a house which is called *The house of Croffer*, where the small Barkes doe discharge the goods againe. And then they put it into Mules to 60 carrie it to Panama, which is foure leagues from *The house of Croffer*, at which they doe with much labour and great charge, because the Land hath great store of raine, and full of Mountaines, and very unhallittull, therefore they often want victuals, for the victuals they have come from

Silkes and
clothes.

Wine and oyle
denied,
Vineyards,
Ports and
shipping.

Aguatere.

Cornucopia Val-
ley.
400000. fire-
houles in this
Valley.

Veragua rich of
Gold.

A Channell to
be made.

Nombre de Dios
hath 400. hou-
ses.

Panama.

* Here followe
ed in authors
o. N. T. 1611
p. 10. 11. 12.
Oxenham,
with you
have be ore
more com-
plaine.
Gore made
with the de-
gno.

Ng. Townes

Such French
ships taken by
two Gallies,
Dr. Drake with
24 ships.

Cartagena.

New Granada.

Magdalena a
great River.

The River of
B. de M. Ma-
lambis.

Great Moun-
taines covered
with snow.

Tayona Valley.

70. Lands,
S. de Domingo,
Cuba, and Porto
Rico.

from *Pern*, and *Nova Hispania*. This Towne of *Nombre de dios*, since they have had the traffike out of *Spaine*, are growne marvellous rich, and very well inhabited, but in short time the people left the Towne, leaving only the Merchants, because of the vnhealthfulness thereof.

The King of *Spaine* hearing of the affaires of *Drake* and *Oxenham*, sent out of *Spaine* three hundred Souldiers which should make warre against those *Negros* that had aided the *Englishmen*, which were issues vnto the *Spaniards*, but runne away from their Masters, and ioyined with the *Englishmen*, thinking that way to be reuenged of the *Spaniards* cruelty. But when these three hundred Souldiers were arrived in the Countrey, at their first coming they tooke many of the *Negros*, and did on them great iniustice; according to their faults committed, but afterwards the Souldiers were a long time before they could get one *Negro*. Which newes being sent vnto the King by his Captaines, as also how the Countrey was full of Mountaines and Rivers, and very vnhealthfull, inforam that his Souldiers died, he did write to his Captaines to make agreement with those *Negros*, to the end the Countrey might be in quiet. And the *Negros* inhabited two places where the *Spaniards* would them, so was the King pardoned proclaimed to all those *Negros*, from the time that they fled from their Masters into the Mountaines vnto that present day, on condition that all those *Negros* that did runne from their Masters that day forward, they should be bound to bring them dead or alive; but if they brought them not, that then they should pay for them, and to make all quiet in the Mountaines: and on these conditions all things were concluded and agreed vpon. So the *Negros* dwell in great Townes, where they have *Spaniards* for their Teachers, and a *Spaniard* for their Iudge; and wish this they hold themselves very well contented, and are obedient vnto their Rulers.

The King of *Spaine* hearing that *Englishmen*, as well as *Frenchmen*, have vied that Coast, hee caused two Gallies to be made, and well appointed, to keepe the Coast; the first yeere that they were made, they tooke five or seven *French* shippes, and after this was knowne, there vied few *Englishmen*, or *Frenchmen* out of warre, to come on the Coast, vntill this yeere 1586, that the aforesaid *Francis Drake* came with a fleg Fleet, of about foure and twentie shippes, and did such harme as it is well knowne to all Christendome: but God sparing the King of *Spaine* life, he will sufficiently provide to keepe his Subjects from the inuasions of other Nations.

Now, to goe forward with our begonne worke, the first People that is in this Coast, being past *Nombre de dios*, is called *Cartagena*, it is a healthfull Countrey, and a greater Towne than the other, and a better Countrey, with plenty of Victuals, and a very good Port for shipping, passing any of the reit, and is called *Cartagena*, for that it resembleth very much the Citie of *Cartagena* in *Spaine*: there are in it about foure hundred fire houses in the Citie; it is very rich, by reason of the shippes laying there when they goe or come from *Spaine*. And if the shippes chance to winter before they see home, then they lie at *Cartagena*: also it is greatly enriched by the Merchandise that here they doe discharge, for to carrie to the new Kingdome of *Granada*; and much Gold cometh from the said Kingdome vnto *Cartagena*. This new Kingdome of *Granada*, is two hundred leagues within the Land. From *Cartagena* to this Kingdome they cannot trauell by Land, because of the Mountaines, and standing waters, which lie in their way, so that they carrie their goods vp a River, called The great River of *Magdalena*: they can goe with their Barques vp this River but twentie leagues, yet the River is both large and very deepe, but there runneth a great current, so that the Barques discharge the goods at a place in the River, called *Brancas de Malambo*, into small Canoes which rowe close by the shore lie.

There is a passage by the new Kingdome, and *Papayan*, from *Cartagena* to *Pern*, by Land, which is about hve hundred leagues, so that taking the two hundred leagues, which they goe vp the River, the other three hundred leagues is a Countrey well inhabited, and quiet travelling: so that oftentimes the Polls passe to and fro, but because the way is long, the Merchants doe not trauell that way but when they are forced therunto, if any forraigne Nations should take and keepe the South Sea, the King might haue his treasure brought to this place from *Pern*, and so into *Spaine*. For in times past there was a rebellion in *Pern*, by the *Spaniards*, against the King, and thow the Princes he sent his power to suppress them.

Santa Maria is a very poore Towne, because it hath bene often robbed of the *Frenchmen*, and hath no trade, but by a few *Indians* that dwell about them. Here beginneth the great Mountaines covered all with snow, which compelleth all the Countrey of *India* and *Pern*, vntill you come to the further end of the Straites of *Magellan*, these Mountaines are scene with the snowe vpon them about thirtie leagues into the Sea, in the bottom of this Wildernesse, or Mountain, there is a Valley called *Tayona*, which is the richest place that is knowne: but because the Land that is ioyning to it is full of Mountaines, and the Inhabitants are very many, and wildall of a good courage, and they vnto poison their Arrowes, so that in striking of a man, hee can not escape death. Therefore it lieth vnco quered, and many *Spaniards* Captaines there haue bene slaine.

On this Coast of *The Firme Land*, there are about fouenteen Ilands of *Santa Domingo*, and *Cuba*, and *Porto Rico*, although it be not very great, yet it is inhabited by the *Spaniards*; the rest of all the Ilands haue bene inhabited by *Indians*, where was good store of Gold, and Pearle, and En-
Ente

Emerals: but the *Spaniards* haue destroyed all those *Indians* from off the Earth, and in many of those Ilands is nothing of any value, therefore I haue small cause to inreat of them: but *Santa Domingo* is an Iland of great bignesse, and hath bene very full of people and rich Mines of Gold and Pearle, but now all is watted away; for it was as full of people as any place of that bignesse is the world, yet now are there none left, for they were men of so hard a heart, that they killed themselves, rather then they would serue the *Spaniards*. It happened on a time, that a *Spaniard* called certaine *Indians* to goe to worke in the Mines, which kinde of labour did melt growne them, and would rather doe violence on themselves, then to goe; which the *Spaniard* perceiving, he said vnto them, seeing you will rather hang your selues then to goe and worke, I will likewise hang my selfe, and goe with you, because I will make you worke in the other world: But the *Indians* hearing this, said, wee will willingly worke with you, because you shall not goe with vs, so vn willing they were of the *Spaniards* company: that of all the Inhabitants of this Iland, there was none elaped death, but only these few, which was by the meanes of this *Spaniard*; for else they would haue hanged themselves also.

There is neere this Iland another Iland greater then *Santa Domingo*, called *Cuba*; it is like vnto *Santa Domingo*, although there is not such store of Sugar; the chiefe place in this Iland is called *La biana*, and is a very good Harbour: these people are very rich, by reason of the shipping that doth come there, which are bound for *Nova Hispania* and *Pern*, therefore there is a Cattle in this Harbour kept with *Spanish* Souldiers; for there is no other Cattle in all the Land, nor Souldiers but onely here, and in *Florida*. There is also another Iland inhabited with *Spaniards*, neere vnto this, which is called *Porto Rico*: it is but little, and euery way as plentiful as the other two afe.

I will follow my Discourse of the Port Townes along the Coast of the maine Land, and passing on the Ilands of *Margarita*, there are no Townes inhabited by the *Spaniards*, till you come to *Fernambock*, which is on the Coast of *Brasil*: yet betwene the Iland and *Fernambock*, there is the great River of *Maranym*. This River is one of the greatest in the world, it was first found when as the *Spaniards* did seeke out the other Coast, but none can goe into this River because of the great current that cometh downe; and withall there are many felues of find lying about the mouth of it, whereby it was long before that the Riches which is in the River was knowne, vntill the time that the Land of *Pern* was conquered; at which time a Captaine called *Gonsale Pizarro*, entering into the Countrey of *Pern*, came into a Land which they named *La Canela*, because there came from thence great store of Cinnamon, but not altogether so good as that which cometh from the *Indies*. Proceeding further into the Countrey, he came to a great River, where he saw many of the Countrey people come vp in Canoes, bringing Gold to buy and sell with the *Spaniards*. The Captaine seeing this, was desirous to see the end of this River, but could not trauell by Land because of the Mountaines, wherefore he made a small Pinnace, to goe from whence these *Indians* brought their Gold; and he sent in this Pinnace, a Captaine vnder him, called *Orillana*, with thirtie men, the which went downe the River, but could not returne to their Captaine *Pizarro*, because of the great current which was very strong against them;

and forced them to passe the River, and enter into the Sea, and so came to the Ilands of *Margarita*: but as they passed the River, they found it well inhabited with *Indians*, and to haue good store of Gold. These men with their Pinnace were passing downe this River a yeere and a halfe; for the River lieth very crooked, which maketh a long way by water, and the *Spaniards* neuer durst land, because they saw the Countrey full of people; but tooke many Canoes, where they had good store of Victuals, and some Gold. Now this Captaine *Orillana* coming vnto *Margarita* with this good newes and riches, hee determined with himselfe, not to returne againe vnto his Captaine *Pizarro*, which sent him, but tooke his way from hence to the King of *Spaine*, and presented him with the Gold that hee brought out of the River. Whereupon the King sent him with a Fleet of shippes, and fixe hundred men, to inhabit the said River: but because of the great current, and shoals, that are in this River, he left the most part of his men, and shippes, and with these that remained, hee went vnto certaine Ilands hard by the River, and built him Pinnaces; but the Countrey being very vnhealthfull, hee himselfe died, and many of his men, and the rest that remained, went euery one the way that pleased him best.

The fame of this River was straightway spread thorow *Spaine* and *Portugall*, so that a Gentleman of *Portugall*, called *Lem de Melo*, which asked licence of Don Iuan the third, then King of *Portugall*, that he might goe and conquer this said River: for from the mouth of this River to the mouth of this River of *Plate*, is that part of *America*, which the Kings of *Portugall* doe hold according to the partition that the Kings of *Spaine* and *Portugall* both made betwene themselves; so that the King of *Portugall* hauing this River in his part, hee gaue it to the said *Lem de Melo*, to conquer: who taking ten shippes, and eight hundred men, among which there were many Gentlemen, and coming to the mouth of this River, hee lost all the shippes fauing two sayle, and in one of them that were laied was *Lem de Melo*, also the most part of the men that were in the shippes were laied and got to shoare, and so went along vnto the Iland *Margarita*, from whence they were dispersed throughout all the *Indies*. Thus these two feuerall Fiees
Fiees con-
quered.

A strange way
to keepe men
slane.

Cuba.

La biana.

Porto rico.

The Port
Townes.

Fernambock,
The River of
Maranym.

La Canela.

The great Ri-
uer of Maran-
ym.

Orillana.

Margarita an
Iland.

Fifteen degrees
five minutes

Pedro Sarmiento

D. F. de Valdes
his adventuresThe River of
IseiroPort of Saint
Vincent,
FriscoJohn Drake
Seale Island

Richard Fairweather

and he not knowing how, nor which way in a night he was put into the Straits, the other ship runne more into the Sea, and came into fifteen degrees, the storme being past, he found many Indians joyning to the maine Lands, and so returned with faire weather all along the shore, and neuer found any other way to enter the Straits, but only that which *Magallanes* did discover, which is thought to be otherwise by the sayings of others, which affirme the Straits to be full of Ilands, to the Southwards.

Pedro Sarmiento entered the Straits, where his men were in a mutinie, and would have returned for *Lima*, but he harged one of them, and so went on his Voyage for *Spain*, and told the King that there were two narrow points in the Straits, where he might build a Fort, and thus the Straits was a very good Country, and had great store of Riches and other necessities, and so very well inhabited with *Indians*. Upon whole words, and for that there were more ships making ready in *England* to call the Straits; The King sent *Diego Flores de Valdes* with three and twenty ships, and three thousand five hundred men, as also the *Gouernour* of *Chili*, with five hundred old Souldiers new come out of *Flanders*. These ships had the hardest hap of any ships that went out of *Spain* since the *Indies* were found, for that before they came from the *Coast* of *Spain*, a storme tooke them and cast away five of the shippes, and lost in them about eight hundred men, and the rest put into *Callis*, notwithstanding the King sent them word that yet they should proceed: and so did with sixteen faile of ships, for that other two ships were so shaken with the storme that they could not goe, and in the sixteenth faile *Pedro Sarmiento* was sent to bee *Gouernour* in the Straits, and had committed vnto him five hundred men for to stay in the Straits: he had also all kind of Artificers to make his Forts and other necessities, with great store of Ordnance and other Munition.

This flit because it was late, did winter on the Coast of *Brasil* in the River of *Iseiro*, and from hence they went where the Winter was past, and about the height of fortie two degrees they had a storme, so that *Diego Flores* beat vp and downe about two and twenty dayes, in which time he had one of his best ships funke in the Sea, and in her three hundred men and twenty women, that went to inhabit the Straits, and also most part of the munition that should bee left in the Straits. In the end the storme grew so great, that the ships might not indure it any longer, but were put back againe vnto an Iland called *Saint Catalina*, and there he found a Barke, wherein were certaine Friars going for the River of *Plata*, which Friar told him of two great ships of *England*, and a Pinnasse that had taken them, but tooke nothing from them, nor did them any harme, but only asked them for the King of *Spain*'s shippes. Now *Diego Flores* knowing that these *English* shippes would goe to the Straits, hee also was determined to goe to the Straits, although it was the month of February, and choosing ten ships of the fifteen that were left, hee sent three ships that were old and shaken with the storme, he put in them all the women and sick men that were in the fleet, and sent them to the River of *Iseiro*: and left two other ships which were not for the Sea at the Iland, and he with the other ten ships returned againe for the Straits. Now the three ships in which the sick men and women were, came to the Port of *Saint Vincent*, where they found the two *English* ships, so they would have the *Englishmen* gone out of the Harbour, and hereupon they fell at fight, and because that these three ships were weak with the foule weather that they had, as also the men were the refuse of all the fleet, the *Englishmen* easily put them to the worst, and funke one of them, and might haue funke another if they would, but they minded not the destruction of any man: for it is the greatest vertue that can be in any man, that when he may do hurt, he will nor doo it.

Vpon this the *Englishmen* went from this Port to *Spirito Sancto*, where they had victuals for their Merchandize, and so returned home to *England*, without doing any harme in the Country. *John Drake* went from them in the Pinnasse (the cause why I know not) but the Pinnasse came into the River of *Plata*, and within five leagues of *Seale Island*, not far from the place where the *Earle of Cumberland*'s ships tooke in fresh water, this said Pinnasse was cast away vpon a ledge of Rocks, but the men were all saved in the Boate. They were eighteen men, and went ashore vpon the North side, and went a dayes journey into the Land, where they met with the *Savage* people, these people are no man-eaters, but take all the *Christians* that they can, and make them their slaves, but the *Englishmen* fought with them, and the *Savages* like the *Englishmen*, and tooke the other thirteen alive, which were with the *Savages* about fifteen monthes. But the Master of the Pinnasse, which was *Richard Fairweather*, being not able to indure this misery that hee was in, and having knowledge that there was a Towne of *Christians* on the other side of the River, he in the night called *John Drake*, and another young man which was with them, and tooke a Canoe which was very little, and had but two Oares, and so passed to the other side of the River, which is about nine leagues broad, and were three dayes before they could get over, and in this time they had no meate, and coming to land, they hit vpon a high way that went towards the *Christians* and seeing the footing of *Horses*, they follow it, and at last came to a House where as there was Corne sowed, and there they met with *Indians* which were Seruants vnto the *Spaniards*, which gaue them to eate, and clothes to cover them, for they were all naked; and one of the *Indians* went to the Towne, and told them of the *Englishmen*, so

the Capitaine sent foure Horsemen, which brought them to the Towne behind them, then the *Capitaine* clothed them, and provided for them lodging, and *John Drake* late at the *Captaine*'s Table, and so intreated them very well, thinking to lend them for *Spain*. But the Vice-roy of *Peru* hearing of this, sent for them, so they lent him *John Drake*, but the other two they kept, because that they were married in the Country. Thus I know no more of their affairs. But vpon this newes, there were prepared fifte Horsemen to goe ouer the River, to seeke the rest of the *Englishmen* and *Spaniards*, that were also among these *Savage* people, but I am not certain where they went forward or no.

But now let vs returne to *Diego Flores*, who passed from the Iland of *Santa Catalina*, towards the Straits in the middle of February, and coming in the height of the River of *Plata*, hee lent the *Gouernour* of *Chili*, with three ships vnto the River *Bonae Ayres*, and so to goe ouer Land to *Chili*. Of these three ships they lost two, but saved the men and the other provision, and the third returned for *Spain*. Then *Diego Flores* with the other seven ships came as high as fiftie two degrees, which is the mouth of the Straits, and because it was the end of March, which is the latter end of Summer, so that the Country was full of snow, and withall a fudden storme came, that he could noo see *Sarmiento* and his men ashore, but returned the second time to the Coast of *Brasil*, to the River of *Iseiro*, where he heard newes of the *English* ships, by the two ships that escaped from the *Englishmen*, whereupon hee left his Lieutenant *Diego de Ribera*, and *Sarmiento*, that they might the next yeere returne for the Straits. So *Diego de Flores* with four ships which hee had left, and other foure which the King had sent to succour him, went all along the Coast to seeke for the *Englishmen*, but could not find them, for they were gone directly for *England*, so he went vnto a Port called *Parayma*, where he found five *French* ships, and burnt three, and tooke two, and so the Fort that the *Frenchmen* had, and put in *Spaniards*, and the *Frenchmen* runne into the Mountaynes to the *Savages*, this done, he returned for *Spain*. And his Lieutenant *Diego de Ribera*, and *Sarmiento* had the next yeere such good fortune, that they arrived liuely into the Straits with all their ships, and so let a hore foure hundred men, and because the ships Boord could not land being once laden, the ship that had all the victuals and munition, that ship they runne ashore in a Bay, and as the water did ebbe they tooke all things out of her, this being done, *Diego de Ribera* left *Sarmiento* with foure hundred men, twentie women, and a ship with victuals for eight months, and with the other three returned, being in the Straits but eight dayes.

Now *Pedro Sarmiento* made a Towne at the mouth of the Straits on the Northside, and put therein a hundred and fiftie men, and from hence hee went by Land, and sent the ship further into the Straits, and fiftie leagues within the Straits at the narrowest place of all, where is a very good Port, here hee made another Towne, which hee named the Towne of *King Philip*, and also would haue made a Fort, and planted Ordnance for the defence of the Straits, but the Snow and the Winter was so great, that hee could not proceed in it; but hee tooke about five and twentie Mariners into the ship with him, and laid, hee would goe see how the other people did, and so came to the Straits mouth to the Towne, and after hee had bene there a day or two with them, hee said, that a storme put him from the Straits by force, and broke his Cables (but his men said to the contrary, that he himselfe cut his Cables; God knoweth the truth) and so he came to the River of *Iseiro*: and not finding any succour there came from the King, hee went to *Fernambocke*, asking aid of the Capitaine for victuals, the Capitaine incontinent, laded his ship with victuals and clothes for the men, so that having these things, hee tooke his way for the Straits, but betweene the Cape of *Saint Anguiline*, and the *Bay*, the wind came out of the Sea, with such violence, that it forced the ship to runne ashore, where *Sarmiento* had three of his men drowned, and he with the rest hardly escaped, the ship was lost, and all that was in her. And then he came by Land to the *Bay*, and the *Gouernour* of *Brasil*, bought a Barke that was there in the Harbour, and lading her with victuals and clothes for the men, hee hauing this provision, with churmes other more that were needfull for his men, hee tooke his Voyage for the Straits, and coming as high as fortie four degrees, he met with a fudden storme, and was forced to throw all over-board that hee carried, and was yet in the end compelled to returne for the River of *Iseiro*: where hee stayed for succour from the King a whole yeere; but there came no so much as a Letter for him, for the King was sore grieved at *Pedro Sarmiento*, because he told him that in the narrowest place of the Straits it was but a mile over, but *Diego de Ribera* and others told the King that it was above a league broad, that it a ship came with wind and current, all the Ordnance in the World could not hurt them, whereby the King thought that *Pedro Sarmiento* had deceiued him, in making him to lose so many men, and to be at so great a charge to no effect. Also the *Gouernour* of *Brasil*, seeing the King would not to him, would goe *Sarmiento* no more succour, wherefore *Sarmiento* went in his ship to *Spain*, which hee came late in from the Straits, and it is said, that hee was taken by *Englishmen*, and so carried for *England*. It is reported that this *Sarmiento* is the best Mariner in all *Spain*, and hath sailed farre and neere. After all this, the *Captaine* of the River *Iseiro*, lent a small ship with victuals for the Straits, but was also put backe in fortie degrees. These are all the Discouery that hath bene of the Straits of *Magallanes*, as well by the *Spaniards*, as other Nations, vnto this yeere 1586. It is six yeeres since these poore and miserable *Spaniards* were in the

Doubt Apr.

Parayma

Put a Sarmiento
to build
within the
Straits.
Two townes
in the Straits.
Nombre de Jesus
and Philip
Cities.Sarmiento was
taken by
Englishmen.This discouery
was the last
of the
Spaniards.

in the Straits, from which time there hath no succour gone vnto them, to God he knoweth whether they be dead or alive.

The Land that lieth from the Straits to the Coast of *Chili*, no man hath travelled it by land, because of the great Mountains of Snow that lye in that Countrey, as also I may well say, that it hath not often bene done by Sea, for that all the ships that have passed that way, have at the last gone thurte leagues of the Shore, because of the shoals, and many little llands that lie of the maye land, and therefore there is nothing knowne what is in that Countrey. The first Inhabitant of this you have after you passe the Straits, is on the Coast of *Chili*, and is called *Cafro*, it is the worst place of all the Coast, for that in it there is small flore of Gold, and little victuall, and very cold; this place is compassed with many shoals, so that it is a Port but for small Barkes. The next to this is *Baldinia*, but before I passe any further, I will declare vnto you the situation of *Chili*.

This Coast lieth North and South, and is in length about a hundred leagues; and it is not in breadth about five and twentie leagues at the most, there runne from the great Mountains into the Sea great flore of Rivers, which maketh many Valleys, and is the fruitfulest land in the World, for that it hath bread, wine, and other victualls great flore. These Rivers be very rich of Gold, and for to shew you in few words all that this Province hath: I say, that this land lacketh nothing, but might be called Paradise, but for that it lacketh only one thing, and that is peace. This land was first discovered in this order, after the *Spaniards* had conquered the Kingdom of *Peru*, as hereafter I will shew vnto you, they found in this Kingdom of *Peru* great flore of Gold, and asking the *Indians* from whence it came, they answered from *Chili*, wherefore *Don Diego de Almagro*, which was one of the Captaines that conquered *Peru*, went vpon this newes toward *Chili* with three hundred Horsemen. Now he must go round about the Mountains of Snow, which way the *Indians* that were his guides, did carrie this Captaine, because they should die of cold. Yet the *Spaniards*, although they lost some of their Horses, came to the first Inhabitant of *Chili*, called *Capiapo*, which is the first land in the entring of the Province, but from hence he returned back againe for *Peru*, because he had newes that the *Indians* had risen against the *Spaniards*, & enclosed them vpon which newes he returned without going any farther into the Countrey. Now this Captaine *Don Diego de Almagro*, beingeaine in the Warres of *Peru*, after his death, another Captaine called *Don Pedro de Baldivia*, with four hundred Horsemen went vnto *Chili*, and with small labour he overcame halfe the Countrey, which was subiect to the Kings of *Peru*, for they of *Chili*, knowing that *Peru* was overcome by the *Spaniards*, they straight way yielded the Land vnto the *Spaniards*, but the other halfe which was the richest, and the fruitfulest part, so had God made the men the valiant and most furious that shall be found among all the *Savage* people in the whole Land.

The Province which they inhabit, called *El Estado de Arauco*, is but a small Province about twentie leagues in length, and is gouerned by ten principall men of the Countrey, out of which ten they choose the valiantest man for their Generall in the Warres. The Kings of *Peru* in times past could neuer conquer this part of *Chili*, nor yet any other Kings of the *Indians*. The weapons used by these people of *Arauco* are long Pikes, Halberds, Bowes and Arrowes: they also make them lackes of Scale-skinner, and Head-pieces: in times past the heads of their Halberds and Pikes were of Brasse, but now they have gotten flore of Iron. They pitch their battels in manner like the *Christians*: for putting their Pikemen in ranks; they place Bowman among them, and marshall their troups with discretion and great valour. Now the *Spaniards* coming vnto this Province, sent word vnto them by other *Indians*, saying that they were the children of God, and came to teach them the Word of God, and that therefore they ought to yield themselves unto them: if not, they would shoot fire among them and burne them. These people not fearing the great words of the *Spaniards*, but desiring to see that which they had heard reported, met them in the field, and fought a most cruell battell: but by reason of the *Spaniards* great Ordnance and Calleues, they were in the end put to flight. Now these *Indians* thinking verily that the *Spaniards* were the children of God, because of their great Ordnance which made such a noise, and breathed out such flames of fire, yielded themselves vnto them. So the *Spaniards* having diuided this Province, made the *Indians* to serue their turnes, for getting of Gold out of the Mines, which they enjoyed in such abundance, that he which had least had twentie thousand Pezos, but Captaine *Baldinia* himselfe had three hundred thousand Pezos by the yeere. The fame of these riches in the end was spread as farre as *Spain*, from whence loone after reformed many *Spaniards* to the land of *Chili*, whom Captaine *Baldinia* caused to inhabit fixe Townes: to wit, *Villanueva de la Serena*, called in the Indian Tongue *Copacabana*; the second *Santa Lago*, which the *Indians* call *Atacama*; the third, *La Concepcion*, called by the *Indians* *Penco*; the fourth, *La Imperial*; the fifth, *Baldinia*; and the sixth, *La Villa Rica*. Also he built a Fort in the middle of all the land, wherein he put Ordnance and Souldiers: howbeit all this their good successe continued not long: for the *Indians* in three time perceiving that the *Spaniards* were but mortal men as well as they, determined to rebell against them: wherefore the first thing that they did, they carried great iron to the said Fort for the *Spaniards* Horses, and wood also for them to burne, among which great iron

Cafro.

Baldinia.
Chili.How *Chili* was
first discovered

Capiapo.

Pedro de Valdivia.

El Estado de
Arauco.Villanueva de
la Serena. La
Concepcion.
Santa Lago. La
Imperial. Baldi-
nia. La Villa
Rica, the first
fix Townes
that were inha-
bited in *Chili*.

Indians conveyed Bowes and Arrowes, with great Clubs. This done, fiftie of the *Indians* entred the Fort, betooke themselves to their Bowes, Arrowes and Clubs, and flood in the gate of the said Fort: from whence making a signe vnto other of their Nation for helpe, they wanne the Fort, and flue all the *Spaniards*. The newes of this overthrow coming to the Towne of *Concepcion*, where Captaine *Baldinia* was, he presently set forth with two hundred Horsemen, to seeke the *Indians*; taking no more men with him, because he was in haste. And in a Plaine he met the *Indians*; who, coming of purpose also to seeke him, and compassing him about, flue most part of his companie, the rest elcaping by the swiftnesse of their Horses: but *Baldinia* hauing his Horse slain, vnder him was taken aloue. Whom the *Indians* wished to be of good courage, and to feare nothing: for the cause (said they) why wee have taken you, is to give you Gold enough. And hauing made a great banquet for him, the last seruice of all was a Cup full of melted Gold, which the *Indians* forced him to drinke, saying, *Now shalt thy selfe with Gold*: and they killed him. This *Baldinia* was a most valiant man, who had bene an old Souldier in the Warres of *Italie*, and at the sackings of *Rome*.

Vpon this discomfiture the *Spaniards* chose for their Captaine, one *Pedro de Villa grande*; who assembling all the *Spaniards* in *Chili*, and taking with him ten pieces of Ordnance, marched against those *Indians*; but with so bad successe, that hee lost not only the field, and many of his men, but also thole ten Peeces of Ordnance which he brought. The *Indians* hauing thus gotten the victorie, went straightway against the Towne of *Concepcion*, from whence the *Spaniards* fled for feare, and lett the Towne desolate. And in this manner were the *Spaniards* chaced by the *Indians* out of the Countrey of *Arauco*. But newes hereof being brought to the Marquiste of *Concepcion*, Vice-roy of *Peru*, he sent his sonne *Don Garcia de Mendoza*, against those *Indians*, with a great power of Horsemen, and Footmen, and flore of Artilerie. This Nobleman hauing fought *Chili* againe, and slaine in duers battels about fortie thousand *Indians*, and brought them the second time vnder the *Spaniards* subiection, newly erected the said Fort, that stood in the midle of the Land, inhabited the Towne of *Concepcion* againe, and built other Townes for the *Spaniards*: and leauing the Land in peace, he returned for *Peru*. But ere he was cleane departed out of the land, the *Indians* rebelled again, but could not do so much mischief as they did before, because the *Spaniards* tooke better heed vnto them. From that time vntil this present, there hath bene no peace at all: for notwithstanding many Captaines and Souldiers haue done their vttermost, yet can they not bring that People wholly in subiection. And although the *Spaniards* haue in this Province eleuen Townes and two Bishoppes, yet haue they little enough to maintayne themselves, by reason of the Warres; for they spend all the Gold that the Land yieldeth in the maintenance of their Souldiers: which would not bee so, if they had peace; for then they might worke in all their Mines.

This hauing spoken somewhat of the situation of *Chili*, and of the trouble some course thereof, I will returne to my former discourse where I left, *Baldinia* therefore being of 150. houes, hath twice bene burnt and spoiled by the *Indians*; so that now it is waxen poore, but before the *Indians* lacked it, it was very rich: and it standeth vpon a River four leagues from the Sea. Passing from hence you come to the plaine Countrey of *Arauco*, being situate ouer against the lland *La Mocha*, on which lland the *Indians* that inhabit belong to the maine Land.

Hauing passed this Plaine of *Arauco*, the next Towne of the *Spaniards* that you come vnto, is *La Concepcion* which hath bene the greatest and the richest Towne in all *Chili*; but by reason that the *Indians* haue burned the same foure times, it is now growne very poore, and hath small flore of people: it containeth about some two hundred houes. And because it adioyneth vpon the Plaine of *Arauco*, where the valiant *Indians* bee, therefore this Towne is enuironed about with a strong wall, and hath a Fort built hard by it: and here are five hundred Souldiers continually in Garrison. Betweene this place and *Valparaiso*, the *Indians* call the Coast by the name of *Mapocha*. *Santa Lago* it selfe standeth five and twentie leagues vpon into the Countrey, is the 50. principall Towne of all *Chili*, and the least of the Gouernour; it consisteth of about eight hundred houes. The Port of *Valparaiso* whither the goods come from *Lima* by shipping, hath about twentie houes standing by it. The next Towne nere the Sea hie beyond this is *Copacabana*, which standeth two leagues vpon into the Land, and containeth about two hundred houes. Next vnto *Copacabana* standeth a Port-towne, called *Capiapo*, inhabited altogether by *Indians* which serue the *Spaniards*: and here a Gentleman which is Gouernour of the Towne hath an Ingenio for Sugar: at this place endeth the whole Province of *Chili*. Here also the Mountains ioyning hard vpon the Sea, are the cause why all the Land betwixen *Capiapo* and *Peru*, containing one hundred and lxxix leagues, lieth desolate.

The first Towne on the Coast of *Peru*, called *Atacama*, is inhabited by *Indians* which are slaues vnto the *Spaniards*. But before I passe any further I will here also declare vnto you the first Discouerie of *Peru*, with other matters thereof belonging, and then will I retorne to the Sea-coast againe: and to the end you may vnderstand me the better, I will beginne with *Panama*. After that the *Spaniards* had inhabited the North side of this mayne Land, passing ouer the Mountains they discovered the South Sea: where because they found Indian people with Gold and Pearles,

A stratagem of
the *Indians* of
Chili, against
the *Spaniards*.The death of
Baldinia.Pedro de Villa
grande.Don Garcia de
Mendoza.11. Townes, and
2. Bishoppes
in *Chili*.A description
of the Towne
of *Chili*.The Province
of *Arauco*, lieth
against the l-
land *La Mocha*,
situate in 38.
degrees and a
halfe.
La Concepcion.Valparaiso,
which is the
Port of *Santa
Lago*. It
standeth 30.
leagues from
the Sea hie
beyond this
is *Copacabana*,
which standeth
in 38. degrees
and a halfe.A description
of *Peru*.

they built a Towne eighteen leagues to the West of *Nombré de Dios*, hard vpon the Sea side, and called it *Panama*. From hence they discovered along the Coast of *Nueva España*: and for that *Nueva España* was at the same time inhabited by *Spaniards*, there began a trade from thence to *Panama*: but from *Panama* by Sea to the Coast of *Peru* they could not trade in a long time, because of the Southerly windes blowing on this Coast almost all the yeere long, which are a hindrance to ships saying that way: and by Land the passage was impossible, in regard of Mountaines and Riuers: Yea it was fiftene yeeres before they passed the Iland of *Peru*, which is but twentie leagues from *Panama*. There were at this time in *Panama* two men, the one called *Francisco Pizarro*, borne in the Citie of *Truxillo* in *Spain*, a valiant man, but withall poore; the other, called *Diego de Almagro*, was very rich. These men got a companie vnto them, and prouided two Carauels to discover the Coast of *Peru*: and hauing obtained licence of the Gouernour of that place, *Francisco Pizarro* set forth with the two foresaid Carauels, and an hundred men; and *Diego de Almagro* stayed in *Panama*, to send him Viſuals and other necessities. Now *Francisco Pizarro* laying along the Coast, met with contrary windes and raine, which put him to great trouble; and hee began also after a while to lacke viſuals, for hee was saying of that in eight monthes, which they now passe in fiftene dayes, and not knowing the right course, hee ranne into euerie Riuier and Bay that hee saw along the Coast; which was the quiette cause that hee layed long on his Voyage: also thirrie of his companie died by reason of the vnhelthfulness of the coast. At last he came to an Iland called by him *Isla del Gallo*, being situate from the maine Land sixe leagues. From hence hee sent one of his ships to *Panama*, for a new supplie of viſuals, and of men: which ship being departed, forie of his men that remained behinde made a mutinie, and passed vp into the Countrey, meaning to returne by Land to *Panama*, but in the way they all perished, for they were neuer heard of vntill this day. So that *Francisco Pizarro* was left vpon the said Iland onely with thirteenth men: who although hee had his ship there, in which he might haue returned, yet would hee rather die then goe backe; and his thirteenth men also were of his opinion, notwithstanding that they had no other viſuals, but such as they had from the maine Land in the night season. Thus hee continued nine monthes, before any succour was brought him from *Panama*: but in the end his ship returned with fortie men onely, and viſuals: whereupon hee prosecuted his Voyage, till hee came to the first plaine Countrey of *Peru*, called *Tumbez*, where hee found a Fort, made by the King of *Peru*, against the *Indians* of the Mountaines. Wherefore *Pizarro*, and his men were very glad, in that they had found a People of good vnderstanding and discrecion, being rich also in Gold and Silver, and well apparelled. At this Fort of *Tumbez*, hee tooke thirtee thousand *Pezos* of Gold in trucke of Merchandise, and hauing two few men to proceed any further, hee carried two *Indians* with him, to learne the Language, and returned backe to *Panama*. Vpon this Discoverie, *Francisco Pizarro* thought it expedient to trauell into *Spain*, to craue of the King the Conquest of this Land. Whither being come, the King granted his request. And with the money which hee carried out with him, hee hired a great number of men, with a Fleet of shippes, and brought all along with him foure of his Brethren, very valiant and hardy men. And being come to *Panama*, hee straightway went on his Voyage for *Peru*, being accompanied with his Partner, *Diego de Almagro*. They layed first to the Iland, called *Isla del Gallo*; where *Francisco Pizarro*, and his Brethren went on Land, and left *Diego de Almagro* in the shippes. And the whole number which afterward landed on the mayne Land were fixtie Horsemen, and one hundred and twentie footmen, with two great Field-peeces.

The Riuier of Peru.

The cause why it raineth not in Peru.

Gold, Silver, Copper, Iron, and other metals.

But before we proceed any further, wee thinke it not amisse to describe vnto you the situation of *Peru*, and the naturall disposition of the Inhabitants: This Countrey was called *Peru*, by the *Spaniards*, of a Riuier so named by the *Indians*, where they first came to the light of Gold. From which Riuier standing vnder the Line, till you come to *Copiapo*, the first Towne on the Coast of *Chili*, stretcheth the Land of *Peru*, for the space of eight hundred leagues: vpon fixe hundred whereof, from *Atacama* to *Tumbez*, did neuer drop of raine fall, since the Flood of *Noah*: and yet is it the fruitfullest Land for all kinde of vnderstanding, and other necessities for the sustentation of mans life, that is to be found in all the world besides. The reason why it raineth not in this Land, is because it being a plaine Countrey, and very narrow, and lowe, situate betweene the Equinotiall and the Tropique of *Capricorne*, there runneth on the West frontiers, not above twenty leagues from the Sea called *Mar del Sur*, Eastward thereof, a mightie ridge of eight Mountaines covered with snowe; the heigh of which Mountaines do draweth the moisture of the clouds vnto it self; that no raine falleth vpon the Vallies of *Peru*. From these Mountaines issue great store of Riuers into the South Sea, with the waters whereof drawn by certaine dikes at Channels, they mouen their Vin yards and Corne-fields, and by this means the Land is so exceeding fruitful. Betweene these Mountaines and the Mountaines of *Chili*, that stretch vnto the Straites of *Magellan*, lenth a Plaine of fixtie leagues ouer, being so cold, that it yieldeth no Wheat, but good Store of other vnder this. This Countrey of *Peru* is full of people well apparelled, and of cuill behauiour. It hath many mines of God, and more of Silver, as also great fildes of Copper, and Timme-mines, with abundance of Saltpetre, and of Brimstone to make Gun-powder. There are

likewise Castell of all forts, among which there is a beast, in shape somewhat resembling a Camel, but no bigger then a Scere of a yeere old; they serue to carrie burdens, their flesh being good to eat, and their wooll apt for many purposes. This beast is accounted the most profitable of all others, for the vse of man: howbeit the *Spaniards* since their first coming haue replenished this Countrey with Horses, Kine, Sheep and Goats, and likewise with plenty of Wheat, so that in few words, this Land hath abundance of riches and viſuals, and is the healthfullest place in the world. There were in times past Kings of this Land which were mighty Monarchs, whose Dominions stretched twelue hundred leagues, and their Lawes were very cuill, save that they were worshippers of the Sonne. At what time the *Spaniards* first entered this Land, there were two Brethren of the bloud Royall, which stroue who should haue the Kingdom, the one called *Atahualpa*, and the other, *Atabalipa*. Now *Atahualpa* had possession of all the Mountaines and the Land within them: and *Atabalipa* was Lord of all the Sea-coast, and of the Vallies situate between the said Mountaines and the Sea. The *Indians* (being the *Spaniards*) at the first arriue vpon their shore, called them *Uira cocha*, which in their Language signifieth, *The sons of the Sea*. *Atahualpa* the Indian Prince sent vnto them to know what they did in his Land, and what they sought for: the *Spaniards* made answer, that they were the messengers of a great Lord, and that they came to speake with the Prince himselfe: who sent them word, that they should come with a very good-will, and so *Atabalipa* layed for them at a Citie called *Caxamalca*, being thirte leagues distant from the Sea side. Whither being come, they found the Indian Prince sitting in a Chariot of Gold, carried vpon mens shoulders, and accompanied with aboute sixtie thousand *Indians* all ready armed for the warres. Then the *Spaniards* told them that they were sent from an Emperour (vnto whom the Pope had giuen all that Land) to conuert them vnto the Christian Faith. Whereunto *Atabalipa* answered, that he would gladly be friends with the Emperour, because he was for great a Monarch, but in no case with the Pope, because hee gaue to another that which was his owne.

Now while they were thus in talke, the *Spaniards* discharging their two Field-peeces, and their Calibres, set vpon the *Indians*, crying, *Sant Iago*. The *Indians* hearing the noise of the Ordnance, and small shot, and seeing the fire, thought that flames of fire had become come downe from Heauen vpon them; whereupon they fled, and left their Prince as a bootie for the *Spaniards*. Whom they at the first intreated very gently, wishing him not to feare, for that their coming was onely to seeke for Gold and Silver. During the time of *Atabalipa* imprisonment, his Captaines had slaine his Brother *Manga*, and had subdued all the Mountaines, and plaine Countreies. Vpon which newes *Atabalipa* told the *Spaniards*, that if they would release him, hee would giue them all that they should demand. This communication hauing continued a whole day, at length a Soldier named *Soto* said vnto *Atabalipa*: what wilt thou giue vs to set thee free? The Prince answered, I will giue whatsoever you will demand. Whereunto the Soldier replied, Thou shalt giue vs this house full of Gold and Silver; thus high, lifting vp his sword, and making a stroke vpon the wall. And *Atabalipa* said, that if they would grant him respite to send into his Kingdom, hee would fulfill their demand. Whereat the *Spaniards* much marveling, gaue him three monthes respite, but hee had filled the house in two monthes and an halfe; a matter scarce credible, yet it was so: for I knowe aboute twentie men that were there at that time, who all affirme, that it was aboute ten millions of Gold and Silver. Howbeit, for all this, they let not the Prince goe, but thought that in killing of him they should become Lords of the whole Land, and so the *Spaniards* on a night strangled him. But God the righteous Iudge seeing this villanous act, suffered none of those *Spaniards* to die by the course of nature, but brought them to cuill and shameful ends.

Vpon the newes of these great riches, there came store of people out of *Spain*, and inhabited many places in this Countrey. The King in recompence of the good seruices of the two foresaid partners, appointed *Diego de Almagro* Gouernour of halfe the Land, and *Francisco Pizarro* of the other halfe, whom also he made a Marquisse. But these two conſorts in parting of a Land belonging vnto other men, fell at variance and sharpe warre betweene themselves: and at length *Pizarro* hauing slaine *Almagro*, got all the Land into his owne hands. Howbeit, this proscription of *Pizarro* continued not long: for a ballard-sonne of *Diego de Almagro*, to bee reuenged of his fathers death, flew *Pizarro*, for which act hee lost his life. In this controuersie betweene these two partners were slaine, also two brothers of *Pizarro*, and the third was carried prisoner into *Spain*, and there died in Prison: but the fourth, called *Gonzales Pizarro*, rebelled with the whole Countrey, and became a cruell Tyrant, vanquishing many of the Emperours Captaines in battell, and possessing the Countrey in peace for two yeeres: howbeit, being in the end overcome, hee lost his head like a Traitor. And thus died they all an euill death, that were causes of the death of that innocent King *Atabalipa*. And yet there are mutinies raised oftentimes by the *Spaniards*, but the *Indians* neuer rebelled, after they had once peace granted vnto them. The *Indian* people of this Land, are parted among the *Spaniards*, some being slanes vnto the Gentlemen that conquered their Land, other some to others, and the residue to the King: and these *Indians* pay each man for his tribute seven *Pezos* of fine Gold, which is about ten Ducats and an halfe. There are

The sheepe of Peru, called Llamas.

Atabalipa and *Manga*, by death called *Cocha*, at first.

Nine Bishops
and one
Archbishop
in Peru.

The Province
of Tucuman,
Cardana.

Atacama.

Camana.

Acari.

El Callao.

Lima.

Santa.

Omote.

Truxillo.

Paita.

Guayaquil.

Tumbes.

Salapirilla.

Ships built at

Guayaquil.

Puerto Pisco

a place where

Barbadoes

abounds.

La Bacha

is a town

the Governor

of Peru.

Negroes sold to

the Millers.

Panama.

Ofirico.

The Province

of Nicaragua.

The discovery

of the Philip-

pines.

The life of

Manila.

are in this Countrey about fortie Cities and Townes inhabited by the *Spaniards*: also they have here erected nine Bishopsricks and one Archbishoprick.

Now after this Countrey was fully conquered and brought in good order, certaine *Spaniards* being desirous to discover the land on the other side of the Inowie Mountaines, found a very whole Countrey, and there inhabited. The said Province situate behind the Mountaines is called *The Province of Tucuman*, wherein are five townes inhabited by the *Spaniards*, the last of them called *Cardana*, from which towne unto *Santa Fee* situate vpon the River of *Plate* is five leagues. This towne of *Santa Fee* was built in that place, to seeke a way to *Peru* by the River of *Plate*, And from hence downe the said River to *Buenos Ayres* are 120 leagues, and from *Buenos Ayres* unto *Seal* land you have 40 leagues.

Now having put downe I that I know concerning the Countrey of *Peru*, and of the way from the River of *Plate* unto *Tucuman*, will returne vnto *Atacama* the Southermost town on the coast of *Peru*, where I left. From this towne of *Atacama* till you come to *Arica*, all the coast is inhabited by *Indians* subiect unto the *Spaniards*. But since Captain *Drake* was here, they have built Towers by the Sea side, whereon, seeing any saile that they doe mistrust, they presently make smokes, and so from Tower to Tower they warne all the Countrey. Having before spoken of *Arica* all that I can, I will now procede to the next Port called *Camana* being a Towne of *Spaniards*, and containing about two hundred houses. Here they make store of Wine, and abundance of Egges and Reittens. The next Towne called *Acari* containeth about three hundred houses, and here is made the best and greatest flow of Wine in all *Peru*. From hence passing along the coast you come to *El Callao* the Port of *Lima* consistit of about two hundred houses: and here was a strong Fort built since Captain *Drake* was vpon the coast. The Citie of *Lima* standeth two leagues within the land, and containing two thousand houses, is very rich, and of more trade then all the Cities of *Peru* besides, and this Citie is the seate of the Viceroy, the Archbishop and the Inquisition.

Next vnto this standeth a small towne of the *Spaniards* by the Sea side called *Santa*: and next vnto *Santa* is another small towne of *Christians* called *Canneto*. From hence they saile vnto a rich Citie called *Truxillo*, being one of the principall townes of *Peru*, and containing about five hundred houses. Then followeth *Paita* which hath to the number of two hundred houses. Leaving this towne they passe to *Guayaquil* which standeth fortie leagues vp into a great Bay or River, at the entrance of which River standeth *Tumbes*, a towne of the *Indians*. All this coast along from *Atacama* to *Tumbes* is neuer rained, as I have before said: so that all the houses in their townes are not tyed, but covered with boords to keepe off the heate of the Sunne, for they feare no raine at all. *Guayaquil* is the first place where it raineth, and here they gather *Salapirilla*. Here is also great store of timber, and at this place they build many Ships. Hence they saile along the coast to a small and poore towne called *Puerto Pisco*, which in times past hath bene rich with *Emeralds*: but now because the stones in regard of fewe in plenty are growne nothing worth, this towne likewise is weach vnto poore. Below this Village there is another called *La Buena Ventura*: but whosoever goe thither must needs meete with euill fortune, the place it self is so waterish and vnholefome. Here abide not about twenty men, who serue only to transport goods into a Citie handeth five leagues within the maine, in a Province called *La Guayana* of the *Papans*. From *Buena Ventura* and *Papana* till you come to *Panama* there is no other towne by reason of the high Mountaines, the manifold Rivers, and the vnholefomelie of the Countrey. In this place doe inhabit the *Negros* that run from their Masters, and vpon these Mountaines was *Oxenham* the English Captaine and his men taken as is before mentioned. Beyond these Mountaines standeth the Citie of *Panama*, being a rich place, by reason that all the treasure which cometh from *Peru* is brought thither, and it consisteth of about foure hundred houses. The coast running along between this Citie and *Nueva Esfpana* is called *Costa rica*.

Next vnto *Costa rica*, which is a Mountainous and desolate place, being the coast of *Nicaragua*, being inhabited by the *Spaniards*, and having many good ports belongeth to it and is frequented with trade of Merchandize: but having no knowledge of the situation thereof, nor of the townes therein contained, I leaue it to speake any more of it.

A certaine Viceroy of *Nueva Esfpana* called *Don Luis de Velasco* caused certaine Ships to be built for the discovery of the *Malucos* and of the coast of *China*: which Ships in sailing, hitherward from certaine Islands, eightie leagues distant from the maine land, which the *Spaniards* call *Atawilla*, inhabited with a barbarous kind of people, they built a fort and a towne thereupon, from whence they haue trade with the people of *China*. Vnto these Islands they haue foure great Ships that usually trade, two of them continually going, and two coming: so that such Spices and Silkes as the *Portugals* bring home out of the East Indies, the very same doe the *Spaniards* bring from these Islands and from *China*, for *Mexico* the chiefe Citie of *Nueva Esfpana*. The principall Port townes of the coast of *Nueva Esfpana* are *Guasteco*, and *Acapulco*.

All the Viceroyes and Gouernours that the King of *Spain* sendeth for *Peru* and *Nueva Es-*

Panna haue a custome, for the obtaining of his fauour, to seeke and discover new Countreies. But the greatest and most notable discovery that hath bene from those parts now of late, was that of the Isles of *Salomon*, which were found in manner following. The Licentiate *Cañero* being Gouernour of *Peru*, sent forth a Fleet of Ships to discover certaine Islands in the South Sea, vpon the coast of *Peru*, appointing as General of the same Fleet a kinsman of his, called *Aluarez de Mendana*, and *Pedro Sarmiento* as Lieutenant, and in the Viceadmirall went *Pedro de Ortega*. This Fleet departing forth of the haven of *Lima*, and sailing 800 leagues Westward off the coast of *Peru*, found certaine Islands in eleuen degrees to the South of the Equinoctiall, inhabited with a kinde of people of a yellowish complexion, and all naked, whose weapons are Bowes and Arrows, and Darts. The Beasts that they saw here were Hogs and little Dogs, and they found some Hens. Here also they found a mulster of Cloues, Ginger, and Sinamon, although the *Spaniards* were not of the best; and here appeared vnto them likewise some show of Gold. The first Island that the *Spaniards* discovered, they named *Santa Iacobita*; and here they built a small Pinnace, with the which, and with their Ships Boate they found out betweene nine and fifteene degrees of Southerly Latitude, whereon great Islands, being one with another of eightie leagues in compass. The greatest Island that they discovered was according vnto the first finder, called *Guadalcanal*. The great Island whereof they sailed 150 leagues, before they could know whether it were an Island or part of the maine land: and yet they know not perfectly what to make of it, but thinke that it may be part of that continent which stretcheth to the Streights of *Magellan*; for they coasted it to eighteene degrees, and could not finde the end thereof. The Gold that they found was vpon this Island, or maine land of *Guadalcanal*, whereas they landed and tooke a towne, finding small graines of Gold hanged vp in the houses thereof. But because the *Spaniards* vnderstood not the language of the Countrey, and also for that the *Indians* were very stout men, and thought continually against them, they could neuer learne from whence that Gold came, nor yet what store was in the Land.

These *Indians* use to goe to Sea in great Canoas, that will carrie one hundred men a peece, wherein they haue many christies one against another: howbeit vnto the *Christians* they could doe no great hurt; for that with a small Pinnace and two Falcons a few may overcome one hundred of them. At this place foureteen men mistrusting nothing, rowed to land, to take in fresh water, whom on the foaine certaine *Indians* in foure Canoas let vpon, tooke the Ships Boate, and slew all the men therein: wherefore a man cannot goe on shore tooe farre, nor yet be tooe wrie in a strange land. Hereupon the *Spaniards* went on shore in their Pinnace, and burnt the Towne, and in this towne they found the small graines of Gold before mentioned. They were discovering of these Islands from one to another about foureteen months, at the end of which time (because that vpon the coast where they were, the winde continuing still in one place, might be an occasion of longer tarrying) they consulted which way to returne. Southward they durst not goe for feare of great tempests which are that way viall: wherefore sayling to the North of the line, they fell with the coast of *Nueva Esfpana*; on which coast they met with fish terrible storms, that they were forced to cut their maine masts ouer-board, and to lyne nine months beating it vp and downe in the Sea, before they could get into any harbour of the *Christians*. In which time, by reason of euill gouernment, and for lacke of victuals and fresh water, most of the men in their Admirall dyed; for five whole dayes together they had neither water nor meate: but in the other Ships they behaued themselves so well, that the greater part of them came safe vnto the land. He that passeth the Straits of *Magellan*, or saileth from the coast of *Chili* directly for the *Malucos*, must needs runne in sight of some of these Islands before spoken of. At which Islands lying so conveniently in the way to the *Malucos*, you may furnish your selfe with plenty of victuals, as Hogs, Hennes, excellent Almonds, Potatoes, Sugar-canes, with diuers other sorts fit for the sustenance of man in great abundance. Also among these Islands you shall haue some quantity of Gold, which the *Indians* will giue you in trucke for other commodities. For the *Spaniards* in their discovery of these Islands, not seeking nor being desirous of Gold, brought home notwithstanding 40000. pezos with them, besides great store of Cloues and Ginger, and some Sinamon also, which is not so good as in other places. The discoverer of these Islands named them the Isles of *Salomon*, to the end that the *Spaniards* supposing them to be those Isles from whence *Salomon* fetched Gold to adorne the Temple at *Ierusalem*, might be the more desirous to goe and inhabit the same. Now the same time when they thought to haue sent colonies vnto these Islands, Captaine *Drake* entered the South Sea; whereupon commandment was giuen, that they should not be inhabited, to the end that such *Englishmen*, and of other Nations as passed the Straits of *Magellan* to goe to the *Malucos*, might haue no succour there, but such as they got of the *Indian* people.

The discovery
of the Isles of
Salomon.

Cloues, Gin-
ger, and Sima-
mon.

The life of
Guadalcanal.

A Town burnt.

Abundance of
good victuals
vpon the Isles
of *Salomon*.

A new rich
trade for Gold,
Cloues, Gin-
ger, and Sima-
mon.

Why these
Isles were call-
ed the Isles
of *Salomon*.

CHAP. XII.

Briefe extracts translated out of IEROM BENZO, three Bookes of the New World, touching the Spaniards' cruel handling of the Indians, and the effects thereof.



Benzo's 1. c. 1.
He referred to
you in the
Span. Ind. Indian
expeditions.
C. 3.

Indians spoiled.

C. 5.

L. 2. c. 1.
Negros and
Indians
succeeded.

Law of
dishonour
and death.

Armie of 7000
fugitives.

C. 9.
See Drake and
Owen's narra-
tives.

C. 11.

Gonzalez his
conquering
Indians.

Nov 1643. Ierom Benzo went from *Millaine to Suill* in Spain, and thence to the New World, where he was entertained of the *Spaniards*, and practised with them the huntings of the *Indians*; which they did by lurking in covert, till some of the Natives came within their reach; by bribing the *Caciques* with trifles to procure captives, and other means. Peter Chalce came while we were there to *Amracan* with about 4000. *Indians*, and had brought many more, but with labour, weariness, hunger, and griefe, for loss of their Countrey and friends, many had perished in the way. Many also not able to follow in the *Spaniards* swift march, were by them killed to prevent their taking armes. A miserable spectacle to see those troopes of *Indians* naked, with their bodies rent, maimed, starved: the mothers dragging or carrying on their shoulders their children howling, the neckes of all, armes and hands chained; not any growne Maide amongst them which the spoilers had not ravished, with so profuse lust that thence grew contagion and pernicious diseases. The *Spaniards* men in those warres used quilted Jackes with Launces and Swords; the footemen, Sword, Shield, and Crosse-bow, with lighter lackes. The moisture and great dewes made *Peceros* vniuseable in those parts.

The *Indians* in *Hispainia* seeing no hope of better, or place for worke, killed their children, and then hanged themselves. The women by the use of a certaine herbe caused abortions, that they might not procure *Indians* to the *Spaniards*; others hanged themselves, as their husbands had done: some threw themselves from the tops of the hills, others into the Sea and Ruins; some starved themselves, and others with sharpe stones ripped and rent out their entrails: so that of two millions there found at first, now hardly one hundred and fiftie persons remaine. It is to be noted Saugages to the *Christian* faith. The same altogether hath happened in *Cuba*, *Yucataca*, *Porto Rico*, and other places. Yea whatsoeuer *Indians* have beene after carried into the *Islands*, to prevent their desolation, though in incredible multitudes, have almost all perished with misery. Once, in whatsoeuer places the *Spaniards* have displaced their colours, by their examples of cruelty they have left to the Natives eternal monuments of implacable hatred.

After the native *Indians* were killed with too much labour, the *Spaniards* procured *Indians* from *Guinea* in great multitudes, and used their seruices in the Mines; which being exhauit, they employed them in Sugar-mills, and in breeding of Cattell. Some of the *Spaniards* are so cruell, that if a *Slave* hath not brought his diarie or day-foot, or otherwise hath angred his imperious Master, he strips him naked to cloath him with stripes (according to the Law of *Spain*), as they call it, deuided I thinke by some cruell Diuell) his hands and feete bound, and the prostitute *Slave* tied to some croffe timber, with a rod or rope he is beaten till the blood issue from all parts: after which the Master droppeth scalding Pitch or Oyle ouer all that wretched corpes, and then walloweth Pepper of the Countrey and Salt mingled with water, he lies on a board in a sheet or blanket till his Master thinke him fit for labour. Others make a hole in the ground and sett him, his head onely excepted, all night long, which the *Indians* doe to cleanse and cure the vicers of corrupt blood. If any dyen in those torments, his Master hath no other punishment but to pay the King another for him. These cruelties caused the *Negros* to flee and wander about, till gathering head together they grew dreadfull to the *Spaniards* *Indians*, whom they (when they got any into their hands) repaid with like cruelties. While I was in that land, there was said to containe 7000. men, inuoluntarily the *Spaniards* feared to be driven out by the *Moors* and *Negros*. And when as *Am. 1545*, the President *Ceramo* vrged *Cesars* Edict for the *Indians* libertie, the *Island* was almost brought to a desert, not above 1100. *Spaniards* remaining therein: which (the *Indians* increasing) were in danger to lose at once their life with the *Indians*. And the wonted means of getting wealth failing therein, few *Spaniards* are willing to stay there.

Nombres de Dios, in regard of the heate and moisture immoderate, is vniuseable, as also the Westerne Marish or Fenne, whence are frequent funerals of the inhabitants. Not rare from time to time, some fugitive *Negros* keepe in the woods, which have shaine many *Spaniards*, and have caused into league with the *Indians*, shooting likewise poisoned Arrows, and killing all the *Spaniards* which they can get. *Gonzalez* a *Spanish* Captaine going up the River of *Suena*, raised the *Caciques* of *Suena* and *Chuppa*, and had them come thither to reduce them from their liberty and the *Indians* tyrannie, and to show them the truth: namely, that *Jesus Christ* the Son of God came from heauen to redeeme mankind: and that he had brought a *Prophet* to them, for no other purpose but to instruct them in *Christianitie*. *Indians* (a *Chief* he) *prophesied* that *Jesus* should come to the *Indians* to instruct them in *Christianitie*.

the *Divine Law*, and to acknowledge the sovereignty of Charles the fifth, *Cesar*, King of Spain, and Master of the whole world. The *Indians* answered nothing, and returned home. The next day the *Gouernour* sent for two other *Caciques* by a *Spaniard*, which trusting on his promise, came, and were bound in his Chamber with hard viage. They had before giuen him 700. *Duckets*; now he picked a quarrell with them, and extorted from one 2000. *Duckets*, wrought in the formes of *Figges*, *Fishes*, *Birds*, and other creatures: which the *Gouernour* seeing filld then his expectation, caused a great fire to be kindled, and a chest to be brought forth, threatening to burne him, in foure dayes he did not fill it with Gold six times; which hee promising to doe, found means to escape. Other *Caciques* of the Countrey hearing hereof, burned their houses, cut downe their fruitie trees and corne, and leaving a wilderness to the *Spaniards*, fled to the Mountains. The other *Cacique* yet in durance, having beene often threatened with death except hee brought the Gold demanded, the *Gouernour* commanded to be caft to the Dogs: hee answered, that hee could not but maruail at the *Gouernours* vanitie, which had so often threatened that which hee had rather should be performed, then to live so miserable a life contrary to his expectation, which had voluntarily come to him upon his promise. Hee added, that hee marvelled much what kinde of creatures *Christians* were, which executed such mischiefs wherefooeer they came, and that the earth could longer beare and nourish such cruell beasts so patiently.

Indians magnanimities.

But at last the *Gouernour* carried him prisoner in a miserable expedition, where as at turning the *Gouernour* demanding of a captive *Indian*, whether way would bring him to some *Indian* habitation, he answered, he could not tell; whereupon he commanded his *Negro* *Indians* to kill him, which was done. Then he demanded of the *Cacique*, and having like answer, gaue like sentence. He presently threw downe his burden, and prepared his head to the fatal stroke, with such patience, that the *Gouernour* remitted it, and gaue him his life. Three starved *Spaniards* were there left, and after killed by the *Indians*. The *Gouernour* commanded the Dogs to be killed for food, keeping the provisions left to himselfe. I gaue my part to another, because of the wormes therein; and went to the *Gouernour*, hoping to receiue somewhat of him, who sent me to the roots of trees to feede thereon. Then said another *Spaniard*; Sir *Gouernour*, if we may mixe together in good and bad fortune, waue you alone. Hereupon hee diuided three pounds of *Chocolate* into foure and thirte parts amongst vs. Two dayes after, the *Indians* suddenly fell on vs, and thus the *Gouernour* as hee was doing his easement. I with another *Helmet* escaped that shower of stones, wherewith it was then exceedingly battered; and the rest being flaine, with two others fled thorow a troupe of *Indians* making way to the Hills top, where we found the Priest, with two others which had escaped by flight in the beginning of the fight, and after that, foure and twentie others ioynd themselves to vs. The *Indians* pursued vs, armed with our owne weapons, and dauncing about vs, cried in the *Spanish* tongue, *Here is Gold*, *Christians*, *here is Gold*. Two which had lurked in the Woods till the *Indians* were gone, told vs, that the *Indians* had carried away the head, hands and feet of the *Gouernour*, and of two *Negros*, the rest being spoyled were throwne into the River. If we had had but foure Horfes (these they feare more then all armes) they had neuer aduentured on vs. On foot the *Spaniards* are commonly ouercome by them. In the first *Mexican* expedition, they tooke the Horse and Man to bee but one creature.

Hungry Mex.

Indians feare of Horfes.

That which hath carried the *Spaniards* into those Prouinces, is onely couetousnesse, whatsoeuer profession they pretend of *Christian* Faith. Neither will any of them stay in any place where Gold is not found. *Anthonio Sadegni* died with thought after three yeeres trauell in *Peru* with foure hundred men, not finding this golden Sun-shine, fittie onely of his men returning. *Soto* spent in *Florida*, what he had gotten in *Peru*. He threatened fiftene *Caciques*, to burne them, except they brought him to the place whence they had their Gold. These promised any hands cut off. When he told a *Cacique* which visited him with a *Preiour*, that he was a *Christian* the form of God, Creator of Heauen and Earth; and came thither to teach them the *Divine Law*: I say, *God*, said the *Cacique*, bid thee robbe, kill, burne, and commit all mischiefs, we can neither beleue Him, nor his Law. *Soto* finding no Mine, died at last of the bloody Fluxe. The like may be said of *Narvaez*, twelue of whose companie fell mad with famine, and fell to biting and tearing each other. Of sixe hundred which hee carried forth, scarcely ten returned, which at *Mexico* reported that with breathing they had cured the sicke, and had raised three dead men to life. But I craue pardon of their holinesse, and shall eaiser beleue that they killed three liuing men, then that they raised halfe a dead one. *Cortez* set forth by *Velazquez* gaue him no accounts as yet.

Cap. 13. Examples of couetousnesse. *Sedreus* and his followers. *Soto* sits in *Florida*.

Pan. Narvaez.

Peter Aluarez left by *Cortez* at *Mexico*, fell upon the *Indians* amidst their dances, and slue them. And when *Cortez* had returned from the defeat of *Narvaez*, and best-gidd *Mexico*, *Cortez* and 21. *Mexicans* gathered all their Gold and Silver, and threw it into the Lake, and by no torments could be compelled to confesse where it was; although *Cortez* tortured the Kings Scribe to death, and put the King also to vaine tortures for that purpose. Some say that *Cortez* strangled him.

When I first trauelled in *Nicaragua*, I was entertained by a principall *Cacique* of those parts, called

C. 4.

[illegible]

The King answered, that he would willingly he would accept the friendship of the chiefs. Mo-
fearach of the world, but he was not willing to give tribute to a man whom hee had neuer seen, fe-
d fearfully neuer to just. As for the Pope, it must needs appear to be a foole, and a flammell,
man, which was so countifull in giuing that which is none of his owne. Touching Religion,
he denied that hee would alter that which hee professed; and if they beleueed in *Christ*, would
they confesse to haue died on the *Crosse*, they also beleueed in the *Sunne* which neuer died. And
how (sayd he to the Frier) doe you knowe that the *Christians* God created all things of no-
thing (sayd he to the Crosse)? The Frier answered, that hee was taught it by his Booke, and
thing, and taught it to him, which he looking on, said, it laid nothing to him, and threw it to the
ground. The Frier preiently tooke vp his Booke, and cried againe to the *Spartians*, *Go ye*
Christians, goe to, and make them smart for so haue we said, the Gospels are deriued and thorne a-
way. Kill the Doer which so flatterly derispe the Law of God.

wey. Kill-ef-De Dogs which so stubbornly despised Labby by men. The Gunnes amaze the Indians. Presently Picaro gives the figne, and leads forth his herby, and terror of this Sword asallo the Horfes, Drummes and Trumpets. Easily are they herby, and terror of this Sword chased, and *Atabalho* himselfe taken by Picaro, which commanded the fowcent: without hurt or slaughter of any Spaniard. Ferdinand his brother, Captaine of the Horfe, made a great laughter amongst the Indians, sparing neither age nor sexe, and filling the wayes with Cackles, The Friar also all the time of the battell animated the Spaniards, somthing them to vie with themselves rather then the frowe with their Swords, for feare of breaking them.

The next day *Pisarro* visits his prisoner, and gives him good words, who grieved with his chains, countenanced for his rank of life, to the room as high as a man could reach. But when he should not break them he should go to the moorings (pace), they perished *Pisarro* to kill him. The King excused himself by the length of the way, that it could not come in so soon. If they would send to *Cajen*, they might let themselves come to order him. *Soto* is sent thither with two *Semard*, which meet *Indians* all the way laden with treasure. *Almagro* came to the sharing of

Pelato notwithstanding retained his former purpose to kill him, that so he might enjoy the Country. *Atabaliba* desired to see him to *defeat*, which he refused. And none that confented to his death, came to a prosperous end. When *Pelato* had told him of the Sentence, he was enraged bitterly, and then turning with his devisions to the Sunne, he expostulated with *Pelato* for breaking his oath, not onely to restore him to liberate upon his ransom, but to depart out of his Country: but here commanded his *Negros* to be impatient, Till which with a cord fastned to sticke, and wrung about his necke with a halter, he marched he to *Cuso*, and was encountered by *Quisquima*, a valiant Captain, whom he overbore, and entered *Cifio*, the chief inhabitation, to confesse their treasures; yea fone killed the Inhabitants, and gave them to their Dogges to eat. After this he beganne the *Cin-*

dians in Iperu, and gave them to their Dogges to eate. After this he begant to
Ca- Kings, on the River of *Lima*, and made *Almagro* Gouverneur of this new Province. *Ca-*
far also gave him priuiledge to bee Marshall of *Pernu*, and to conquer three hundred miles
 further then *Pizarro* conquest, for himselfe. Hence arose suspitions and iaculutes of *Pizarro*
 to *Almagro*, and after some quarrels *Almagro* is sent to *Chili* by *Pizarro*, to ridde
 his hands honourably of him. New Oathes also palked. He passed ouer the snowy Hills, where
 diuers both Men and Horses were frozen to death. *Pizarro* receiued loone after, the notice
 of *Almagro* from *Calar*.

[illegible]

Cap. 4.
Arbelias ran-
ome,

Cap. 5:
Pizarros perfidious cruelty.

Quisquid.

Cap. 6
Cbil.

Mango Inga
his acts.

* **TheCirie:**
some say they
held the
Castle.
Spanish dis-
asters

ardi ranne the fame fortune. The Marquette fends *Godeiro* with fortie Horfe, but he being affayed, and finding him more blaine, fled, and brought newnes to *Lima*. Then did the Marquette lead *Peter Lerma* with fiftie Horfe, and followed himfelfe, and flue many of the *Indians* in battell; two hundred Horfes, and foure hundred *Spaniards*, had bene loft, neither could hee heare of his brethren any more. He fent therefore to *Corteio*, to *Trucillo*, *Nicaragua*, *Panama*, to *Alonso Alvarado*, who firft came to his fuccour with three hundred *Spaniards*, the moft Horfemen. He ouerthrew *Ticiao* (*Mango* chiefe Commander) with yuccoo *Indians*, and againe in another battell.

Meane while *Alvarado* (whom the Marquette thought to bee dead) returneth out of *Oriz*, which had not answered his expectations, the fame whereof caufed *Mango*, fearing to be hemmed in of all fides, to leave *Culco*, (depairing to recouer his caufe) with twenty thoufand *Indians*, telling himfelfe on the Mountains that *Francis* the Prefident of the Province was to come for him, after promifing him peace, and refuge, and newsworn by *Atabalaba* to fave him. *Alvarado* was hereafter taken by the *Indians* at *Oriz*, as Gubernour, which *Ferdinand Pizarro* refuted till he had leafe from the Marquette. But he by night entered, and imploined both *Gonzalez* and *Fernandez*.

The next day hee was proclaimed Gubernour, according to the Imperiall commiffion. He hearing of *Alvarado* and fearing his coming, till to him *Medeiros* which *Alvarado* itayed, but was fooner after taken by *Alvarado* in his Tenna.

Then doth hee returne to *Cujco* pompous, swearing to cast out all the *Pizarristis*. *Alvarado* and *Gonzalez* corrupting their keepers get out of prison, and acquaint the Marquellie with their things, who promised hue hundred men to march against him; but the sale was compromised. Ye: did the Marquellie see ten men to march against him by the way as he should come to the place appointed, which took time away from him being wanted there. After this they are reconciled to *Alvarado*, and after, which I leave after were broken, and brake out into open warres, in which *Alvarado* was taken, threatened to death, which no pleading, appeale, intercession could reuerse; but he was still tranced in prison, and then beleheaded by *Ferdinand Pizarro*, who had before bene his prisoner. His Father is not knowne; yet left a Sonne by an Indian Concubine, bearing his owne name *Diego*.

The Marquess sent his Brother *Ferdinand* to *Spain*, with the proceeds of *Almagro*, and the Kings find, In the mean time one *Rada* a friend of *Almagro*, with young *Diego* his son conspire against the Marquess, who contemning their meanness, was by them flaine in his own house with his halfe brother *Martin de Alcantara*; *Diego Almagro* invades the government, and makes all to swear to him till *Cajal* had otherwise provided. Hee goeth to *Cajal*, and there slayeth *Garcia Alonzo*, who had killed *Sorrelle*, and would have done as much for him.

Cesari hearing of these broyles sent the Licentiate *Pace* & *Caffro* thither with commission, between whom and *Diego* was fought a bloody battell, three hundred slain, on *Cesari* side one hundred and fiftie. *Diego* fleeth to *Cusco*, but by *Rodrigo Salazar*, on whom hee had bestowed many benefits, was betrayed to *Pace*, who cut off his head.

many deaths, was betrayed to *caño*, whor out on his head.

At about this time the Decree for the *Indians* liberty was promulgated and *Tlafcam Nuñez Velasco* was made *Vice-roy of Peru*, where arriving he was met by *Don Juan de Dios*, A. 1544, there met with many *Spaniards* who had gotten much of the sale of *Indians* and *Indians* who would have confiscated their money as against the late *Laws*, which being done by him in a place out of his jurisdiction, it was upon intercession restored. Going to *Panama* he caught the *Indians* to be freed, at *Tumbes* he meets with a Priest and a *tirant* of *Gonzales Pizarro*, which had been in the battell against *Almagro*, and hanged them both. He executed a *Friar* also which had taxed the *taxerite* of *Cajal*, Edict, and ill rewarding those which had fured him. And while he would remit nothing of utmost rigour, he procured the hate of all, which after broke forth into a rebellion. He committed *Pacca de Caffro* into prison, whereupon the *Spaniards* chose *Gonzales Pizarro* their Leader, *Gouernor*, and *Procurotor* general of the *Peruan* Prouinces. The *Vice-roy* also put the *Kings* *Factor* to death, whose brother the *Licenciant Carnaval* iware to be aunged off by him. The *Vice-roy* after this was taken and imprisoned, but fone after sentenced to be raile back to *Spain*. At *Spain* he was freed him. His brother *Pela Nuñez*, seeking to raise force for him when was taken and executed. *Ciudad* was for his sake, a battel was fought betwixt *Pizarro* and the *Vice-roy* there taken, whom *Carnaval* in reuenge of his brothers death caused to be done to death.

Gafca, a man of great subtlety, was sent to appease those affairs; who made the *Indians* to beate the stripes of his Armie on their shoulders, chained on a rowe, to prevent their flight. Some fainting, some weeping, and weighing their burthens, others with extreme thirst. Those which could not march with the fatigue the *Gafca* gave them, he cut off the hands of some, the delay of the chaine: or if they were tied with ropes, they ranne them thorow with their weild.

60 pous: of some they cutt off the legs, of others the nose, or arms. *Gonsalv Pizarra* the chief of the Rebels, ouercame *Campo* in one battell, but in another was taken by *Gafca*, and executed; and after him his *Cont-maister Carnual*, a cruel man, which would decide his own Countrymen, when he executed them; building them, because they were Gentlemen bornefemen, a chuite, which tree they would hang on. *Gafca* ordained that the *Indians* should pay tribute to

cap.7

Almagro put to death.

Cap. 8.
Ferd. sent to
Spain, where
he is thought
to have died
in prison.
The Marquess

Cap. 9.
Vacca de Castr.
curs off Diego.

Cap. 10.
Vice-roy Veld

Стор. 11.

CAP.

Cap. 13.
Gaseus actus in
Petra.

Cap. 14.
Cap. 15.


co

Ееееее 3

Lately they curie the Sea, which hath brought to the Land so fierce and dreadfull an issue. If I asked for a *Christian*, they would not answer, nor looke on mee. But every whide could say, *There cometh a Urucacotie*. They hid their ancient treasures, that the *Spaniards* should not finde them; saying, that all which they got, in comparison of their hidden, was but as a graine of Maize to a hillfull. Some they buried in the Earth, and some they cast into the Sea. &c.

*Observations of things most remarkable, collected out of the first part of the Com-
mentaries Royall, written by the Inca GARCILASSO DE LA VEGA,
Nattall of Cozco, in nine Bookes, Of the Originall, Lives,
Conquests, Lawes and Idolatries of the Incas, or
Ancient Kings of Peru.*



 *This Author* (of the blood of the Incas, or of others call them, Incas, Emperours of Peru, by the mothers side, his father a Spaniard) hath written three large Volumes of 30 American Affairs, *namely* of Society, of Cities, and of Florida, in five Bookes; but the number of his *owne* Chronicle, of the Spanish Conquests, the later style later Spaniards thought due to the Incongruity of the Spanish Language, the more ancient Spaniards thought due to the Incongruity of the English Language, and have thusly bestowed, a new note, Puaru, to accompanie it. Thus Florida Indians are thusly denoted, a new note, *Amay*, bringing on our Stage a Portuguese, a Portingale, to add his *owne* part to our new Act and Book: one of the others I perswaded my selfe either, that they might have a Portuguese of Peru; but the work growing so great, and we having use of Acapots, and so many others presented to me before, I feared to trouble the Reader with fables of which kind, if not before, yet now to the Ad- vantage, have principally collected such things as either they had not, or were but by selfe information receiv'd; have also directed their Readers, whom this Author sometimes doth better mislead, before he has chosen to build counterpoise, as drawing things from their originals, with our Mexican Picture- analysis.

Ex Praefatione.
Of the *Luise*
Tongue.
Three pronun-
ciations.
Accent.
b. d. f. g. i. x.
rr. wanting.

Monic.

P. 208.

The first Book
of the first part.

[illegible]

In my time about 1660. and twentie yeeres after, in my Countrie there was no money coyned, but they reckoned by weight, the *marke*, or *ounce*; as in *Spain* they reckon by Duckets, so in *Peru* by Pezos or Castellans, every Pezo of Silver being foure hundred and fiftie *Maravedies*, and reckoned so. *Somewhat* Duckets, euery five Pezos are fixe Duckets.

A Nno 1484. *Alonso Sanchez*, of *Huelva*, in the Countie of *Nubla*, traded in a small ship from *Spain* to the *Canaries*, and thence to *Madera*. In this his triangular trade, hee was one day taken with a tempest, which carried him twenty and eight or nine dayes he knew not where neither whether, and then the tempest ending, hee arrived at an Ile (which some thinke to bee *Hispansola*) where he went on land, and tooke the height. Hee wrote all occurrents, and after a

Blasco Nunez de Balboa, An. 1513, discovered the South Sea, & was thereof made *Adelantado*, and the conquest of those Regions granted him by the Catholick Kings. He made three or four Ships for discovery, one of which paffed the line to the South, failing along the coast; and seeing an *Indian* Fisherman at the mouth of a River, fore of the *Spaniards* went ashore farre from the place where he was, being good runners and swimmers to take him.

10 *the Indian* marauding what kinds of creature the Ship *vider* fate might be, was taken in the particulars
midst of his mule and carried a shipboard. They asked him by signs and words (being known in the
refreshed after that dreadful surprize and bearded giant) what Countrie that was, and how call-
led, the *Indian* not understanding what they demanded, answered *no*. *They* then said, *What*
name, saying *Bem*, and added another word, saying *Peru*. *Where* he should have said, if ye ask
me what *I am*, my name is *Peru*. *Where* he should have said, *I was in the River, Peru* being the
common name of a River in that language. The *Christians* conceived that hee had understood
and answered to the purpose, and from that time *anno* 1515, or 1516. they called by
the name of *Peru* that great and rich Empire, corrupting both names, as they in *Indian* words
Some later authors call it *Piru*. After the discovery of the *Incac* Kingdome the name till contin-
ued, howsoever the Nations to this day (eleven years since the conquest) will not call
the *Incac* Kingdome by that name, but by the name of *Peru*, which is the name of the *Incac* Kingdome.

20 in their mouthes, although they speake with *Spaniards* and *Ynderland* them: neither have they one general name for all those Provinces, as *Spain*, *Italy*, *France* with vs, but call each by its proper name; and the whole Kingdome they called *Tamassini*, that is to say, the fourth part of the world. That Ruier also where they took the *Indian*, was after by the *Spaniards* called *Peru*; *Lucat* received the name from like accident, the first discoverers asking the place, the *Indian* answering *teleten*, *teleten*, that is, *I vnderstand you not*, which they vnderstood of the proper annellation, and corruptly called the place *Teucatan*.

per appellation, and corruptly called the place *Uman*.
 From *Panama* to the City of *Kings*, the sailing was very troublesome, by reason of Southerne
 windes which way runne on that coast, as also of many currents: these forced the Shippes in
 that voyage to make large boords of force, or fittie leagues into the Sea, and then againe to land-
 ward; thus *Fra. die Drake* an *Englishman* (which entred by the *Magellan* Strait 1579,) taught
 30 them a better course of sailing two or three hundred leagues into the Sea, which the Pilots be-
 fore durst not doe, beinge fearful of calmes, if they were once one hundred leagues from land,
 otherwise also vncertaine and ignorant.

[illegible]

In *old times* all *this region* was *outsted* and *one* *grewne* *with* *bufles*, and *the* *people* *of* *these* *times* *lived* *as* *wilde* *beasts*, *with* *no* *religion* *or* *police*, *without* *house* *or* *boafe*, *without* *tilling* *or* *sowing* *the* *ground*, *without* *raiment*, *for* *they* *wore* *leaves* *and* *skins* *of* *beasts*, *Cooten* *or* *Wool*, *to* *make* *their* *garments*. *They* *lived* *as* *beasts*, *as* *the* *foxes*, *or* *the* *lynxes*, *and* *all* *kinds* *of* *the* *ground*, *eating* *graffe* *like* *beasts*, *and* *roote* *of* *trees*, *and* *wilde* *fruits*, *and* *mansefles*. *They* *conuered* *the* *smilines* *with* *leaves*, *and* *barkes* *of* *trees*, *and* *skins* *of* *Beasts*, *and* *others*, *in* *leathers*. *Once*, *they* *lived* *as* *wilde* *buffs*, *and* *their* *women* *were* *in* *common* *and* *brutish*. *Our* *Father* *the* *Sunne* *(thw* *was* *the* *Incas* *master* *of* *feith*, *because* *they* *deriued* *their* *pedegers* *from* *the* *Sunne* *and* *for* *ay* *beliued* *the* *Incas* *to* *say* *he* *was* *blissh* *hims*, *and* *inuerred* *floeing* *seing* *men* *live* *in* *this* *falshe*, *to* *putte* *on* *them*, *and* *sent* *from* *boanen* *a* *Sonne* *and* *a* *Daughter* *of* *his* *owne*, *to* *infrmit* *men* *in* *the* *knowledge* *of* *our* *Father* *the* *Sonne*, *and* *to* *worship* *him* *for* *the* *God*; *so* *gave* *them* *lawes* *also* *and* *precepts* *of* *burthen* *and* *reafonable* *care* *of* *life* *in* *civill* *fellow*, *to* *dwell* *in* *houses* *and* *townes*, *to* *husband* *the* *earth*, *to* *sow* *and* *se*, *to* *breede* *cattell*. *With* *the* *ordenaunces* *our* *father* *the* *Sonne* *placed* *beif* *his* *two* *children* *in* *the* *like* *Tinaca*, *eightie* *leagues* *from* *Culco*; *and* *gave* *them* *a* *barre* *of* *Gold* *two* *finger* *thicke*, *and* *halfe* *a* *yard* *long*, *for* *a* *signe* *that* *where* *that* *barre* *should* *met* *with* *on* *blow* *on* *the* *ground*, *there* *they* *should* *place* *their* *residence* *and* *Courts*. *Last* *he* *commanded* *that* *when* *they* *had* *reduced* *the* *people* *to* *serve* *him*, *they* *should* *uphold* *them* *in* *justice* *with* *clemencie* *and* *gentleness*, *behooving* *themselves* *as* *a* *pitifull* *Father* *dealeth* *with* *his* *tender* *and* *beloued* *children*, *like* *as* *he* *is* *himselfe* *gave* *them* *example* *in* *giving* *life*, *and* *heate* *to* *all* *the* *world*, *causing* *the* *seedes* *and* *grasse*

This *Spanish* re-
port some of
themselues
conceale, o-
thers deny: see
sup.ca. 1. §. 4.

To. 42. I have here given this voyage (or fable) because the particulars are so full and plain in this author: whereas *Gomara* saith neither in the man, nor time, nor place, &c. it is agreed on: see *Gim* p. 2. 613.

The like you
may be ore
read of *China*, a
name no: ther
knowne, &c.
Lucatan.

Sir F. Drake
teacher of navigation
the S.
Sea to the Span.

C.15.
Tahualpa or
Tahualpa his
nucleus.

*Indian fables
of their Origin.*

Ensignes of
dignitie.Cuzco and the
Neighbours
Incas by
privilege,
which none
elsewhere
except of the
Royall blood.
Royall Dis-
cords.Cuzco and Huaco
distinguished pre-
sently to the Kings.Mancos died.
Suzhi Roca
succeeded.

Curaca.

Mancos Fun-
eral.Titles of his
son.The second
Book.Amantia, the
bearded Per-
uian.
Pachacamac,
the name of
God.
Inca's wife.
Analluzer,
the name of
the Inca's
wife.
Analluzer,
the name of
the Inca's
wife.

Mancos deities, the *huaco* or ribband, the wide hole in the ear, and polling, as a kinde of Royaltie: and the first Privilege which the *Inca* gave to his Vassalls was to wear the fillet or ribband like the *Inca*, but theirs of one colour only, his of many. After some time, he vouchsafed (as a great favour) the polling distributed in Provinciall differences of the *Establions* (which was a later and greater favour) both for the bearing and Earings, or Jewell there worn.

The *Inca* growing old, assembled his principal Vassalls in *Cuzco*, and in a solempne speech told them, that he intended to returne to Heaven, and to rest with his Father the Sunne which called him, (which was practised by all his successors, when they perceived themselves neere death) and now at his departure he minded to leave them his chiefe favour, to wit, his Royall Title, com- manding that they and their Descendants should be *Incas* without difference, as having been his first Subjects which he loved as children; and he hoped that they would likewise serve his Successor, and augment the Empire: that their wives also should be called *Pallas*, as those of the Royall blood. Only he referred the Royall Head-ire to himselfe and his Descendants the Kings which was a fringe or lace of blue, extending from one side of the forehead to the other, his surname *Cape* signifieth rich (which they understood of the mindes vertues) and might in arms. The name *Inca* signifieth Lord, or generally chiefe of the Royall blood. For the *Curacas*, though great Lords, might not vie that Title. The King is distinguished from all others by the appellation *Capa*. *Capa* *Inca* signifying the only Lord, as the *Grand Signior* among the *Turkes*. They filled him also *Huacachamac*, that is, benefactor to the people. They called them also *Intipachari*, the Sonnes of the Sunne. *Chasca* (Cape) signified, some say thirty yeres, others twelve. He had many children by his Wife *Mama Oello Huaco*, and by his Concubines (Saying it was good to multiply children to the Sunne.) He called his Vassalls also of the better sort, and recommended his Children by Testament in way of discourse to them, and to the rest of his children their love and service of the Vassalls, and to the Vassalls their loyalty to their King, and obedience to the Lawes. Then dismissing the Vassalls, he made another speech in secret to his children, that they should always remember that they were children of the Sun, to worship him as their God, and to maintaine his Lawes giving others examples therein; also to be gentle to the *Indians*, to uphold them in justice without oppression: that they should recommend these things to their posterities in all generations, saying, that they were the people of the Sunne, which he left to them as his Testament, to whom he was now going to rest with him in peace, and from Heaven would have a care to succour them.

Thus died *Mancos* *Capa*, and left his Heire *Suzhi Roca* the eldest brother, and begotten of *Coya Mama Oello Huaco* his wife and sister. Besides the Heire, whose Kings left other sonnes and daughters which married among themselves to keepe the Royall blood entire, which they tabuloly beleaved to be diuine, and of others humane, although they were great Lords of Vassalls, called *Curacas*. The *Inca Suzhi Roca* married with his eldest sister, after the manner of his parents, and of the Sunne and Moone, thinking the Moone to be sister and wife to the Sunne. The *Inca Mancos* was lamented by his Vassalls very heavily, the *Old* quires continuing many moneths. They embalmed his corps to preferre it among them, and worshipped him for a God, Secretly of the Sunne, offering many Sacrifices of Rammes, Lambes, Birds, Grannes, &c. consoling him Lord of all those things which he left.

The name *Inca* descended to all the posteritie by the Male Line, not by the Female; all of this rank were also called *Intipachari* (children of the Sunne) and *Anqui*, or *Infanta*, which Title they kept till their Marriage, and then were called *Inca*. The lawfull Queene was called *Coya*; also *Mamancha*, that is, *Our Mother*. Her daughters were likewise called *Coya*; the Concubines and other wives of the blood Royall, were called *Pallas*, which signifieth a woman of Royall blood, Concubines which were not of Royall blood, were called *Mamacuna*, *Mother*. All the Royall Daughters were called *Nustas*, and if not of Royall Mothers, the name of the Prouince was added as *Colla Nusta*, *Quina Nusta*. The name *Nusta* continued till they were married, and so then they were titled *Pallas*.

The first *Inca* and their *Amantia* (which were their Philosophers) by light of Nature acknowledged God the Creator of all things, which they called *Pachacamac* (he Name they held to be a visible God) *Pacha* signifieth the World, and *Camac* to quicken, of *Cama*, the *Soules* is *Pachacamac*, were the soule or quickner of the Universe. This name they had in such veneration that they durst not mention it, and if they were by oath or forced therein, they did it with holding downe to the ground, lifting up their hands open from the shoulders, giving *Imaces* or Inimotions to the Ayre (Rites performed only to him and the *Inca*) holding *Pachacamac* in the more internall reverence than the Sunne, whom they named commonly on any occasion. They said that he gave life to the World, but they knew him not, nor they had neuer seene him, and therefore neither built Temples, nor offered Sacrifice to him; but said they worshipped him in that they held the Sun for God, the earth for Mother, & *Pachacamac* for Creator of all.

that

their minds, and held him for the unknowne God. The *Spaniards* which took him for a Deuill, and knew not the general Language, found out another name for God, *Tia Ura-cocha*, which neither I, nor they know what it meaneth; and if any should aske mee how I in my Language would call him, I would answer, *Pachacamac*: nor is there in that general Language any other name for him: And all those which Authors report are corrupted of other Languages, or devised by them.

The *Inca* in *Cuzco* kept a Crosse of Marble, White and Garnetion, which they call *Ialpe* *Orizuela*. They know not how long they haue it. Anno 1560, Ilett it in the Veltry of the Cathedral Church of that City: The Crosse was square, three quarters of a yard long, and three fingers thicke; and so much in breadth; all of one piece well wrought. They kept it in one of their Houlds Royall, in a room which they call *Huana*, a holyplace. They did not adore it, but held it in venerable esteeme, either for the goodliness, or for some other respect which they knew not. The *Incas* and all Nations subject to them, knew not what it was to sweare: you haue heard of their respect to the name *Pachacamac*. The Witnesses were solemnly demanded in weighty cases by the Iudge, *Dough them promise to tell truth to the Inca*: which he promising, the Iudge gave him a cause for lying or concealing. They exceedingly feared to lye, and if they were found to doe so, were grievously punishing. They exceedingly feared to lye, and if they were found to doe so, were grievously punishing. They exceedingly feared to lye, and if they were found to doe so, were grievously punishing.

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As to each him
I could not find
out his name
nor his God.A Crosse in
Cuzco before
the *Spaniards*
came.

No swearing.

As to this
they will be
understand
& corrected.Huana and the
queens there-
of, unknowne
to the *Spani-
ards* and *Indi-
ans* yet they
were in their
houses.* He seemeth
also to make a
difference
between the ad-
oration of the
Sunne, & wor-
ship of the
Inca.
See before in
India. p. 144.
144. 145.Their belief
of the soule.

Three Worlds.

Reduction.

Havens Super-
Bounties.

Sacrifices.

Pen diet.

* *Drum does*
two bells at
Peasants no
Men, officers,
And so, and
others taxed.

Inca consents
or forbids.

Eyebow-ties.

Priests of Peru.

Cargo Metro-
politans others
had as it were;
Bishops and
Priests.

All Ordinances
attributed
to *Atahua*.

Division of
the Empire.

Anti, called
Atahua, Antis.

Tithings and
Tithingmen.
See the like
with vs in
Lamb, parish,
or Kent.
Officers of
Officers.
Chusca Camayo.

Resurrection) and that the foules should raise all that belonged to their bodies forth of the graues; we therefore say our hure together that our foules should not be troubled to fecke the same at that day when there shall be to great hubbub and presture, and if it were possible we would have it all in one place for quicker dispatch.

The Sacrifices to the Sunne were diuers: as creatures tame, great and small, Lambs were the principally, next Rammes, and then barren Ewes; Conies, all Birds which were for meate, and Seawet, or Tallow; Corne and Pulse to the Herbe *Cuca*, and fine garments (which they burned instead of Incense; they drinke also, as that made of water and Maiz; and in their ordinarie meales when they have eaten and are about to drinke (for they neuer drinke whiles they are eating) they put their finger in the midst of the first vessel, and looking vp to Heauen with reuerence, they turne vp as it were, with a flip, a drop of that drinke, offering it with thankfulness to the Sunne, for that he hath giuen them to drinke, * and kissing wife moued their lips twice or thrice to the aire, which with them is a signe of adoration; and then drinke off the rest without more Ceremonies. This I haue seene them often doe. Yet did not the *Indians* of the second age (which began and ended with the *Inca* government) offer the blood or flesh of men, but prohibited the eating thereof, wherein *Hilions* haue bin deceived, it being true indeed of some Regions before the conquest of them by the *Inca*. Neither did they sacrifice either men or children when their Kings were like, as one *Hilsonian* wrot: For they held them not for sacrifices, as those of the common people; but esteemed them as *Madgements* of their Father the Sunne, which came to call his Sonne to rest with him in Heauen; and those were their ordinarie speeches, when they were to die.

When they entered into their Temples, the principall of those which went in, put vp his hand to his eye-browes, as if he would pluck off some of the haire, and whether he plucked off any or no, he puff'd to it idoll in signe of adoration and offering; this they did not to their Kings but only to their Idols, or Trees, or places where the *Deuill* gaue answers, their Priests and Witches did the like, when they went into their corners or secret places to confere with the *Deuill*. This I do not say I haue also seene them performe.

The Priests of the house of the Sunne in *Cusco*, were all *Incas* of the Royall blood: for other seruice of the Temple were *Incas* of those which were by primogeniture. They had a High or Chief Priest, which was Uncle or Brother to the King: or at least legitimate of the blood. The Priests had no peculiar Vestments. In other Provinces where were Temples (which were many) the Natures were Priests, the Kingdome of the Lords of those Countries; notwithstanding the principall Priest (or Bishop as it were) was to be an *Inca*, that to they might hold conformitie of Rites with the Metropolitan: for in all preeminent Offices of Peace or Warre, they had *Incas* their Superiours. They had many houses of Virgins which obserued perpetuall Virginitie without going out of their houses; and others of the Concubines by the King.

All their Lawes Ciuill and Sacred were attributed to *Manco Capac*, saying, that hee had left and perfected long himselfe, the others for his Successors to accomplish in their times: so to giue authority to all, as from the Sunnes Ordinance. And though some of the *Incas* were great Law-makers, yet no memory is left of any particulars vnder their name, but all is attributed to the first *Inca*.

The *Inca* deuised their Empire into foure parts: they called it *Tauantisuya*, that is, the foure parts of the World, here of *Cusco* was the Centre, which in that *Inca*-language signifieth the *Navel* of the Earth, or Land. The East-diuision they called *Antisuya* of the Province *Anti* (a name also giuen to the Rew or Snowie Mountains in the East) the West *Chusisuya*, the North *Cama* also giuen to the Rew or Snowie Mountains in the East) the West *Cama*, the South *Collasuya*, the South *Collasuya* that way, as *Collasuya* to *Chili*, fixe hundred leagues from *Colla*, and continued to the furiest extent that way, as *Collasuya* to *Chili*, fixe hundred leagues from *Colla*, and *Chusisuya* to *Quito* four hundred leagues from *Chusca* to the North.

They ordained that in euery Towne great or small of their Empire, the Inhabitants should be registred by Tithings, and one of them should take charge of the other nine, as a *Decurion* or Tithingman, called *Chusca Camayo*. Five of these *Decurions* had another Superiour, which had the charge of fiftie. Ouer two of those was another Superiour or Centurion. Five Centuries were subiect to one which had charge of five hundred, and two of those charges had a *Colarch* or Captaine of one thousand: higher they went not.

The Tithingman gaue account to the Gouverneur of those in his charge, to prouide them Seed or Bread-Corne, or Wool, or Houfe-reparations, or other necessities. He also went to informe of their faults to the Iudges, which according to the greatness of the offences were also diuerted in order for dispatch of Iustice, and to take away need of Appelles, except in cases betwixt one Province and another, for which the *Incas* had a speciall Iudge. If the *Decurion* neglected to informe, the Iudge was now made his owne, and hee corrected for it: as also in the other case of proudness. Hence there were no Vagabonds nor idle persons. The Father was corrected which did not educate or correct his children; the children also were punished in correspondence of their age: and the Tithingman was to informe of both. The Iudges punished them, they said, not for the fact, but the fault in *transgressing* the *Incas* commandment which they respected as Gods.

They had no purre-punishments, Fines or Confiscations; for to leaue them poore, was but to giue them more libertie to commit. If any *Cusco* rebelled and defured death, his punishment was notwithstanding to his Stravel. In warre they had Natives for Captiues ouer the *Envy* Countreines, making *Incas* their Superiours. The Iudge durst not sentence. This feueritie of the Law, *Atahua* brooke for breaking the Royall commandment. This feueritie of the Officers and the Lawes which for light offences inflicted death, produced rather gentle (yet ciuill and barbarous) few daring to transgress so that all the Empire, extended through the *Andes* as it were, and consisting of so many Nations and Languages, was gouerned by one Law, as if it had bene one people, the rather because they held the same diuine, and from the Sunnes tradition, by the *Indians*.

And *Atahua* Law-breaker was therefore accounted sacrilegious and accursed. Informally that being accused by their owne consciences haue made confessions without other officers, fearing to feare publick plagues on the State, as *Distractors* of Deaths, which they sought to prevent by appealing to God with their deaths. And I conceiue, that from these publick confessions, the *Spanish* Historians haue written that the *Indians* of *Peru* had confession in secret to the Christians, and Confessions appropriated: which is false, for in *Peru* they had no other then I haue mentioned; and the *Indians* which told the *Spaniards* thus, answered to to their questions, as they thought might best please them. Neither had they any Appelles Ciuill or Criminall. Every Towne had a Iudge, and for higher matters they went to the Superiour Iudge in the Mother Citie. The Sentences of

ordinary Iudges, were euery moeth related to the Superiour Iudges; and theirs to others their Superiours, which were in the Court in diuers degrees according to the qualitie of Cotes. The Superiour were the Presidents or Vice-royes of the foure parts of the World. This report was made to examine Sentences which had passed, and if they were found vniust, the Actions were from time to time punished. The manner of sending these reports to the *Inca*, and to the Iudges of his Court, was by knight lines of diuers colours, which seued them as it were Ciphers: for the knots of such or such colours declared the offences, and certaine threads of diuers colours fastned to the lines, showed the punishment. This was their Arithmetike in which they were expert and certaine, fewe applying themselves to nothing else. If any Provinciall contrariety could not be decided by those whom the King sent, it was suspended till his Visitation of those parts, and then hee himselfe would see, heare and sentence.

The Tithingmen also gaue account euery moeth of all which were borne or died, and likewise at the end of the yeere: such as perished in the warres; they also related. The like Officers and Orders were in the Campes of warre, as in the Townes of peace. They permitted not to sacke the Townes which they conquered by force. For euery of those foure diuisions of the Empire the *Incas* had Councels of Warre, of Iustice, of necessary business. These had subordinate Officers in diuers degrees which rendered accounts of all to the Supreme Court. Each had a President or Vice-roy which recouied those accounts, and rendered the same to the King. These were *Incas* legitimate, of great experience in Warre and Peace. And these foure only were Councellers of State.

Roca succeeded his Father *Manco*; he was called *Sinchi*, that is, valiant; excelling in manly feates of Activity, Running, Leaping, casting stones or Darts, Wrestling, any of his time. His Fathers Obsequies being finished, hee sought to augment his Empire, offered his *Cousins* to that end; and put them in minde of that which his Father had said to them, when he would returne to Heauen, commanding the conuersion of the *Indians*, to the knowledge and worship of the Sunne; whereunto he was now obliged by his place, and for the profit of the bordering Nations which had need thereof. They promised all readinesse, and he made his expedition to *Colas* and perished with faire words, the Nations *Pachima* and *Chunchi* being simple and credulous of euery noueltie (as are all the *Indians*) and so proceeded without violence twentie leagues that way to the people *Chuncara*, in all things following his Fathers example. Hee also brought in other Nations on each hand; some affirme a great many. He is thought to haue reigned thrie yeeres: and then profiting that he went to rest with his Father the Sunne, hee left *Lloque Tupanqui* his sonne to succeed him, and a numerous illie besides. His name *Lloque* signifieth little hands (for so he was) *Tupanqui* was added for his vertues, and signifieth, thou shalt account or reckon; to wit, his great exploits and good parts. If any think the word may imply a little the recounting of woes, let him know that in that Language it is not so, the same Verbe not being flexible to euill transition which is vied to good, nor to good which may be applied to euill; but their elegance enforceth a change of the Verbe in change of the object. The name *Tupanqui*, as that of *Casco* were for their merits giuen to these other *Incas*. He reduced vnder subiection proceeding by the *Collasuya*, the people *Cama* by persuasions. The *Ayassari* refused and fought with him, and after fortified themselves and endured many skirmishes, but by fuge and famine were subdued.

After that he went to *Pucara*, which was a Fortresse builded by him: and sent to the *Pancacalla* and *Hatanacolla*, which lifted to his proposition, being a great Nation, or rather a multitude of Nations, which had many fables of their original, some from a Fontaine, others from a Caut,

Penalties,
No fines.

Nothing more
speciall than
feueritie vn-
parallel, which
makes all to
owe to Gods
haue pured
laurels or mens
lives, the gene-
rall feare of
Ordinance caus-
ing few be-
lieves, and con-
sequently
fewe fine in
warres then
when & where
they haue not
aufficient
in *Peru*, as *Atahua*
judgements
examined.
Quipus.

Monthly and
yearly ac-
counts.

But foure pri-
uie Councel-
lers.

Roca *Inca* his
ada.

Indian credu-
lous.

Lloque *Tupa-*
qui the third
Inca.

Stringe
Grammar.

See *delia*.Of the *Pyramid*
Art, &
Astrologie.Dreames of
Eclipses.Thunder and
lightning.
Rainbow.

Dream-visions.

Medicine.

Geometry.
Geography.
Arithmetick.

Musick.

Poetry.

A *Peruan* hymn
in 'Pondake
verses.Handicrafts.
Goldsmiths.

Carpenters.

Cause, others from a River. They worshipp'd a white Ramme as their principall God, being Lords of much cattell. They said that the first Ram in the world aboue, made more reckoning of them then other *Indians*, and had multiplied their Cattell. They offered to that Ram Lambs and tallow in Sacrifice. All of them agreed in this Ram deitie, in other their gods differing, but now exchanged all for the Sunne. Afterwards *Tisicaca*, and *Chimayta*, and *Harin Pausa* were slain by him. Now to intermixe somewhat of the Sciences which the *Indians* had,

Their Astrologie and naturall Philosophie was little, by reason their *Amantus* or Philosophy wanted letters. They better vnderstood mortall learning, and leit it written in the practice of their lawes. They observed the solitudes and equinoctials by certaine towers. The Moone and Month they called *Quilla*, the year *huata*. The eclipses of the Moone they attributed to her sickness, fearing that she would dye and fall from heauen, and kill all below, and therefore they sounded Trumpets, Cornets, Drums, and such Instruments as they had, beating, and making their Dogs also to howle, thinking her affectioned to Dogges, for a certaine seruice which they fable done by them, and therefore imagine she would respect them, and awake out of her sleepe caused by sickness. The eclipse of the Sunne they say happeneth for some offence done against him, for which he is angry. He is wont in the Moone they fable to haue come of a Foxe, which being in love with the Moones beautie, went to heauen, and touching her with his foreheade left that foule memoriall. They make their children to cry *Meane Quilla*. *Meane Moone* do not dye left ill perfitt. The men and women cry likewise in her eclipse with horrible noise: when she recouers her light, they say *Pachacamac* hath cured her and commanded her not to dye, that she would should not perish: and give her great thanks. All this I haue seene with mine eyes. The lightning and thunder they adore, not for gods, but honour and esteem them as the Sunnes seruants resident in the ayre, not in heauen. Like account they make of the Rainbow, which the Kings *Inca* placed in their armes and fustion. In the house of the Sunne was a room for each of them. They made no Prognostications nor Preditions by signes of the Sunne, Moone, Comets, but by their dreames often and strange, and by their sacrifices. The Sun euenly euening in the Sea, and with his head dried up much of the water, and swam vnder the earth throw in to the East. For Philosophie they vsed purging and bleeding, but had no skill of Vnters or Pulse: some rootes and herbes they made medicinable vfe of, especially of *Tobacco*.

In Geometry they had some skill for partitions of their grounds, but nothing for speculation; and so much Geographie, as with plats or pictures to expresse the Nations. I haue seene one *Cusco*, and the confines admirably artificiall. Arithmetick they practised with knots, as is said, and with graines of Maize, and small stones, making perfect accompts. Musike they had in tunes of art; with diuers Instruments, as Pipes proportioned to a concert, and flutes and songs. The *Amantus* also had some practice of Poetrie, and composed Comedies and Tragedies. The Actors were not bawle persons, but *Incas* and the Nobilitie, sources of the *Cortes*. The argument was the acts of their ancestors. These were represented before the King and Lords at Court. They had no bawle or disorder of words intermixed. They made Verbes short and long with measuring the syllables without rimes, I haue giuen an instance; the argument is *(like that of Jupiter and Ioue in our Poet)* Ioue daughter of a King had a pitcher full of water to moisten the earth, which her brother Ioue, and with the blow caused thunders and lightnings. They were found in knots and particulour threads, being very ancient. The words are thus in *Peruan* and English, the syllables also in like number and meter.

Cumac Nalla Fairest of Nymphes,
Tallay quim Thine owne Brother,
Panyay quita This thy Pitcher
Paque Cayen Now is breaking;
Hina Manara Whose hard striking
Cumac nimum Thunders, lightens,
Tila pantic And throwes fire-bolts
Cami Nalla But thou sweet Nymph,
Unay Quita Thy faire Pitcher
Paya Mungui Powing, raineth:

Now for Handicrafts, the Goldsmiths (of which they had no many) knewe not to make an anvil of Iron, nor to hammer metall, nor to cast Iron, although they had Mines thereof. They vsed for anuiles certain hard stones, of a pale green colour, which they plained and smoothed with rubbing one against another. They were rare and precious. They knew not how to make hammers with handles of wood, but wrought with instruments made of Copper and Laton mingled, in forme of a Dye, of several fitts, which they held in their hands to strike with as men doe with stones. They had no Files nor Chissels, nor Bellows for eating of metalls, but vsed Pipes of Brass, halfe a yard long or lesse, and ioyned eight or tenne together as there was neede. Neither had they skill to make tongues, And yet did they make maruelous workers. Their Carpenters were as much to leake or more, having no Iron tools, but an Axe and a Hatchet of

Mey nimpiri Sometimes also
Chichin mungui Thou sendst forth haile,
Ris mungui Thou sendst forth snow.
Pacha vrac The worlds maker,
Pacha camac Pachacamac
Vra cocha Vracocha
Cay bagac To this office
Churayungui Hath thee placed
Cama Jangui And authorized.

those of Brass; no Saw, nor Augre, nor Plaine, nor Nails, but lashed all things with lines or ropes of a kinde of heath. Neither were their Masons in better case: they vsed a certaine blacke stone not to cut but to beate their stoneworks with force of their armes, and yet haue left incredible Monuments of their art. The *Incas* and other Religions haue instructed the youth faine in other arts, in Dialogues and Comedies of Scripture. One Iesuite in praise of our Lady the Virgin *Mary* composed a Comedie in the *Amara* tongue, the argument was Gen. 3. I will put enmities betweene thee and the woman, and betweene thy seede and her seede: She (so the Romish read and make of it this remarkable vfe) shall break thy head. Or, a dialogue of the faith was recited at *Potosi* before 12000. *Indians*, and another of the Sacrament at the *Citie of Kings* before innumerable, the *Indian* youth acting and pronouncing with such seemly gestures as much affected the *Spaniards*. The Licentiate *Iuan Cusila* read the Latin Grammar to the *Mellicos* of *Cusco*, with good fruite.

Maya Capac followed his predecessors examples, and went forth with 12000. men (the former expeditions had bene with lesse company, as of 7000. and so vpwads as the state encreased) and couering his countenefesse and ambition with pretence of conuerting people to his religion, came to the difemboking of the great lake *Tisicaca*, and made Boates for transporting his army. He brought vnder by faire meanes the *Tiabmanaca*, which people had admirable skill in building. One was a hand-made Mount admirable high, founded on stones layned with mor-bulles, nor could tell for what cause. In one roome thereof stood two figures of Giants cut in stone with long garments downe to the ground, with couerings on their heads, well worne with floss. There was also a huge wall of stones so great that it may breede wonder what force of men might be able to bring or raise them where they are, seeing that in a great distance there are no quarries. There are other braue buildings, great porches or frontals, in diuers places each made of one stone in all the foure parts; yea to greater admiration some of these are set on stone, of which some are thirtie foote long, and fiftene broad, and fixe in front, and these stones so great, and the porches are of one peece; nor can it be imagined with what instruments they were wrought. The *Naturals* say they are ancients then the *Inca* times, and that they imitated these in building the fortresse of *Cusco*; and knew not who made them, but haue a tradition that they were all made in a night. It seemeth that they were neuer finished but were only beginnings of what the founders intended. *Diego de Aluarez* Priest, my Schoolefellow, & borne in the same house that I was, being also my toiter brother, and a Preacher to the *Indians* which hath bene there, wrote to me that in that Region *Tiabmanaca* fast by a lake called *Quimintin*, there stands a maruelous house, with a faire Court fiftene yards square, compassed with a high wall, on one side whereof is a great hall 45. foote long, and 22. wide, couered like the house of the Sunne in *Cusco*. This Court with the walls and floore, hall, rooffe, porches, and thresholds of two doores (the one of the hall, the other into the court) is all made of one peece wrought in one rocke: the walls of the hall and of the wall are three quarters of a yard thicke. The roofe though it seeme of the chise of stone. They say it was dedicated to the *Adage of the World*. There are also many founts cut in founts of men and women, so natural as if they were aloue drinking with cups in their hands, some lissing, some on their faces, others as it were passing, others with children in their armes, and 1000. other postures. The *Indians* say that for their sinnes, and for slouing a man which paled thorow that Province, they were conuerted into statues. But to returne to our *Inca*, he subdued many Nations or pettie habitations; as such would not be wonne by perswasions, hee mastered with feere and hunger. Battels were very rare. Hee died hauing reigned about thirtie yeares, and was bewailed a yeare after the custome. His Sonne *Capac Tupangui* succeeded, the fifth *Inca*.

His first care, after his Diadem assured, was to visite his Kingdome; in which visitation hee spent two yeares, enquiring into the courses of his Minifters and Gouernours. After this hee went vp from *Cusco* with 20000. men, and went Westward. Hee cauled a Bridge to be made in the River *Apurimas* at *Huacabaca*, lower then that of *Accha*. Hee passed out to the faire Province *Tanabura*, which gladly receiued him; thence to *Amara*, there being twice those two Provinces a Region inhabited of thirtie leagues; which passed, hee found at the hill *Huancay* much people of the Province (which is thirtie leagues long, fiftene wide, rich of Mines of Gold, Silver, Lead and Cattel) to encounter him. But he sought rather to beseege them on the hill, hauing purposely sent men about, and by hunger forced them to composition after a monthes siege. Hauing pacified the *Amara*, hee proceeded to *Cotapampa* and *Catacrana* of the Nation *Quechua*; and after to the Vallie of *Huacri*, great and fertile. Hee made another expedition, leaving his Brother his Lieutenant of his Kingdome, and the foure Masters of his Camp his Councillours, chusing others to ferre him; and went to the Lake of *Paria*, where two *Carcas* at contention, made him arbitrator, and themselves his Iubetis in the diuision *Callafaya*. Thence thorow a spicuous Countrey vnpeopled, but full of Cattell and hot Springs; hee came to the Provinces *Tapari* and *Cochapampa*. Hee made another Bridge in the water-passage of *Tisicaca*. The former of *Huacabaca* was made of Oylers, this of Bull-
ruths

Mafons.

Note.

The third

Booke.

*This Ieffon
the *Spaniards*
haue learned
too well fince.

Admirable
buildings. *Pe-
dro de Cordero*
saith haue
owne, not
more largely.

Men-stones.

Capac Tupangui
the fifth *Inca*.

Oylers Bridge.

ruishes three growings, of which they made foure cables as big as a mans legge, reaching from one side to the other: on which they laid great bundles of the same matter as bigges as an Ox, strongly tied together and to the Cables: over these bundles they made two other cables which they fastened lively with the bundles: upon these they laid other little bundles as bigges as a mans arme, woven into each other and with the cables: these were as the cauley of the Bridge. This Bridge is thirteene or foureteen foot broad, and about one hundred and fifty paces long. They renewed it every like moneths. Often vye made readinesse and quick dispatch. They remounted it as they saw occasion. The *Im.* passed further to *Choyanta*, throw a dilapidated Country: it with five other great Provinces he subjected, and then returned to *Cusco*, and rewarded his Captaines.

The Kingdome now reached one hundred and eighty leagues from *Cusco* Southwards, and Westwards to the Sea, fixtie leagues one way, and eighty another: to the East thirteene, to the South-east fortie. He adorned the houses of the Sunne which *Manco Capac* had founded, and that of the Virgins, with other great workes. After this he sent the Prince *Roca* with an army of 20000. men, by the way of *Chimachaga* Northwards from *Cusco*, which had continued as a stay since *Manco Capac*, but seven leagues from the Citie, the Country beyond being rough and vnpropitious. He entered into the rich Country of *Suna*, which gently received him, as did also the next called *Apuasca*, which was in enmitie with the former. The like success hee had in *Buana*, *Namajia*, and other Vallies to *Acrepaga* eightie leagues outright, and foureteen in breadth. The *Inca* transplanted people from those parts to *Aprimas*, both being hot Regions. Old *Inca Capac Yupanqui* after these things dyed, leaving about eightie children (some of them left one hundred, some two hundred, and some about three hundred) and his Sonne *Roca* succeeded. Let vs now speake of *Cusco* and the holies thereof.

One of the principallst Idols of that Empire was *Cosco*, the Imperiall Citie, which the *Indians* worshipped as a thing sacred, because it was founded by *Inca Manco Capac*, and because it was the house and Court of the *Inca* their gods. If an *Indian* in the way met another which came from *Cusco*, though otherwise equal, and now he himselfe were going thither, he gaue him respect therefore as his superiour for hauing beene there: how much more if he were a neere dweller, or Citizen there? The like was in Seedes, Pulles, or whatsoever was brought from *Cusco*, more esteemed for that cause then those of other parts in other respects as good. To hold it still in reputation, the Kings adorned it with sumptuous buildings, of which the principall was the Temple of the Sunne, every *Inca* increasing it, which is said to be builded by *Yupanqui*, because he enriched it, being before founded by *Manco*. The Chappell or shrine of the Sunne was that which is now the Church of Saint *Domingo* (although not the same altogether) wrought of polished stone. The high Altar (that we may so call it, for they knew not how to make an Altar) stood to the East, the roofe was thatched (for they could not make tile). All foure wals were covered from the top to the bottome with Plates of Gold. In the East or high Altar stood the figures of the Sunne, made of one plank or plate) of Gold, twice as thicke as the other plates on the wals; the face round with sayes and flames of fire, all of a peece. It was so great that it rooke vp all the end from one wall to the other. Neither had they any other idols in that or any other Temple but this: for indeede (whatsoever others say) they worshipped no other gods but the Sunne. This Idol fell by lot, in the *Spanish* Conquerours tharing, to one *Manco Serra*, whom I knew and left alive when I came to *Spain*, who lost it at play in a night, whence they said Proverbially, *hee had played away the Sunne before it was vp*. Hee was first chosen the ordinary *Aldame* of the Citie many yeares, and grew to abhorre play very much. But by such a share falling to one man, may be guessed the exceeding riches of that Citie. On the one side and on the other of that Image were the decessed bodies of the Kings, placed according to their antiquitie, as children of the Sunne, embalmed (wee know not how) so that they seemed alive. They were set in their feates of Gold placed on planks of gold, holding their faces to the people. Onely *Huayna Capac* was placed before the figure of the Sunne with his face to it: as his best beloved (one, whom they worshipped in his life time for his vertues. These corpses the *Indians* did hide with the rest of their treasures, the most of which is not yet knowne. *Quano 1559*, the Licentiate *Polo* found five of them, three of the Kings, and two of the *Queens*. The principall doore looked to the North, as it still abides. That and the other little doores were lined with plates of Gold, in manner of a Porch. Without the Temple, on the top of the wals ran all along a chamfered worke of gold, in forme of a Crowne, above a yard broad, round about the Temple.

Beyond the Temple was a Cloister of foure squares (one of which was the Temple) round about the top whereof was such a crowne of chamfered gold, as is before mentioned, above a yard broad, instead of which the *Spaniards* haue set vp one of white plaiter. There were the squares, or fenced Chappels standing by themselves, covered like pyramids, which made the three other sides of the Cloister. One of them was dedicated to the Moone, all which and the doores thereof was covered with plates of Silver. Her Image was placed therein like that of the Sun, with a wouns face in a plank of Silver. Thither they went to visite her, and to commend them-

Remouing of people from one place to another.
Many children.
Religious reputation of *Cusco* and the holies therein.
The Temple of the Sunne.
Rich hangings.
Sunnies image.
Bodies of Kings decessed.
A rich Cloister.
Five Chappels.
Moone Chappell.

themselves to her as the wife and sister of the Sunne, and mother of the *Incas*, and all their generation; and called her *Mamaquilia*, Mother Moone: but offered no Sacrifices to her as to the Sunne. On each hand of the Moones image were the bodies of the *Queens* decessed ranked in order of their antiquitie. *Mamaocha* Mother of *Huayna Capac* stood before the Moone face to face, for producing such a Sonne. The next room to that of the Moone, was dedicated to the Planet *Venus*, and to the seven Starres, and to all the Starres in common, which they held to be the seruants of the Moone, and therefore placed them about their Lady to be ready at hand for any seruice. The next room was lined with siluer allso, and the porch of siluer. The roofe was made with reemblances of Starres great and small, like the starre firmament. The next to this of the Starres was dedicated to the Thunder and Lightning firmament. The next to this they were signified in one word *Thapa*. They worshipped them not for gods, but held them for seruants of the Sunne. They made no picture thereof. The fourth room of Chappell was dedicated to the Rainbow, which they esteemed seruant to the Sunne; this room and the former were all gilded with gold. On the golden planks of this was the Rainbow painted. When they saw a Rainbow they vncouered their mouth with their hand, saying, that if their teeth were vncouered they would consume. The fifth building was for the chiefe Priests, and the other Priests which seruied in the Temple, not to eate or drinke in, but for consultation about their Sacrifices: it was garnished with gold from the top to the bottome.

The chiefe Priest was called *Vlluc Ynn*, that is, the Priest which speaketh, namely to the people, what the Sunne hath giuen him in charge, or diuels, or dreames, or other diuinations haue foretold. Three of those five rooms remaine, the Gold and Silver except. Those of the Moone and Starres are downe. Every li he had foure Tabernacles without, which had like workes on them in stone, as within of metall. Not onely the wals but the floors of those Tabernacles also was of Gold. The Images were also pouldered with Gemmes, Turkecks, and Emeralds; for they had no Diamonds nor Rubies. There were twelue doores to the Cloister, and as many Tabernacles or shrines, besides that of the Moones Chappell and of the Starres, there were of Silver, the rest were all plated over with Gold in forme of Porches. They had also in the house of the Sunne many other rooms or chambers for the Priests and seruants of the house, which were *Incas* of priuilege: For none but an *Inca* might enter into that house; nor any woman, no not the wives or daughters of the King. The Priests leued their courtes by weekes, which they reckoned by the quarters of the Moone: in which space they departed not out of the Temple day nor night. The Porters and all inferior officers were of the same towne which seruied in the Kings house; there being no difference made in the two houses of the Father and the Sunne, but that one had women, the other no Sacrifice in it, equally otherwise in Maistie. For seuerall Sacrifices had seuerall rooms. In the house were five Fountaines of water which runne chence in pipes of Gold: the Pillars were some of stone, others of Gold hollow, others of Silver; there they walked the Sacrifices. Onely one of these Fountaines were left to water the garden of the Couent, till 1558, when it being occasionally broken, no *Indian* could tell whence that water came, or how to helpe it. Such traditions of sacred things it seemes were kept by their Priests, and now lost. Occasion seven moneths after found the water, which they amended without further search of the Fountaine, the pipes lying very low.

This Garden was in the *Incas* time a Garden of Silver and Gold, as they had in the Kings houses, where they had many sorts of Hearbes, Flowers, Plants, Trees, Beasts great and small, wilde tame, Snakes, Lizards, Snailles, Butterflies, small and great Birds, each set in their place. They had Marz, Quinua, Pulle, Fruit-trees with the fruit on them all of Gold and Silver, resembling the natural. They had also in the house heapes of wood, all counterfeit of Gold and Silver, as they had in the house royal. Likewise they had great statues of men and women, and children, and many *Perus* or Troles for come, every day inuention new fashions of great Maistie, rising yearly on the Sunnes chiefe festiuities to present him to much Silver and Gold wrought into counterfeit formes. All the Vellid (which was infinite) for the Temples (scilicet, Pots, Pans, Tubs, Hogheads, was of Gold and Silver, euen to the Spades and Pickaxes for the Garden. Like to this Temple of *Cusco* were others in many Provinces of that Kingdome, in which euer *Cuzco* endeouored according to his power to haue riches of Gold and Silver. But the most famous was that of *Titicaca*.

This might for Gold and Silver compare with that of *Cusco*. It is an Island in the mids of a Lake of the same name, where their fables tell that after the flood, the Sunne first shined; and after that, he expoled his Sonne and Daughter (as ye haue heard) to civilize the World. In their respects it was holden for a place sacred throw all that Empire, and a Temple was built therein, all lined with plates of Gold dedicated to the Sunne. All places subiect to the Empire, yearly offered Gold and Silver and Precious stones, in thanksgiving to the Sunne for his benefits there done them. This Temple had the same Service as that of *Cusco*. Of the offerings of Gold and Silver was such a quantitie stored in the Ile, besides that which was wrought, that it is more matter of wonder then credit. *Blas Valera* saith, that the *Indians* reported that there was enough

Chappell of *Venus* & Starres.
Chappell of Starre skie.
Chappell of Thunder, lightning and bolt.
Chappell of Rainbow.

Priests.
Women might not enter.
Mourable weekes.
Sacrifices.
Fountaines.

Garden of gold and silver.

Golden counterfeit.

All vessels and instruments of Gold.

Rich Temple at *Titicaca*.

Manner of
making
Knights.

them with his hands and lips. After this beginning they fell to freer drinking one to another, and after that to dancing, the Feast continuing nine dayes with great iollity, but the Sacrifices held but the first: and after they returned to their Countries.

Now for their Knights, till they had that order, they were not capable of the dignities of warre or peace. The youths of the Royall blood (for none else might be in election) from sixteen yeeres old upwards, first made experiments of themselves in rigorous tryalls, whether they could endure the hard Adventures of warre. Every yeere, or each other yeere, these noble youths were shut vp in a house where old Masters examined them. They were to fast seven dayes strictly, with a little raw Corn and water, to try their endurance of hunger and thirst. Their Parents and brethren allowed for them to increase the Sunne to favour them. They which could not sustain this fast, were rejected as insufficient. After this they heartened them with meate, and tried their aduie in running of a certain Race a league and halfe long, where was a Banner set, which he that first came at was Capitaine of the rest: others also to the tenth were subordinate, which they were now keepers, were another day besiegers, where egerneffe and emulation sometimes cost some their liues in that ludicrous warre. Then followed wrestling betwixt equals, leaping, throwing small and great stones, also a Lance and a Dart, and other Armes, shooting, casting with a sling, and exercise in all weapons of warre. They caused them to watch ten or twelue nights as Centinels, coming suddenly on them at vncertaine houres, flaming those which they found sleeping. They tried with wands how they could endure stripes, beating them cruelly on the armes and legs (where the *Indians* goe bare) and if they made any lad remonstration of sorrow they rejected them, saying how would they beate their enemies weapons? They were to bee in manner vulnerable. A Fencer also made semblance with a two hand Club called *Macana*, another while wit: a Pike, to hit or strike them, and if they shugged, or beat their eyes or body made show of feare, they were rejected. Next they made triall whether they had skill to make their armes of all sorts, and shoes called *Yana*, like those which the *Franciscans* wear.

After all these, the Captaines and Masters of these Ceremonies tell them of their pedigree from the Sunne, the noble Acts of their Ancestors, and instruct them in courage, clemency and mildnesse to the poore, with other parts of morality. The Heire apparant endured no lesse rigorous tryalls than others, except in running for the Banner, and all that tryall time (which was from one New Moone to another) he went in poore and vile habit to teach him to pity the poore. These things done, the King solemnly attended, made a Speech to them, and each on their knees received at his hand the first Ensigne of dignity, which was to bore a hole in their eares.

The New Knight kissed his hand, and the next person to the *Inca* put off his *Ymala*, and put him on gillat hoons of Wooll. Then did he goe to another place, where other *Incas* put him on breeches, as the token of manhood, which before he might not wear: after which they put on his head two kinds of flowers, and a lease of another herbe which will long keepe greene. No other men might wear those flowers. The Prince had the same Ensignes, and differed only in his yellow fringe of Wooll (which none but he, and that first after his tryall, might wear) and an Axe of Armes with a kinde of Iaueline about a yard long; which when they put in his hand, they said *Amarumayu*, that is, for tyrant Tyrants. The Kings fringe was coloured; he wore besides on his head two feathers of a Bird called *Cusqueque*, which are laid to bee but a Male and a Female, in one place only called *Pilacumata*. These they wore upon their fringe: and every new Succesor must haue new. When the Prince is Knighted all of the blood Royall adore him as their Prince.

The seventh
Booke.
Inca Yupanqui
the tenth *Inca*.
The *Musca* in-
uaded.

The *Chunchu*
subdued.

Inca Yupanqui bestowed three yeeres in visiting his Kingdome, and afterwards resolved on a difficult designe, namely to passe the *Anzu* Eastward from *Cusco*, that hauing trauielled this high Hills, he might find passage by some Riuer running thence Eastward: for the hills themselves still covered with Snow, and falling were impassable; moued by a tradition of many Habitations and Countries in those parts. One of which was called *Musca* (by the *Spaniards*, *Mazca*) to which he might enter by a River in the *Anzu* diuided into five, which all make the River *Amarumayu*; which I suspect to fall into the River of *Plata*, the greatest River knowne after *Orellana*. With this determination he sent to cut a great quantity of that stuffe which the *Spaniards* call *Higuer*, wherein they spent two yeeres, making thereof a kind of Boats, for many as receiued ten thousand Souldiers with their provisions, each holding thirrie, fortie, fiftie more or lesse, with their provisions in the midst. Thus went they downe the River, and had great encounter with the *Chunchu* which lived on both sides the River, all painted and naked with feathers on their heads armed, with Bowes and Arrows. They were reduced to subjection, and so sent presents of Poppeniyes, Monies and Huacamayes, Waxe and Honey, which they continued till the death of *Yupac Amara* the last of the *Incas*, whom the Vice-roy *Francis de Toledo* beheaded.

A Colonie of these was planted neere *Timo*, some fixe and twenty leagues from *Cusco*. They pro-

proceeded in their Conquest till they came at *Musca* two hundred leagues from *Cusco*. These hearing their Relatious of the *Incas* conquests and duotions, and *Vracach* vition, were content to accept of their friendship, and confederacie, but not to acknowledge vassallage. They permitted them to make a plantation there, and gave them their Daughters for Wives, being now about a thousand left, the rest waisted in the ill wayes and warres. They sent an Embassage also to *Cusco* which were well entertained and instructed in all their Rites. These *Peruanos* would haue returned into their Country about the time of *Huayna Capac*'s death, but hearing of the *Spanish* conquest, stayed.

Perua Colony
in the *Musca*
Country.

Spanish ac-
compted
frat.

Amo 1564. one *Diego Alcan* a *Spaniard* hearing of Gold in those parts, with twelue others went on foot with an *Indian Curaca* for his guide (the ill wayes admitted no Horses) and hauing trauelled into the *Musca* Country after eight and twelue dayes, were fet upon and tenne *Spaniards* killed, *Diego* himselfe taken, and two only escaped in the darkness of the night. The *Indians* made *Diego* their Capitaine (of a Captiue) against their enemies. About this Golden prize the *Spaniards* after fell into contention, diuers hauing gotten the grant, and many were slaine by their emulous Competitors, and so made an easy prey to the *Chunchu*. Three they took and after two yeeres dimitted them. One of them was a Friar and Priest whom they requested at his departure to tend for their conversion which was not done. But let vs returne to *Inca Yupanqui*.

After this Expedition to the *Musca*, he resolved on the Conquest of the great Province 20 *Chirihuana*, which lay upon the *Anzu* Eastward from *Churaca*. And because the Country was vnkowne, he sent Spies which brought word that it was a wretched Country, wide Mountains, many Marshes, Lakes and Bogs, vnprofitable for Seed and Husbandry, and the Natural breed worse then beasts without Religion or worship of any thing, without Law, Townes, or Houses, and eating mans flesh, hunting to that end the Neighbour Provinces, and drinking their blood, without difference of sexe or age, eating also their owne when they dyed, and when they had eaten their flesh, they layd the bones together and mourned for them, burying those Reliques in Rocks or hollow Trees. They were clothed in skinnes, and abtained not from sisters, mothers, daughters. Good *Inca Yupanqui* (so they vied to call him) hearing this, said they were more bound to the Conquest, to the end to ciuillize them; for therefore our Father the Sun hath 30 sent vs.

Chirihuana.
A *Spanish* be-
lie Nation.

Invasions of
the *Inca* and
Succesor
frat.

Hee sent tenne thousand men which spent two yeeres, and returned without hauing effected their Designe by reason of the ill condition of the Country. Neyther had the Vice-roy *Don Francis de Toledo* any better success in the like attempt. Amo 1572. in which by reason of the badnesse of the wayes vnprofitable for Mules, his Litter was carried on mens shoulders, whom the *Chirihuana* followed with eyes threatning to cate them. Such terror they cause to the borders, that an hundred of them will flee from ten: yet this little consultation with those which the *Inca* sent, instructed them to leave eating their dead friends, and to dwell in houles in common.

Chili dis-
covered.

The good King *Inca Yupanqui* after this, proceeded to another purpose of conquering *Chili*, 40 and from *Atacama* sent Spies to discover it, and the difficulty of the wayes; which passed the Deserts and laid markes in the way left they should loose it at their returne, there being eighty leagues of Wilderness from *Atacama* to *Copayapu*, which is a little Province well peopled, from which to *Cuzquimpu* are other eighty leagues vnpeopled. These hauing giuen aduice to the *Inca*, he sent ten thousand men of warre vnler the command of *Suechiraca* with provisions necessary; and after them sent ten thousand others both to succour them, and to terrifie the enemy. When words would not perfwade the men of *Copayapu* to recieue the command of the Lord of the furre 50 parts of the World, they came to skirmishes and after to composition, upon the coming of the second Army. The *Inca* hereupon leued other ten thousand, and sent them to follow the former which marched eighty leagues, and after many troubles came to another Valley or Province called *Cuzquimpu*, which they subdued. And so proceeded conquering all the Nations which are

Succed.

Breke at *Pu-
tamayo*.

fill you come to the Valley of *Chili*, whereof that whole Kingdome takes the name. This ex-
ploit was fixe yeeres in hand, the *Inca* still sending fresh supplies of men and provisions of armes, clothes and other necessities, so that he had fiftie thousand men of warre in *Chili*. They went thirrie leagues further Southwards to the River of *Maulu*, still vying fire names rather then cruel-
ty to reduce them. And thus the Empire was aduanced about two hundred and sixty leagues beyond *Atacama*: yet ambition looking further, they passed the River *Maulu* with twenty thousand men. Three dayes they fought cruelly till halfe of both sides were slaine: the three dayes following they were content to sit till in expectation, and after that departed from each other without further accomplishment. *Maulu* was now the Southerne boundarie, and 60 the *Inca* hauing intelligence sent them word rather to cultivate and order what they had gotten then to seek new Conquests. Thus they fortified the Frontiers and attended the amir-
nistratation of Iustice, and building Houses for the Sunne and the King.

Diego de Almagro was the first *Spaniard* which discovered *Chili*, but hauing purchased nothing

Spanish in
Chili.
Almagros Di-
couery.

G g g g g

P. de Valdivia.

An old child
Captains his
policies, where-
by six hundred
beaten the
Spaniards.Philip her-
etibis Mistr.Others say,
they powred
molten gold
down his
throate.
Later ac-
cidents in Peru
and Chile.
Prodigious
showes of
land & aires
1600.
They tell also
of fearful
Earthquakes
at Arequipa 1578.
See p. 919.
941.A Letter writ-
ten by a Chi-
zen of Icaja
in Chile.
* Note the A-
raucans times
gotten on
the Spaniards.Valdivia de-
stroyed.

but the fight and innumerable troubles in the way, he returned to Peru, which was the cause of the general Rebellion of the Indians of Peru, and of the disorders and Civil wars of the Spaniards. Pedro de Valdivia, made the next Discoverie, and happily conquered them, but as Vn-
 10 *viars*, Pedro de Valdivia, made the next Discoverie, and happily conquered them, but as Vn-
 happily was put to death: by the Araucans his vassals, after he had raised his profits to a hundred
 thousand Pecos yearly, which yet did not enlarge his appetite. The Araucans had assembled
 twelve or thirteenth thousand, notwithstanding which numbers Valdivia still had the better, by
 the use of the Horsemen, ten of which would break thorow a thousand Indians, which there-
 fore would not suffice with the Spaniards in the Plains but kept the Hills. A certain old Cap-
 taine hearing thereof, would needs goe either to see what that Military myserie might be, or
 one hundred and fiftie men should heell vnder so many thousands. He called a Councell, and asked
 if the Spaniards were mortal and made of flesh, (subiect to humane infirmities of weariness if
 and if he; and likewise of their Horfes; which being affirmed, he taught them another cour-
 se of battle, dividing all their thousands into many bands single, each of which should fight, and
 of battle, dividing all their thousands into many bands single, each of which should fight, and
 and place to another Regiment; meanwhile to recollect themselves into their ranke againe, and
 place to refresh themselves: to likewise should the second and third and all of them doe in their
 order. Thus they fought and fled, and still seemed to the Spaniards both broken and whole,
 they having often broken the bands, which yet kept still neere the number which they halve
 first. This troubled them, their bodies and horfes yielding to weariness by the long continuance
 from morning till afternoon: and then Valdivia commanded his men that they should re-
 20 *to* coyle by degrees, making a defensive warre till they might recover certayne Straits, where-
 they might easily by the strength of the place be defended. This was heard by one Philip a
 Chile Seruant of the Gouernour (by his Indian name, *Laurum*) who fled to his Countreimen,
 and told them this his Matters intent. Whereupon they sent some Regiments to make
 good that place, so that about Sunne-set the Spaniards thinking to secure themselves there,
 came to the Sunne-set and inescapable night of their Fates. The Gouernour and a Friar
 were taken, the rest flaine; three Indians fled and carried newes of this disaster. Valdivia
 and his death is diversly told; some say that that Philip killed him, some that another
 Captaine did it with a Clubbe whilst others that his promises were wonne to give him
 libertie. *Francisco de Rivero* which then was a Captaine in Chile, from the reports of 30
 Indians, tells that the Chileas made dances all night, at the end of each dance cutting
 off a piece of the flesh of both their Prisoners and eating it before their faces. Notwith-
 standing they doe not ordinarily eat mans flesh. This was Anno 1553, and ever since
 the Rebellion hath continued: at which time Don Sebastian rebelled in Potosi and *Francis-
 co Hernandez Giron* in Cuzco. Rebellions later then those of the *Pizarristas* and *Almagristas*.

I might add to these affaires of Chile, the great Earth-quakes, Anno 1600, in Peru, at Arequipa,
 the rayning of sand, as also of ashes about twenty dayes from a Volcan breaking forth; the efflu-
 40 *to* quing in places about a yard thicke, in some places more then two, and where left about a quar-
 ter of a yard, which buried the Come-grounds of Maize and Wheat, and the boules of Trees
 were broken and fruitlesse, and the Cattle great and small dyed for want of pasture. For the
 land which rained covered the fields thirty leagues one way and about forty another way round
 and about Arequipa. They found their Kine dead by five hundred together in several Herds, and
 whole Flocks of Sheepe and Heards of Goats and Swine buried. Houses fell with the weight
 of the sand, others cot much indolence to face them. It was so dark whilst those thunders lasted that
 heard and felt thirty leagues about Arequipa. It was so dark whilst those thunders lasted that
 at mid day they burned Candles to see to doe their businesse. This from Peru: from Chile they
 write that the Rebellion of Atausco grew every day stronger. On Wednesday the four and twentieth
 of November 1599, there came in the morning upon the cite of Valdivia, about five thousand Indians
 of the bordering places, and of the places adjacent to Imperial, Pica, and Putem, three thousand bor-
 50 *to* men and the rest foot, seventy of them Harabucse men, and two hundred in coats of Maie (Cotas)
 they came unexpected, having set double Effigies on the cite. They came in Squadrons ranked in or-
 der for they knew that the Spaniards were asleep, and had but four men in their Corps de gard, and
 to make the rout. They were blinded with their fortune some twenty dayes before having beaten the In-
 dians from their Fort in Vega, and the Marishes of Poparlen, slaying many that for eight leagues
 bout no Indian durst be seen. Thus entered they the streets of that unhappy cite, and fired the houses
 then took the gates, and in two hours space with fire and sword destroyed the Towne, and wanted the
 and Artillery, killing some hundred Spaniards of both Sexes; killed three hundred Indians and Pe-
 60 *to* zos of Indians, consuming all the rest. The floures of Vallano, Villacollo, and another of El ygo de
 Ruas, were at anchor in the River, and if some had not escaped in Canoas to carry their monies, they had
 runne the like fortune. The Spaniards shortly a little before made them thus cruel, having fled some 40
 my of their wives and children for flames to *Cherchabari*, which carried them out of their Countreys,
 and having kept Priests fiftie years. Now first, they destroyed the Churches, and brake
 the Images in pieces. Ten dayes after Coronel Francisco del Campo, came with three hundred men
 to the Images in pieces. Ten dayes after Coronel Francisco del Campo, came with three hundred men

from his Excellency from Peru, to succour those Cities. Having seen this lamentable destruction, he
 went to succour Olorno, and Villarrica, and sad Ymperiall, of which hee knew nothing but that it had
 beene besieged a years by the enemies, having nothing to eat but dead Horfes, Cats, Dogges, and Hares.
 But first he succoured Olorno, to which the victorious enemies had gone from Valdivia. News came
 at the same time, whilst I was writing, that those of Ymperiall were dead with famine, all fame
 whom hunger forced to a worse destiny, to goe to the Indians. Lord have mercy on vs. Anen. March
 1600. from Saint Lago.

Father Diego de Alencabaz (whom I have before mentioned) wrote to me, Anno 1601, that the Indi-
 10 *to* ans were grown of such dexterity in warres, that every Indian on horsebacke with his Lance, durst
 kill any one of any Spanish Souldier, were he neuer so valiant: and every yeare many goe from Peru thither
 men and daughters and servants: and lastly, they killed in an Emboscada the Gouernour Loyola, which
 was married to a daughter of Don Diego Sarrutupa the Inca, which went from Villacampa, be-
 fore your worship went to those parts. God have mercy on the dead, and give remedie to the living. Otter
 was that Wheat was worth that yeere ten or eleven Ducats, and Maize thirteenth. Anno 1602,
 the disasters of Arequipa, continued as the Iesuites have written, Anno 1604. Padre Masfio
 Francisco de Castro gave mee this further Relation of Chile. Of thirteenth Cities which are in this
 20 *to* Realme of Chili, the Indians have destroyed six, viz. Valdivia, Imperiall, Angol, Santa Cruz,
 Chillan and Concepcion. They wasted and consumed therein, the Houses, Churches, Devotion, Beautie
 of the fields, and yet the greatest misery is, that the Indians have gathered heart and courage for
 greater spoyle and destructions of Cities and Monasteries: They have bent their minds to mischiefes
 cunning stratagems: They besieged the Cite Olorno, and consuming the Spanish forces, they retired
 a Fort in which they have held them as it were in a continual siege, the besieged suffering themselves
 in the last feets and berbes. In one of the sieges which that Cite followed, they broke the lances in the
 last they killed the Centinels, and safely entered and seized the Fort, the Spaniards not perceiving,
 and whilst they were busie in spoyle, the Spaniards came on them, and got from them the women and Nuns.
 The last Victory of the Indians, was the taking of Villarrica, with great slaughter of Spaniards, killing
 30 *to* it is a four parts. They killed all the Friars of Saint Domingos, Saint Francis, and our Lady of Petic,
 and the Clergie men: they captured all the women which were many, and of a good account.

Now let vs returne to the Inca Tupangu, who now determined to cease further invading and
 conquell, His Realme now extending a thousand leagues. He made many Fortresses and Tem-
 ples to the Sunne, and Nunnes, and Royall Places, and Conueynances of water. Especially hee
 bestowed paines on the Fortresse of Cofco, for which his Father had brought great store of
 stones. He visited his Kingdome to see with his eyes the necessities thereof that he might reme-
 40 *to* die them, which he did with such care, as he mented the surname of *Pienu*. After which hee
 dyed full of Trophies, having enlarged his Empire so farre to the South, and a hundred and
 forty leagues Northwards.

Tupas Inca Tupangu his selfe Sonne succeeded. The Fortresse of Cofco which hee built may
 seeme a worke of Devils rather then men, the stones (or Rocks rather) in three circles being
 being to him and great, the Indians using neither Iron nor Steele to cut or worke them, nor
 Oxen, nor Carts to draw them, but all done with the aid of men with great Cables, and that the
 row vneuen wayes in rough Mountains. Many of them they brought ten, twelve, fifteen leagues,
 particularly that stone which the Indians call *Sacayca*, that is, *warred*, which was brought
 50 *to* fiftie leagues, and pulled the River *Ycaja* little else then *Guadalupe* at Cordoba. The moile came
 from *Alpaca*, five leagues off. Many of them are so close, that scarcely the place where they are
 isoyed can be discerned, which required the lifting up and often setting one stone upon another,
 having neyther Square, nor Rule. Nor could they make Cranes or any sort of Engine to helpe
 them. It seemes that the Incas thought hereby to expresse their magnificence and power, and
 the skill of their workmen. This Fortresse was built on a Hill on the Northside of the Cite, so
 60 *to* steep that way that it could not be allured, and therefore one wall served on that side two
 hundred fathomes long. They had no more but vied a kind of coloured clay faster then it. On
 the other parts they made three walls one before another, each about two hundred fathomes,
 in forme of a halfe Moone; there were towers in them, but such as were admirably great. A Priest
 of *Monimia* having beene in Peru and seenne them, told me that hee could not imagine how they
 could be laid but by the blacke Art. And indeed this in respect of the want of Art may be said
 to exceed the wondrous of the World: for it is rare to conceive how the Pyramids of
 Egypt and walls of Babylon might be made, which here is not. Every wall in the middle had one
 70 *to* which had one stone that stood the breadth and height of the wall. Betwixt one wall and an-
 other was about thirty foot: the battlements were about a yard high. The height I cannot ex-
 pressly tell. Within those walls were three strong Towers, the middlemost called *Moysa Marca*, or
 the round Fort, in which was a Coniure of good water brought farre off vnder ground, the In-
 dians knew not whence: it was knowne only to the Incas and some chiefe Councillors. In this
 the Kings remaned when they went to visit the Fortresse, and the walls were all adorned with
 80 *to* square, gold

Another letter
1601.
Indians valour.Gouernour
Loyola flaine.

Draith.

1604.

Sixe Townes
destroyed.Olorno Fort
taken.Villarrica
kno.Tupangu Inca
his selfe
death.Fortresse of
Cofco a rare
worke.See p. 1016.
Attalus Re-
tation.The wonders
of the world
not so wonder-
full as Cofco
Fortresse.One round
Fort world
full as Cofco
Fortresse.

high way
the way, rather
the works
it is wonders
of *Amélie*

sometimes fifteen or twenty fathoms or mans heights, that a Cart might have gone on them till
the oars of the *Indians* and *Christians* much endangered them. By the Plains he made another
of little difficulty, making mud-walls to hold in the way, forty fathoms broad with a high cañon
both in the Vallies, and in the sands, driving flocks thierin to know the way which is there for
manuable and chuseable, the like space of 500 leagues.

Prophecies and

Prodigies fore-
signifying the
fall of the *Impe-
rial* Empire.

Phyca a diu-
nce.

Huzyna Capaci
sicknesse and
last will, or
speech before
his death.

The Prophecies
of the *Incas*.
Empire.

Cushalla his
comment on
that speech.

sometimes fifteen or twenty fathoms or more heights, that a Cart might have gone on them till the wars of the *Indians* and *Christians* much endamaged them. By the *Pianes* he made another of little difficulty, making mud-walls to hold in the way, forty fathoms broad with a high cañon both in the Vallies, and in the sands, driving flocks therein to know the way which is there so measurable and chuseable, the like space of 400 leagues.

[illegible]

14
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All this the *Indians* held in great veneration, and fulfilled every jot thereof. I remember that one day that old *Inca* speaking in presence of my Mother, and rehearsing these things, and the *Spaniards* entrance, and their conquest: I asked him how, their Country being so rough, the people so warlike, and their number so many, they lost their Empire to so few *Spaniards*. Hearing me, he repeated the foretelling or prophesie of the *Spaniards* above said, and said that the

Inca had commanded them to obey and serve them, for every way they should have the advantage of them. And that objection of cowardice, he answered me. *Their words which our Inca said unto us, being that the fall that ever be spoke to us, were more powerful to subvert us and quite our Empire, then the words which they Father and his companion brought into Land. Thus did Hysmaya Capac* his son was emboldened, and carried to *Cusco*; his heart interred in *Quito*. His funeral solemnities and mourning continued a year, according to the custom of the *Inca Kings*. He left a-bout two hundred ladies and daughters; some *Incas* affirm above three hundred to exaggerate the cruelty of *Atabalipa*, which flew them almost all: who therefore was so odious, that the *Spaniards* hauing put him to death, were thought men sent from their God the Sun to take vengeance on the destroyer of his people. And when they brought Cockes and Hens with them into *Peru*, they hearing the Cockes crowing said, that in perpetual animosity of that tyrant and his cruel death, he was the cause of their being brought into *Peru*, and that he was the cause of an abhominable memory of his name, they pronounced it in their crowing, saying *Atabalipa* and would answer the Cockes crowing with reckoning the name of *Atabalipa*, wherein the children imitated them in those times, so that if they had heard a cock crow, they would follow in like tune the name of *Atabalipa* a thing which was not in their language. And when the children of *Spaniards* by *Indian* way have been taken down, together with the *Indian* children, Children likewise in confusion have their principal Captains, whose names were of so many syllables, *Chiliscacocha*, *Quispechaca* and *Rumunani*. The *Spaniards* thought they did this for his honour, saying the Cockes made this honorable mention of him to *Blas Valera* writeth, which received it of the *Indians* of *Quito* his natrall subjects, which applied to a good mention that which the fowl of *Cusco* desired inuall, for his cruelties there done.

[illegible]

All this did *Huascar* grant, and *Atahualpa* made life of to his proie^t of fouraigraite, He sent proclamation to all his Princes, that all men fereable should in such a place make ready to goe to *Cusco* to celebrate his Fathers obsequies, and to performe the homage to the Monarch *Huascar Inca*, and that therefore they should set forth in their beif ornaments and brauery to greater solemnitie. But priuily he sent to his Captaines to leaue the beif Soldiers which should carry their armes closely; for he more minded executions then exequies. He commanded them 50 to march in bands, five or six hundred together, one band two or three leagues after the other and when they came within ten or twelues dayes iourney of *Cusco*, that they should ioyne together, the litle doubling their iourneys to ouertake the former. In this manner *Atahualpa* fent about 30000. men, most of them old Soldiers of his Fathers, with choise Captaines, and appointed two Camp-mistfers or Generals, *Chalchicoma* and *Usquehu*. *Huascar* relying on the loyalty of his Subiects, and his Brothers faire promises, not onely suspected no treason, but promised them further. *Huascar* by this difimulation, knowing himselfe of sufficient power to overcome his Brother. But fone after this experience, he sent his Captaines, and his men passed, could not but reafen and disgust this course, and signified (so much) to the *Inca*, who thus 60 awakened out of his dreames, lent to gather forces in the South parts and East and West; to *Chimacumay* he sent now, which were the beif Soldiers, because of their forces marching thorow their Countre. The other though long peace were vnaccustomed to armes, of which were leised a boue 20000, the rest being too remote for a sudden bufinef.

Atahualpa men passed the River *Apurimac* without contradiction, and embattled them

Huayna Capac's
death.

Indians hate to
Atahualpa for
causes follow-
ing.

Cock conceit,
wherby it ap-
peareth that
they had no
Cocks before
in those

Huascar the
thirteenth, and
last Incas Empe-
ror.

Husfears mes-
sage to Arabia
alpa.

His answer and pretended humility.

Atahualpa le
with force s
assault, *Huasc*
vnder preted
of obsequies
to *Huayna Ca-*
pac.

1- Hwasars sect
ed title

a. Se è medicina
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then they, which was to come and bring them a better Law and Customs. But if this be so, *Pachacamac* is pitiful and merciful, whom they ought to imitate, and not to beginne with robberies and cruelties as they had done in *Tumpe*, and the confines. It seemed strange he said, to him, that the Emperor should be Lord of the World, and yet the Pope should make him a new grant; and then also in the Pope greater than he, and Lord of the world. Again hee had the word no reason why hee should pay tribute only to *Charles*; which rather hee thought was due to *God*, as Creator, or to *Adam* the first man, or to *Christ* the best man, or to the Pope which hath power to give his Kingdom and person to another, of all which he in his speech had discoursed. And he had any right over him, it had bene meet, if it had signified it to him, before menacing of warre, fire, and slaughter, &c. The *Spaniards* impatient of this long discourse left to rising the *Indians*, others to robbing an Idol Temple of the Silver plates; and coming forth to fight, the *Indians* raised a great shout. But the *Inca* with a great voice commanded that they should not imite nor hurt the *Spaniards*, though they tooke or killed the King. *Fier Vincent* made a plaufible speech to the *Spaniards*, in favour of the *Indians*; but they could not heare him for the crye: neither did the King call the Booke on the ground, or the *Frier* give vengeance, as hee had written, with other things against the Pope and the death of *Christ*. Five thousand *Indians* were slaine, and no *Spaniards* hurt; but the General by one of his owne, slightly, in the taking of *Atahualpa*. When he had agreed on his ranfome, which was neuer wholly paid, for want of time to accomplish it, the way had light of *Huascar*, there kept prisoner; who by signs desired aide of the *Spaniards* to restore him to his Empire, promising three times as much as *Atahualpa* had done, better able to performe it, as knowing where to fetch the treasures of his progenitors: whereas *Atahualpa* had little treasure but what hee tooke from Churches. They answered, that they must first goe to *Cusco* whether they were sent: and in the meane time *Atahualpa* had intelligence of these passages. Hee subtilly found the *Spaniards*, how they would take the death of his brother, fained himselfe very sorrowfull for that hee had heard one of his Captaines had killed him, and refused to eate, making show of much griefe. *Pizarro* comforted him, and promised to right and reuenge the euill on him which had done it. Hee seeing that *Pizarro* tooke it in no worse part, sent a speedy Post to dispatch him so suddenly, that the *Spaniards* could not tell but that it had bene done before. His owne death followed after (as before we record, and so *Huascar* as his death foretold) by the unjust iudice of the *Spaniards*, many of which protested by word and writing against that cruelty, in vaine. His corps were carried to *Quito* to be interred, where vnder pretence of more honourable Obsequies, *Ruminnauis* one of his Captaines (following his examples) wrought a great treason: made a fealt to *Quilicacha* brother of *Atahualpa*, and other great men, whom having made drunke vnwares with the drinke Son, a heady liquor forbidden by Law, hee slew, with *Challucuma* the General, and the Sonnes and Daughters of *Atahualpa*, and all that might stand in the way of his ambition. Hee buried also the Coniun Virgin, which smiled at his reports of the *Spaniards* (interpreting it to lust, being done rather to please him) causing to undermine and cut the Hills to execute that damnable fate more terribly. After former bickerings with the *Spaniards*, hee fled to the *Andes*, and there perished miserably.

Elvie victorie
an cruel Spaniards which
kill in no
no diffing.
So they
which were
there, and Co-
mar, Berro,
Herr, &c. but
the Ine In-
quities seem
abashed of
Pizarro's furie.
See contra-
dictio.
Huascar pro-
mises to the
Spaniards.
Huascar slaine.

Atahualpa
slaine.

Ruminnauis
cruelties.

Motto Inca.
The Inca be-
gan and ended
with him, as
the Emperour of
Rome with Au-
gustus, and of
Constantinople
with wo. so
Ruminnauis.

Manco im-
prisoned.

Manco Inca Brother of *Huascar*, came to the *Spaniards* at *Cusco*, to demand the restitution of the Empire, by inheritance due to him. They made him faire semblance: and he offered to promote the Gospell (according to his Fathers teitment, as a better Law) and the *Spaniards* affaires. Articles were agreed on, and they granted him a Diadem with great solemnitie, but so farre short of the wonted, that the old men cried as fast for the want of that, as the young boys shouted for ioy of this. When afterwards hee propounded the accomplishment of those Articles which had bene made between the *Spaniards* and the *Indians*, that the Naturals might live in quiet, and knowe what service to performe to the *Spaniards*, with the reall restitution of his Empire to the Gouverneur *Pizarro*, and his brethren excoiled themselves by the royalties and riches which had growne amongst themselves, which hitherto permitted not the accomplishment. They further expected an answer from the Emperor their Lord, of whom he might hope for a good (the Articles being good for both parts) to whom they had giuen account of the captiuities, his brother *Hernando* being shortly to returne with an answer. But when hee was roused at *Tumpe*, the Marquesse tooke occasion to rid himselfe of the *Inca* importunite, and with many faire words induced him to returne to his Fortresse till things might be perfected: which hee doing, they held him in there Prisoner, fearing his haughty courage. The *Indians* seeing their *Inca* Prisoner, were much grieved, but he comforted them, saying, that he and they ought to obey the *Spaniards*, for to *Huayna Capac* had commanded in his Teitment, and that they should not be weary till they had bene the last life of these things. Hee hoped that this his imprisonment would turne into greater liberaltie with him, these *Viracochas* being a Nation come from Heaven.

The Marquesse dismissed himselfe of the *Inca*, whole person and guard hee commended to his brethren *Inan* and *Gonzalo*, and went to the City of *Kingi*, to people and enlarge it. The *Inca* *Manco* with much obsequiousness to all the *Spaniards*, and many presents of Gold, Silver,

German.

Gemmes, Fruits, &c. making no shew of griefe for his imprisonment, obtayned his libertie; which hee had laboured the rather, hearing that *Hernando Pizarro* was coming to gouerne in *Alonso* en-
Cusco. Hee gave leave to goe to *Tucay*, which was the Garden of the Kings, to which place hee
summoned his Captaines, and complained of the *Spaniards* breach of promise, in not performing
the Capitulations which they had made with *Tita Atahualpa*, his brother, and that they had laid
him in prison with Iron fetters: that hee had persecuted their ill mindes from the beginning, but
the suffered it to iustifie his cause with God and with the world, that none might object to him the
disturbing of the peace. But now hee could no further relie on their vaine promises, well know-
ing that the *Spaniards* shared the Land amongst themselves in *Cusco*, *Rimac*, and *Tumpe*, where-
to by it well appeared that they intended not the restitution of the Empire to him: and that hee
was loath to make further truall of their fetters, and therefore required their best aide, intending
with Armes to recouer his right, trusting in *Pachacamac*, and his father the Sun, that they would
not herein forsake him. They told him, that hee might looke for little reward at the hands of those
strangers as *Atahualpa* had found, notwithstanding the payment of his ranfome: and it was
Pachacamac great grace, they had not dealt with his Royall Perion likewise, &c.

Thus *Manco* raised forces, for that 300000. *Indians* came to *Cusco*, and shot Arrows with fire
on them all the houses of the City generally, without respect of the Royall houses, only they
referred the Temple of the Sunne, with the Chappels within it, and the house of the Virgins: where
which two they spared (though their wealth was gone) not to commit any flagitious act against
their Religion. Three Halls also they reserved wherein to make their feasts in time of raine, one
of which was in the house that had belonged to the first *Inca*, *Manco Capac*. (The other proceeded
in the particular fights and fege of the *Spaniards*, too long here to rehearse.) In diuers places they
killed feuen hundred *Spaniards*. But at last *Manco* was drun to forsake the Country: by the
the *Spaniards* horses, Guns and other offensive and defensive armes against which
they had no experiments to make resistance. In the scall-vencuill broiles and warres of the *Span-*
iards in *Peru*, none of them fled to *Manco Inca* to auoide the Viceroyes severity, one of which
was *Gomez Perez*, a cholericke man, which playing at Bowles with the *Inca*, would stand fo
thly on measuring of his cast, and the earnest folly of play, that forgetting all good manners, he
one day vied the *Inca* as if he had bene an *Indian* slave; wherewith the *Inca* prouoked gaue him
a blow with his fist on the breast, whereupon *Gomez* with his Bowle strooke the *Inca* on the
head so great a blowe, that hee fell downe dead. Whereupon the *Indians* set on the *Spaniards*, *Gomez* an vn-
which first led into the house to defend themselves there, but were fired out; and the *Indians*
haueing killed them with enraged furie, had purposed to eate vpon their flesh raw: but after left
them to the birds and wilde beaists, for food. Thus died *Manco* by the hands of those whom
hee had preferred from death, and had kindly vied in those wilde Mountaines of *Uil-
la*
campa, which hee had chosen for his securitie. I was present, when some *Inca* present at
the act, with teares recounted this to my Mother, which came afterwards from these Moun-
taines with the *Inca* *Sayri Tupac*, the sonne of that unfortunate Prince, by order of the Vice-
roy *Mendoza*, Marquesse of *Canete*. This Vice-roy vied (to perswade that coming in
the *Inca*) the Ladie *Beatrice* his Fathers Sister, which he wrought with his Guard, hee be-
ing then too young to take the Diademe, that vpon promise of certayne conditions hee came
and rendered himselfe to the Vice-roy, and after went with his wife *Cusco Huayra*, grandchild to *Huascar Inca*, *Ana*
of *Don Diego*, together with his wife *Cusco Huayra*, grandchild to *Huascar Inca*, *Ana*
1558. Shee was a faire woman, but somewhat pale, as are all the women of that Coun-
trie, about sixteen years of age. I went in my mothers name to visite the *Inca*, and to kisse his
hand, which vied me courteously, and two small vessels of gilt Plate were brought forth,
of which hee dranke one, I the other. He spent his time, one day visiting one part, and another, ano-
ther part of the City. Hee adored the Sacrament, calling it *Pachacamac*, *Pachacamac*. He went
thence to the Valley of *Tucay*, and there remayned till his death, which was about three yeeres
50 after, leauing no issue but a daughter, which was married to *Martin Garcia de Loyola*. His bro-
ther *Tupac Amaru* tooke the Mountaines.

Francisco de Toledo second sonne to the Earle of *Oropesa*, being Vice-roy, determined to bring
from the Mountaines of *Uillica campa* the Prince *Tupac Amaru*, the lawfull Heire of that Em-
pire, after his said brothers death without issue male. Hee sought to doe it by faire and gentle
perswasions sending Messengers to that purpose, promising him maintenance from his Ma-
iesty for his person and familie. His kindred and friends told him that his brother had recused
it, small recompense from them, or society with them, and therefore counselled him not to goe, it
being better for him to lie there, then to die with his enemies. The *Spaniards* counselled the
Vice-roy to force him, alleging that his *Indians* robbed the Merchants, hoping also by his im-
prisonment to recouer the treasures: which his progenitors had hidden. Such robberies were
indeed committed in his father *Manco* time, but seldom, they being forced thereto of ne-
cessitie for want of vsuall, which the Mountaines vnder nor. But after his death there was
no such matter. The Vice-roy sent *Martin Garcia de Loyola*, with two hundred and fiftie Soul-
diers well provided against the *Inca*, the strength of those passages was abated, and the wayes
plained

An Armie of
30000. *Indians*
were burnt.

When *Alma-
gra* returned
out of *Chili* and
Alonso with
other *Spaniards*
came in.

Gomez an vn-
grateful proud
Spaniard.
Manco then
slaine.

Sayri Tupac
his sonne.

Tupac Amaru
his regicide.

Hincille he
cruel.

should make a partition in the midst of the Palace, and fill it with vessels of Silver of divers sorts, all which he would give for his ransom. The Gouverneur promised him his liberie on this condition, and to worke no treason against the *Christians*. Forthe dayes were set, and twentie parties in which came no Gold. Then we learned that he had taken his brother *Cusco*. His brother by the father, a greater man then himselfe, that he had taken his brother *Cusco*. His brother which he had, and hee would give the *Christians* foure times as much as the other had promised: which being told to *Atahualpa*, he caused him suddenly to be dispatched. Hee killed another of his brothers, which had said he would drinke in *Atahualpa* skull, but contrariwise hee drunke in his; which my selfe saw, and all that went with *Hernando Pizarro*. I saw the head with the skinnes, the flesh drie, and the haire on, and his teeth clofed, and betwixt them a Pipe of Silkenes, and on the top a Cup of Gold fastned to the head, with a hole going into it. His Slaves put Chicha into the Cup, which ranne by the mouth into that pipe, whence *Atahualpa* drunke.

Anno 1533, the Gouverneur gave his brother *Hernando* leave to goe with a Companie of *Spaniards* to *Quemachuco*, and there hee found an hundred thousand Castilians of Gold, which they brought for *Atahualpa* ransom. *Diego Almagro* came with an hundred and fiftie men to our succour. Because the Gold came so slowly, *Atahualpa* would the Gouverneur to send three men to *Cusco*, laying the blame on his imprisonment, which made the *Indians* not to obey him. These *Christians* were carried by *Indians* in Hamacas, a kinde of Litters, and were ferued. They arrived at *Xauxa*, where was *Chilichuma*, a great Captain of *Atahualpa*, the same which had taken *Cusco*, which had all the Gold at his command. He gave the *Christians* thirty burthens of Gold, of which each weighed an hundred pounds. They said it was little, and hee gave them five burthens more, which they sent to the Gouverneur by a *Negro*, whom they had brought with them. They went on to *Cusco*, where they found *Quisquis*, a Captaine of *Atahualpa*, which made little account of the *Christians*. He said that if they would not restore his Maister for that Gold hee would give, hee would take him out of their hands: and sent them presently to a Temple of the Sunne, covered with plates of Gold. The *Christians* without the helpe of any *Indians* for the Sunne, covered with plates of Gold, it being the Temple of the Sunne) with Pickaxes of Brass furnished the same, as they told vs afterwards, and spoiled the Temple. Many Pots and vessels of Gold were also brought (which there they tied for their cookery) for ransom of their Lord *Atahualpa*. In all the house, there was such store of Gold, that it amazed them. They were so amazed to see one feat in their house of Sacrifices which weighed nineteene thousand Pezos of Gold: in another where old *Cusco* lay buried, the pavement and the walls were covered with plates of Gold and Silver, which they did not breake, for feare of the *Indians* displeasure, nor many great earthen Pots there, covered with Gold likewise. In that House were two dead and embalmed, neere to whom stood a woman with a Maske of Gold on her face, which fanned away the winde and Flies. Shee would not let them enter with their shoes on: they went in and tooke much Gold, but not all, for *Atahualpa* had intreated them, because there lay his Father. They found there a great house full of Pots and Tubs, and vessels of Silver. They would have brought much more then they did, but that they were alone, and about two hundred and fiftie leagues from other *Christians*: but they shut it vp, and sealed it for his Maistie, and the 40 Gouverneur *Francis Pizarro*, and set a guard on it.

Over the Rivers as they passed, they found two Bridges together, one open for the vulgar, the other shut for the passage of great men. *Hernando Pizarro* travelling over the Mountains with his Horse, where the way was made with hands in many places as a Scale or Staires, were off his Horse thence, commanded the *Indians* to throw his Horses with Gold and Silver, and to come to the Citie, bigger then *Rome*, called *Pachabamb*, where in one filchie chamber was an Idoll of wood, which they said, was then God which gives life to all things, at whose feete were many Emerals talued in Gold. They laue him in such veneration, that none may ferue nor touch him, nor the walls of the house, but such, as they say, are called by him. It is certaine, that the Demill there speaks to them, and tells them what they should doe. They come 50 200 leagues off to him, and offer him gold, silver, and jewels, giving it to the Porter which goeth in and returns them an answer. They which ferue him must be pure and chaste, abstaining from eating, and women. All the Countrie of *Cuzco*, payeth him tribute. The *Indians* feared that the Idoll would have destroyed the *Spaniards*: which neuerthelesse entred without fuspence, and brought very little Gold thence, for the *Indians* had hidden it all; they found the places whence they had carried great store of gold that they got not above 30000. Pezos. & of a *Cacike* 10000 more. *Chilichuma* sent them word, that hee had store of Gold for them at *Xauxa*, but deceived them. They brought him and other great men to *Atahualpa*, which put coarse Cloth on them before their entrance, and did him great reuerence, lifting vp their hands to the Sunne, with thanks that they had seene their Lord, and came by little and little neerer him, and kissed his hands and feet, who shewed great signs of Maistie, and would not looke any of them in the face. They tied *Chilichuma* to a stake, and let fire to him, to extort a confession of all *Cuzco* Gold from him, which (much burned first) said that *Quisquis* had it in keeping: and that old *Cusco*, though dead, was still observed, and had vessels set before him; and told of another Pa-

* These first entrees of Peru all both *Spaniards* and *Indians* by the name of their chief *Cite Cusco*.

Journey to *Cusco*, and gold there.

* In the infide, &c. See *Spain* in the *Inda Virgo* relation.

Huyas Captive Sepulchre.

Poorer shifts for horse shoes.

* This was the Temple of *Pachacamac*, in the former relation. This Idoll perhaps was that which the *Natives* had kept from before the *Indians* conquest, for then they worshipped none. *El* *Idol* treasure of this Voyage is in *Ram*.

uilion, where were great vessels, from whence the Gouverneur sent and fetched much Gold. The *Christians* came from *Cusco* with above an hundred and ninety *Indians* laden with Gold. Some vessels were so great, that twelve *Indians* had much ado to bring them. The Gouverneur melted all the small pieces, which I can well tell, for I was keeper of the house of Gold, and saw it melted, and there were about nintie Plates of Gold: there were in that room two hundred great tankards of Silver and many small, with pots and other peeces very faire. I think 1 saw weighed of the Silver 50000. Markes. There were also in the same room eighty tankards of Gold, and other great peeces: there was also a heape higher then a man of those plates of very fine Gold; and to say truth, in all the roomes of the house were great hills or heapes of Gold and Silver. The Gouverneur put them together and weighed them before the Officers, and then chose some to make the shares for the company. The Gouverneur sent the Emperour a present of 100000. peccies in fiftene tankards, and foure pots, and other rich peeces. Every footman had 4800. peccies of gold, which made 7200. Duckets, and the Horsemen twice as much, besides 20 other advantages. Before the sharing hee gave *Almagro* company 15000. * peccies, and 2000. * Others dy 100000. When *Atahualpa* heard they would carry the gold out of the Countrey, he sent for men to come and assault the Gouverneur. A few dayes before two Sonnes of old *Cusco* came thither and lodged with the Gouverneur, one of them was natural Lord of the Countrey. Upon newes of forced with the Gouverneur, they brought *Atahualpa* by night to a stake to burne him alive, by the command of the Gouverneur; but hee said hee would be a *Christian*; whereupon after Baptizing they strangled him that night, and the Countrey was quiet. The Gouverneur made the eldest Sonne of old *Cusco* Lord of the Countrey, which caused great ioy to the *Natives*. Wee arrived in *Smil*, Saturday the fiftenth 1534.

* *Casici*.

* Others dy 100000.

Atahualpa presented iracon.

* *Mesa*.

CHAP. XVI

The Conquest of Peru and *Cusco*, called New Castile, and directed to the Emperour by FRANCISCO DE XERES, Secretary to Captaine FRANCIS PIZARRO, which conquered them.



Pedro Pizarro lived in *Panama* when the Gouverneur *Pedro de Avila* had peopled. Hee was Sonne of Captaine *Gonzalo Pizarro* of *Tringilo*: hee obtained licence of *Pedro de Avila* to goe upon new discoveries; and having bestowed a good part of his estate in a Ship and necessaries, he departed from *Panama* November the fourteenth 1534, with one hundred and twelve *Spaniards*, and some *Indians*: fourteen dayes after they went on land, which after they named *Of Hanger*, with eight men, the rest being dead, and sent the Ship to the *Land of Peccies* neere *Panama* for victuals, hoping of their returne in twelve dayes, which continued forty seven, they luing on the Seas wilde prouisions meant whiles, whereby twenty dyed, and the rest were very weak. A Cow hide which they had for seruice of the Ship, they had flared amongst them and eaten before the Ship returned. Then did they proceede on the Voyage, and came to a Towne which the inhabitants had forsaken, where they found store of prouisions; and the next day the Countrie people set on them, easily ouerthrowing ours being weak, gave the Captaine fewen wounds very dangerous, and left him for dead; flew fure, and wounded fiftene of the rest: whereupon they returned for *Panama*, and hee that was left for his succour with a Ship and fiftie men; and landing at the place where *Pizarro* was beaten, was there assaulted and lost one of his eyes; many *Christians* were wounded, but for all that they fired the towne, and put the enemy to flight: falling thence, they came to a great River which they called *Saint Iohn*, and found there some shew of Gold, and returned, and found *Pizarro* in *Chilichuma*.

Almagro was sent to *Panama*, where *Pedro de Avila* milked and crossed this designe which had proued hitheerto vaine; but hee with much ado returned with one hundred and ten men to *Pizarro*, with whom fiftie of the former remained of both companies, one hundred & thirty being dead. In two Ships they set forth and spent three years in great trauell, hunger killed the most of them, that fittie onely remained: not finding neuerthelesse any good Countrie. Then it was their hap to finde great hopes of Gold and riches, coming to *Cacab*, and tooke fix men to learne their language. *Almagro* was sent for more men to *Panama*, while *Pizarro* staid at *Cock Island*. But some had written to the Gouverneur to be freed from thence. The Gouverneur

Pizarro began.

Land of *Hanger*.

Pizarro wounded.

Almagro wounded.

Cock Island.

sent

30

40

60



10 VOYAGES TO AND
LAND-TRAVELS IN FLORIDA,
VIRGINIA, AND OTHER PARTS OF THE
NORTHERNE AMERICA. FRENCH
20 Plantings, Spanish Supplantings; English VIR-
GINIAN Colonies, and to the
Ilands Azores.

THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

30 A Relation of ALVARO NUNEZ called Capo di Vaua, * con-
cerning that which happened to the Fleet in India, whereof PAMPHILO
NARVAEZ was Gouvernour, from the yeere 1527. until the
yeere 1536. who returned vnto Sitill with three of his
companions only: translated out of RAMP-
SIO, and abbreviated.

* See sup. l. 7.

Rampscio l. 3.

§. I.

40 Their Fleet; and admirable and unheard of tempest: their entrance into Flo-
rida: the Lakes, troublesome passages, encounters, disastrous
successes, building Boats for returne.



50 THE sixteenth day of June, in the yeere 1527. the Gouvernour
Pamphilo di Narvaez departed from the haven of Saint Lucar
of Barrameda, with power and commandement from your Ma-
iestie to conquer and governe the Prouinces, which lye from
the River of Palmes vnto the Cape of Florida, all in the firme
land. And the Fleete which the Gouvernour brought with him
were five Ships, wherein six hundred men went. The Officers,
because I am to make particular mention of them in this Booke,
were these: Capo di Vaua Treasurer, Agosius Troncos Marti-
all, Alonso Enriquez Auditor, and Alonso de Solis Efector, and
fourleer for his Maiestie. And besides, there was for Commil-
itary, a Frier of the order of Saint Francis, called Frier Giovanni,
John Gutierrez, and with him foure other Friers of the same Order.

The Gouvernour
of the Fleete.

The officers of
the Fleete.

60 We arrived first at the Iland of San Dominica, where we layed but forrie five dayes, to pro-
vide our selves of certaine necessary things, and principally of Horses. There we left more then
an hundred and forty of our men, which would stay by promise and agreement which they of
the Village made with them. Departing thence, we arrived at Saint Iago or Giacomo, which is
an haven in the Iland of Cuba, and reposing our selves there certaine dayes, the Captaine furnish-
ed himselfe with men, munition, and horses. It happened in that place, that a Gentleman, called
Vasques

The Iland of
S. Dominica.

The haven of
S. Iames.

vntill the fouteenth of Iune, and found no *Indians* that durst abide our coming. There, a *Casique* came vnto vs, whom an *Indian* carried vpon his necke, and hee was couered with a Deeres skinne painted, and brought with him many people, who went before him playing vpon certaine Flutes made of canes, and so came vnto the *Gouernour*, and abode with him an houre, and we gaue him to vnderstand (by signes) how that we went to *Apalachen*, and by those signes which he made vs, it seemed hee meant to signifie that hee was an enemy to them of *Apalachen*, and would aide vs against them. We gaue him Crownes, Bells, and such other things, and he gaue the *Gouernour* the skin which hee wore vpon him, and so turned backe againe, and we followed presently after him. That euening we came vnto a River, which was very deepe and very broad, and ran very furiously, and not presuming to passe ouer it vpon rafts, we made a Canoe, and baided one whole day to passe ouer it: so that if the *Indians* would haue inuaded vs, they might easily haue disturbed our passage, and yet although they helped vs the best they could, wee had much trouble. One of our *Horlemen*, called *Iohn Velasquez*, a native of *Chellar*, because he would not stay,ooke the River with his Horle, and the current of the River being very strong, caft him from his Horle, who catching hold on the raines of the bridle, drowned himselfe, together with the Horle. And those *Indians* of that Lord, called *Dulacellin* found the Horle, and told vs where we should finde him in the River below: and so they went to search for him, whose death much discontented vs, because vntill that time there was not one man of our company wanting. The Horle gaue many of their supporters that night. And so hauing passed that River, the day following we came vnto the people of that Lord, who sent vs some of their Maiz. The next day we departed, the *Indians* being led. The *Gouernour* left by the way an ambuscado of certaine *Horlemen*, which as those *Indians* passed by, lifted ouer vpon them, andooke three or foure, who before serued vs for guides, and they brought vs through a very troublefome Country to trauaile, and marvellous to behold, where were huge Mountaines, and very high Trees, whereof so many were fallen to the ground, that they intrangled and stopped the way in such sort that we could not passe without going farre about, to our great trouble; and of those trees that were fallen, the greater part were cleft from one end to the other, through the thunderbolts that fall there, great tempests being alwayes in that place: with this trouble wee marched vntill the six and twentieth day of Iune, at which day we came vnto the place of *Apalachen* before they of the Towne perceived vs. We rendered great thanks vnto God, seeing our felues so neere vnto that place, and supposing that to be true which we had beene spoken, and hoping we should there end our great trauailes which wee had passed, as well for the long and euill iourney, as for the great famine which we had sustained, because, although we sometimes found Maiz, yet for the most part we went fix or eight leagues without finding any. And there were many amongst vs, that through hunger and wearinesse had wounded their shoulders with continuall wearing of their armes, besides the other calamities they daily encountered.

The *Gouernour* commanded me to take with me nine horle, and fittie foote, and enter the towne, which the *Controuler* and I did, and found none but little children, and women, because at that time the men were not there, but going a little way from those places, the *Indians* came, and began to fight, and shoot at vs, and slew the *Controulers* horle; but in the end they fled, and left vs. There we found great quantity of Maiz which stood ready to be gathered, and had sufficient, of which was dry, remaining. We found there many skinnes of wilde beastes taken by hunting, and some garments of thred, little and nought worth, wherewith the women couer some parts of their person.

They had many Mills to grind Maiz. Among these people there were forty little houses, low built, and in clofe places, for feare of the great tempests to which that Country continually is accustomed. The houses are made of straw of stubble, and compassed about with Mountaynes standing thicke together, and great Trees, and many Seas of water, where to many and to great Trees are false, that they trouble euery thing, and caule that no man is able to trauell there without great incumbrance.

The land from the place where we did barke vnto this people of *Apalachen*, for the most part is plaine, and the soyle consisteth of hard and solid land, and throughout all the same many great Trees, and famous Mountaines are found, where Nut trees are, and *Lubrons*, and other, which they call *Lagimanderos*; there are also Cedars, Saurine-trees, Holme-trees, Pines, Okes, and low Palme-trees like those of *Cassile*. Throughout all that Country there are many great and little Lakes, and some are very troublefome to passe, at well for the great depth thereof, as also by reason of the many trees, which are fallen there. The ground or bottom of them is land; and those Lakes which we found in the Prouince of *Apalachen*, are much greater then all the other which we had found vntill then. There are many fields of their Maiz in this Prouince: and the houses are scattered through the Plaine, like those of *Gerbe*. The beafts which we saw there are Deere of three sorts, Conies, Hares, Beares, and Lions, and other, among which we saw one, that carrieth her young in a bagge, which shee hath in her belly, where shee carrieth them all the time that they are little, vntill they are able to goe, and seeke their mee themselves. And if by chance the young stand seeking food without the damme, and people come vpon them, shee flyeth not before

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the young stand seeking food without the damme, and people come vpon them, shee flyeth not before

before shee haue gathered them into her bagge. The Country is very cold there, and there are many good pastures for flocks.

There are also many sorts of Fowle, Gdplings in great abundance; Geefe, Duckes, Herons, Fowles, Black-birds, and others of diuers sorts, and there we saw many Falcons, Gra-falcons, Sparrow-hawkes, and many other sorts of Birds.

Two dayes after we came to *Apalachen*, the *Indians* that were fled returned vnto vs in peace, demanding their children, and we gaue them all, except one *Casique* of theirs, whom the *Gouernour* retayned, which was the occasion to caule them to depart offended; the whole day following returned as enemies, and assailed vs with such fury and boldnesse, that they came to let fire to the house where we were: but so soone as we came forth, they fled and retired themselves vnto the Lakes, which were very neere therunto. Whereupon by reason of them, and

flues vnto the Lakes, which were very neere therunto. Whereupon by reason of them, and the Corne which was very thicke there, we could not doe them any hurt, soe that we killed one of the Corne. The day following, other *Indians* of another people, which was on the other side, came to vs and assailed vs after the same manner, that the other had done before, and fled like a wife: and one of them also was slaine. We abode there fixe and twentie dayes, in the which we cauled three to enter within the Land, and found it very poorly peopled, and hard traouelling in respect of the troublefome passages, Mountaynes and Lakes which are there. We demanded in respect of the troublefome passages, Mountaynes and Lakes which are there. We demanded

in respect of the troublefome passages, Mountaynes and Lakes which are there. We demanded of the *Casique* whom we had retayned, and of the other *Indians* whom we had brought with vs, who were borderers and enemies to them of *Apalachen*, the qualitie and condition of that

Country, of the people, the victual, and other things about it, who all plainly answered vs, that the great part of all that Country, were they of *Apalachen*, and that further beyond it was without people, and very poore, that all that Country, and theirs were ill peopled, and the inhabitants were much dispersed, and that going further forth, exceeding great Lakes are found, Mountaynes standing thicke together, and mighty Defares, and without inhabitants. We asked them of the Country which lay toward the South, what people and sustenance it was. We asked them of the Country which lay toward the South, what people and sustenance it was. We asked them of the Country which lay toward the South, what people and sustenance it was.

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uered with mantles of Martinots, of the same sort whereof we spake before, and some of them were made of a very strange fashion, hauing certaine laces of the worke of Lions skirines, which seemed very faire. They prayed vs, that we would goe with them, and they would giue vs our two *Christians*, and water, and many other things: and many Canas came continually vpon vs, endeavouring to take the mouth of that passage, and so therefore, because the place was very dangerous, we went out to Sea, where we layed with them vntill noone. But, not being willing to restore our *Christians*, and therefore we also would not restore their two hostages, they began to cast stones at vs with slings: making thevs also that they would shoot at vs, although we saw not about three or foure Bowes among them. And while we continued thus: a fresh gale of winde began to blowe, and they went their way. So, we layed all that day vntill the evening, at what time my Boat that went before, discovered a point which the Land made, and at the other end I saw a River: then I anchored at a small Island, which maketh that point, to stay for the other Boats. The Gouernour would not come neere it, but put into a flat shoare very neere thereto, where many small lands were, and there wee all met together, and tooke fresh water within the Sea, because the River ranne into the Sea continually, and with great violence. And that wee might bee able to bake a little Maiz which wee brought, because for two dayes before, we had eaten it raw, we went aland on that Island, but finding no wood there, we agreed to goe vnto the River, which was behind the Point one league from thence. And as we went, the current of the River was so great, that by no means it suffered vs to arrive, but drove vs backe from the Land.

Currents

§. II.

Misery pursues them at Sea, and betrays them to the Indians: their miserable lives and death.

WE layed four dayes, every one eating halfe a handfull of raw Maiz a day by ration. At the end of these four dayes, a tempest tooke vs, which made vs recover the Boat of Captaine *Telles*, and through the great mercy which God shewed to some of vs, we were not wholly drowned. And being Winter, and exceeding cold, and so many dayes wherein we had sustained hunger, with many blowes which wee received from the Sea, the day following the men began very much to faint, in such manner, that when the Sunne went downe, all those that were in my Boat, were fallen one vpon the other, so neere vnto death, that few of them had any sense, and among all them there were not one that could stand on their feete, and when night came there remained no more but the Master and my selfe, that could manage the Boat, and two houres within night the Master said vnto mee, that I should take charge of my Boat, because he was in such case, that he held it for certainty, that hee should die that night. And so I tooke the rudder, and might not being past, I went to see if the Master were dead, who said vnto me, that suddenly he was better, and that hee would guide the Boat vntill day. Then surely I found my selfe in such state, that much more willingly I would haue received death, then fee so many men before me in that manner wherein they were: and after the Master tooke charge of the Boat I rested my selfe a little, but very vnquietly, because at that time nothing was further from me then sleep. And about the morning me thought that I heard the noise and roaring of the Sea, because being a very lowe Coast it raised much, whereupon I heard this, I called to the Master, who answered me, that he supposed we were now neere vnto the Land: and founding, we found our selues in such farthome, and he thought it fit, that we should abide at Sea vntill the day appeared. And so I tooke an Oare and rowed to the Lands side, which we found one league distant, and put the Boate to the Sea. And being neere to the Land, a waue tooke vs, which cast the Boat backe againe into the Sea as farre as a man might wile thing a stone, and with the great blowe which it gaue, almost all the men who remained there as dead, received their senses againe, and seeing vs so neere vnto the Land, beganne to arise and goe out their hands and feete. And hauing landed, wee made fire in certaine trenches, and boyled some of the Maiz which wee had brought, and found raine-water: and with the heat of the fire, the men beganne to recover and take strength: and the day that we arrived there, was the sixth of Nouember.

After the men had eaten, I commanded *Lopez de Oueda*, who was the best able, and strongest of all the rest, that he should goe close to any tree of them that were there at hand, and climbing vp into one of them, he should discover the Land where we were, and see if hee could haue any knowledge thereof. He did so, and saw that there were in an Island, and found certaine poore *Cot-60* tages of the *Indians*, which stood solitary, because those *Indians* were gone vnto the field. And so he tooke a poore young whelpe, and a little Thorn-bucke, and returned vnto vs. About halfe an houre after, an hundred *Indian* Archers came suddenly vpon vs, who though they were great, yet seemed made them seeme to be Giants: and they stood round about vs, where the first three were.

were. It had beene a vaine thing amongst vs to thinke that there were any to defend vs, because there were scarce fixe that were able to rise from the ground. The Controller and I came to wards them, and called vnto them, and they came neere vnto vs, and every one of them gaue mee we could, to secure them: so we gaue them Crowns and Bells, and they told vs by signes that they would returne an Arrow, which is a token of friendship, and they told vs by signes that they would haue nothing.

The next morning at the breake of day, which was the houre whereof the *Indians* had promised vs in the morning, and bring vs somewhat to eat, because at that time they had nothing. The next morning at the breake of day, which was the houre whereof the *Indians* had promised vs in the morning, and bring vs somewhat to eat, because at that time they had nothing. The next morning at the breake of day, which was the houre whereof the *Indians* had promised vs in the morning, and bring vs somewhat to eat, because at that time they had nothing.

Then seeing we were now prouided of fish, of those roots, and water, and other things which we could get, we agreed to imbarke our selues, and proceed on our Voyage: so wee digged the Boat out of the sand, where it was fast moored, and were constrained to trippie our selues naked, and endured great labour to launch her into the water. Being embarked, about two Crof bow shots within the Sea, there came such a waue of water that it washed vs all, and being naked, and the cold extreme, wee let goe the Oares, and another blowe which the Sea gaue vs, ouer-

turned the Boat, whereupon the Controller and two other went out to escape by swimming: but the cleane contrary befell them, because the Boat strucke on the waier water, and drowned in them. That Coast being very faire, the Sea cast vs all stand on the same Coast, all tumbled in them. That Coast being very faire, the Sea cast vs all stand on the same Coast, all tumbled in them. That Coast being very faire, the Sea cast vs all stand on the same Coast, all tumbled in them.

which although it were but a little, yet was it much for vs at that time: and being then Nouember, and the cold very extreme, and being in such case, that a man might easily tell all our bones, we seemed to be the proper and true figure of Death. As for my selfe, I am well able to say, that from the month of May past, I had not eaten any other thing then parched Maiz, and sometimes I was in so great need of it, that I haue eaten it raw, because although the Horles were killed while they made the Boats, yet I could neuer eat them, and I did not eat five ten times.

I speake this, that every one might consider, how we could continue in that case, and about all, the North wind blew that day, so that we were neerer vnto death, then life. It pleased God, that seeking the brands of the fire which we had made before wee imbarke, wee found light there, and so making great fires, we stood crauing mercy from our Lord God, and pardon of our finnes, and hee with many teares, every one of vs grieving not onely for himselfe, but for all the rest, that hee saw in the same state. At the setting of the Sunne, the *Indians* supposing that we had not bene gone, came to finde vs, and brought vs somewhat to eat, but when they saw vs thus, in so differing an habite from the first, and in such strange manner, they were so afraid, that they turned backe againe: but I went towards them, and called them, who beheld mee with much feare.

Hereupon I gaue them to understand by signes, that the Boat was cast away, and three men drowned, and there they themselves saw two dead, and the rest of vs that were now remaining were going the high way to death.

The *Indians* seeing the misfortune which had befallen vs, and the lamentable case wherein we were, with so great calamitie and miserie, came amongst vs, and through great griefe and compassion which they had of vs, beganne mightily to weepe and lament, and that from the heart, in such manner that they might be heard farre from thence, and they thus lamented more then halfe an houre. And surely, seeing these men so deprived of reason, and so cruell after the manner of brute beasts, to be wayled our miseries, it cauled that in me, and all the rest of our men, the compassion and consideration of our miseries should be much more increased. The mournfull lamentation being somewhat appeased, I demanded of the *Christians*, whether they thought it fit, that I should intreate those *Indians* to bring vs to their houses, whereunto some of them that were of *Nona Spagna*, answered me, that I should not speake a word thereof, because if they brought vs home to their houses, they would haue sacrificed vs to their Idols. Now seeing there was no other remedie, and that, what other way soeuer, death was more certaine and more nere, I cared not for that which they said, but prayed the *Indians*, that they would bring vs to their houses, and they thewed vs, that it pleased them very well, and that wee should carrie a little, and they would doe as much as we desired, presently thirty of them laded themselves with wood, and went vnto their houses, which were farre from thence: and we remained with the rest, vntill it was almost dark night, and then they tooke vs, and conducting vs, we went with much anguish and heaviness vnto their houses. And because they feared lest through the extreme cold,

60 the way of vs should die, or fownd and faint, they had prouided, that by the way three or foure great fires should be made, some small space distant each from other, and at every one of them they warmed vs, and when they saw that we had taken a little strength and heate, they brought vs to another, with fo great care, that they did not so much as suffer vs to set our feete

Three down: and.

Humanitie of Saaguas.

The Spaniards
eat one ano-
ther.

Vazquez, *Porsalle*, who came in the fleete from *Cuba*, Master of the Campe, resolted from *Pan-
taga*, and smote him with a piece of wood, with the which blow hee died, and such as died be-
came the mortals of the other, and the least that died, was the Sergeant Major, and *Esquival* did
the like, and eating him, maintained himselfe untill the first of March, that an *Indian* one of
them who fled from thence came to see if they were all dead, and after brought *Esquival* away
from thence with him, who being in subjection to this *Indian* *Figueras* spake with him, and
vnderstood all this of him which we haue before declared, and prayed him to come with him,
that they might goe together towards *Pamoa*: but *Esquival* would not doe it, saying, that hee
vnderstood by *Fiens* that *Pamoa* was behind them, and so he remained there, and *Figueras* went
to the Coast where hee liued to abide.

All this *Figueras* reported vnto vs, by the relation which *Esquival* made vnto him, and so
from hand to hand it came vnto me. Whereby hee might see and know the end which all that
fleete had, and the particular mischances which happened to euerie one of the rest. And hee
further said, that if the *Christians* at any time should goe through those parts, it might bee, that
they should see *Esquival*, but hee knew that hee was fled from that *Indian* with whom hee be-
came, vnto the other which are called *Marianes*, who were their Neighbours. And so haue
ended his Discourse, he and *Affians*, were about to goe vnto the other *Indians* that were further
beyond, but those *Indians* who kept them perceiving them, went forth and came to guse them
many *Bulinados*, and spoiled *Affians*, and wounded him on the arme with an Arrow, by way
in the end they fled, and the other *Christians* remained: and procured those *Indians* to take them
for slaves, although abiding with them and tending them; they were as euilly intreated as euer
any slaves were or other men of the World. Because of fixe which they were, not being con-
tented continually to builett, and cugell them, and plucke off their beards with the skin, only
for their pittime and recreation: and only for going from one house to another, they killed three,
who are those of whom I spoke before, to wit, *Diego Dorante*, *Valdenisio*, and *Diego de Helas*:
and the other three that remained, expected that they also should make the like end, and not
being able to lurre that life, *Andrea Dorante* fled to the *Marianes*, who were they with whom
Esquival abode, and they themselves repored that they had kept *Esquival* there, who after-
ward would haue fled, because a woman had dreamed that hee should kill a childe of hers: the
Indians pursued him and due him; and they afterward shewed *Andrea Dorante* his Sword, 30
Crowne, Booke, and other things which hee had.

A cruel cus-
tome of the
Indians, who
vie to kill their
male children
while they
sleep, and cast
their female
children (as
soon as they
are borne) to
the dogges to
eate them, be-
cause they
would not
marrie them
to their ene-
mies, not to
their kindred.
Penuous
die.

The *Indians* in
this Province
eate Serpents,
Wormes, and
other beastly
things, by rea-
son of the in-
firmie which
continually is
there.
Wormen.

They haue this custome also euen to kill the same male children while they sleepe, and when
the female children are borne, they leaue them for the Doges to eate, and cast them away in those
places. And the reason why they doe it is this, because they say that all they of the Countrey
are their enemies, and make very great warres with them. Wherefore if by chance they should
marrie their Daughters, their enemies should be the more increased, who would subiect them,
and hold them all in captiuitie. And for this cause, they would rather kill them, than haue any
borne of themselves to become their enemies. We demaied of them why they married them
not among themselves, who answered, that it was a beastly thing to marrie them vnto their kin-
dred, and that it was much better to kill them, then guse them for wives vnto their kindred
and enemies. And they obserue this custome, and other of their Neighbours also called *laguanes*,
and no other of that Countrey, but they obserue the same. And when they take wives, they get
the women of their enemies, and the price which they pay is the best Bow that they can get,
with two Arrows. And if peradventure they haue not a Bow, they giue a Net of the vnderleefe
of a mans arme, and as much more in length. *Dorante* abode with them, and not long after fled
from them. *Casiglio* and *Esquival* came into the firme Land to the *laguanes*. All they are Ar-
chers, and wellier, although they be not so great as the other which we left behind, and haue all
their paps and their hips pierced like them. Their food principally are roots of two or three sorts,
which they keele throughout the whole Countrey, which are very harsh and puffed vp such as eat
them. They hay two dayes to roast them, and many of them are very bitter, and withall they
dig them with much paines, but the famine in those Countreies is so great, that they cannot le-
ue without them: and they goe two or three leagues to keele them. They sometimes kill any wil-
d beast whatsoever, and at certain times take fish, but this is so litle, and their hunger so great,
that they eat Frogs, Ames Eggs, Wormes, Lizards, Salamanders, Serpents and Vipers, which with
their stinging kill men: they also eat earth, wood, and whatsoever they can get the dung of wild
beasts, and other things which I leaue to report, and certainly beleuee, that if there were floues
in that Countrey they would eat them. They keep the sharpest bones of fishes and Serpents, which
they eat to grind them all afterwards, and to eate that powder. The men lead not themselves not
carrie burdens, but the old men and women do all this, who are least esteemed among them, they
beare no such load to their children as the other doe, whereof I haue spoken before.

There are some among them, who vie that sinne which is against nature. Their women are
very sufficient, and able to endure labour, for of the foure and twentie houres of the day and
night, they haue but fixe houres of rest, and all the greater part of the night they spend in heating
their Ovens, to dry those Rootes which they eate. And when the day begetteth to appeare,
they

CHAR. §. 2. Nimble Hunters. Trouble some flies. Intendment of flight crossed.

4513

they beegine to draw water, and carrie wood vnto their houses, and giue order for other things
which they want.

The greater part of them are great Theeues, because although among them they are well di-
uided, yet if the Father or the Sonne turne but their heads about, the one taketh from the other
whatsoeuer he can get. They are great and monstrous Liars, and all great Drummers, and for that
purpose they drinke: a certain kind of drinke. They are to well vied to runne, that without re-
purpose they themselves, or standing still at all, they rune from Morning vntill the Evening following
thing themselves, and some of Mats set vpon foure Arches, and they take them vp
times take them aliae. Their houses are of Mats set vpon foure Arches, and they take them vp
10 and remoue them, euery two or three daies to feede food. They fow nothing at all to be able to
haue fruit thereof, and are a very pleasant and sport themselves.
hunger they indure, they cease not to dance and sport themselves.

The best time which they haue is when they eate *Tune*, because then they haue no hunger,
and passe all that time in dancing, and eate day and night all the time they haue them. They
wring them, open them, and see them to dry, and being thus dried they hang them vp in Gar-
lands like figges, and keepe them to eate by the way, when they returne thence: they also dry
their Pils and make powder of them. Many times while we were with them, it to tell out, that
we continued foure daies without eate any thing, because it was not there to be had: to make
vs merrie they told vs, that we should shortly haue *Tune*, and should eate many of them and
20 drinke their iuice, and fill our bellies very well, and that wee should be verie cheerefull and con-
tented, and without any hunger. And when they told vs this, it was fixe or fixe monethes to
the time of *Tune*.

And when the time came, we came to eate *Tune*, and by the way we found many flies of
three sorts, very mischurious and noisome, and all the rest of the Summer they put vs to much
trouble. And to defend vs from them we made fires of rotten and moist wood, that it might not
burne but make a smoke, by this defence put vs to another trouble, for all the night we had
nothing else but complaine of the smoke which came into our eyes, and also of the great heate
which the much fire gaue vs, and we went out to sleepe by the side thereof, and if at any time
we sleepe there, they remembered vs with their bairnados to returne, and make the fires burne,
30 they who dwell further within the Land, via a remedie for these flies, as intolerable as this and
worse, that is to say, they goe with fire-brands in their hands, burning the Fields and the Woods
whereouer they meete with them, to make the flies to flie away: and so also they vie to digge
vnder the earth for Lizards, and other such like things to eate them, they vie also to kill Deere,
compelling them with many fires. Which they also doe to take away food from the beasts, that
they might be constrained to goe from thence to find it, where they would haue them. For they
never ferle themselves to dwell, but where wood and water are, and sometimes they load them-
selves all with this prouision, and goe to seeke Deere, which (most commonly) abide where
there is neither water nor wood: and the day they came thither they killed Deere, and some o-
ther hunting game such as they could get, and consumed all the water and wood in preparing
40 them to be eaten, and in the fires which they made to hunt the flies, and tarried till the next day
to take home thing to carrie with them by the way.

When they depart they goe so miserably vexed with flies, that they seeme to haue the disease
of *Lazarus*, and in this manner they expell hunger two or three times in the yeere with so great
paines as hath bene said: and because I haue proued it, I dare affirme, that there is no trauell in
the World found like vnto this.

They found Oxen there and I saw them three times, and eate of them: and (as I thinke, they
are of the bigne of those of *Spain*). They haue little hornes like the *Moresche* cattle, and they haue
long haire, and some of them are alth-colour, and others blacke, and in my iudgement they haue
better haire and much thicker then those of our Countreies. Of those which are not great, they
50 make Garments to couer them, and of the greater they make shoes and Targets and these came
from the North farther through the Land vnto the Coast of *Florida*, and extend themselves farre
within the Land more then foure hundred leagues. And in all this way, through the Vallies by
which they come, the people that dwell there, come downe and eate of them, and send great flocks
of hies into the Countrey.

When the fixe monethes were ended, wherein I abode with the *Christians*, hoping to put the
determination made betwene vs in execution, the *Indians* went to eate *Tune*, which might bee
some thirte leagues from thence, and being now ready to flie from them, the *Indians* with whom
we abode, fell at variance among themselves about a woman, and buffeted and beate her, and
broke her ead: and for the great hatred and anger they conceived, that all the *Christians* who were
60 euery one went vnto their place. Whereupon it was necessary, that all the *Christians* who were
there, should separate themselves with them, so that by no means we could meet together a-
gaine vntill the next yeere: and in this time I passed much miserie, as well for the great famine
I endured, as for the euill visage, and bad entertainment those *Indians* gaue mee which was such,
that I was faine to flie three times from those *Indians* that kept mee, who all came diligently to

Thereus.

Indians which
runne a whole
day to take a
Deere, and ti-
ring him with
floues, eie-
foues take
him aliae in
the chafe.
Natures mis-
lings.
Dogs life.
Tarditime.

Flies trouble-
some.
Noisome re-
medie.

Deere haunt
dry places
avoid Hunt-
men.

Oxen of that
Countrey.

seeke me that they might kill me, but it pleased our Lord God, not to suffer them to find mee, and to preserve me from their hands through his infinite mercie.

As soone as the time of *Tune* returned, wee *Christians* found our felues together againe in the same place where we were before, and having now ioyned together to live thence, and appointed the day, that very life time day the *Indians* separated vs, and euery one went vnto their place, so I said vnto the *Christians*, that I would expect them at the *Tune*, vntill the Moone were full, and that day when I said vnto them, was the first of September, and the prime of the Moone. And further I assured them, that if they came not within that time, I would go thence alone and leaue them. And so we separated our felues, and euery man went with their *Indians*, and I stayed with mine vntill the thirteenth of the Moone: and my determination was to live thence vnto the other *Indians*, when the Moone should be full. On the thirteenth of the said moneth, *Andres Dorante* and *Espenacio* came vnto me and told me, that they had left *Casfiglio* with other *Indians*, whom they call *Canagadi*, who dwelt neere thereabout, and that they had passed many miseries, and had lost their way. And that the day before our *Indians* remoued from their place, and were gone towards the place where *Casfiglio* abode to ioyne themselves with them who kept him, and make themselves friends hauing bene enemies and at warres, euen vntill that day: and in this manner also we recovered *Casfiglio*. In all the time that wee ate the *Tune* wee were thirftie and for remedie wee dranke the iuce thereof, which wee powdered in a trench which we made in the Earth, and when it was full, we dranke thereof vntill we were satisfied: it is sweet and pleasant, and of the colour of new wine boyled and this they doe because there are no other vessels there wherein to put it. There are many sorts of *Tune*, among which some are verie good, although all seemed good vnto me, and hunger gaue mee no time to be able to make choice.

The greatest part of all this Nation drinke raine water, gathered together in certaine trenches. For although they haue Ruers there, nevertheless, because they neuer haue any certaine and settled place of abode, they haue no particular water knowne to them, or appointed place where to take it. Throughout the whole Countrie there are many great and goodly fennes, and of excellent pasture for hockes and herds of cattle, and it would be a very fruitful Countrie if it were manured, and inhabited by a people which had reason and knowledge. We saw no Mountaines in all that Countrie all the time we stayed there. Those *Indians* told vs, that further beyond there were another people, called *Camini*, who liue toward the Coast, who had liane all the men which came in the Boat of *Piguala* and *Tekia*, and that they were all so weak and sicke, that although they killed them, they did not any way defend themselves, and so they made an end of them all, and they shewed vs their Garments and Weapons, and that the *Bute* remained there on the other side. This is the fit Boat which made vs the account, because we haue already said, that the Sea carried away the Boat of the *Gouernour*, and that of the *Andour* and the *Frien* was leene cast athwart the Coast, and *Espenacio* declared the end of them. The two wherein *Casfiglio*, my selfe, and *Dorante* went, we haue already said, that they were drowned at the land of *Matibado*.

¶ III.

Their flight from the Indians to others, wonderfull cures, backe and belly cares: their travels thorow the Countrey, and hungry adventures. Diners peoples and their customes.

After we were remoued from the place, about two daies iourney from them, we recommended our felues vnto our Lord God, and went flying thence, hoping that although the time of the yeere were now late, and the *Tune* ended, yet with the fruits that remained in the fields, we should be able to traull a great part of the Countrey. And so going that first day with much feare that the *Indians* would haue followed vs, we went certaine smokes, and going towards them after the evening we saw an *Indian*, who when he saw vs fled without tarrying for vs. Whereupon we presently sent the *Negro* vnto him, who when he saw him alone staid for him. The *Negro* said vnto him, that we came to seeke out those people that made those smokes, so he answered, that their houses were nere that place, and that he would guide vs thither, and so we followed him and he went running to geue notice of our coming. And about thus let we saw the houses, and about two cross-bow shoote before we came thither, we found four *Indians* who staid for vs and courteously entertained vs. Wee told them in the language of the *Maranones* that we came to seeke them, who seemed to be glad of our company, and so they brought vs to their houses, and placed *Dorante* and the *Negro* in the house of a *Phisician*, and me and *Casfiglio* with certaine others. These people haue another language, and are called *An-nares*, and are they who vied to bring the *Bowes* vnto those our first masters, and are

contract with them: and although they be of another nation and language, yet they vnderstand the language of them with whom we first abode: and they themselves also that felle fame day came into that place with their houses. The people presently offered vs much *Tune*, because they knew vs both that we had healed them.

The verie fame night that we came thither, certaine *Indians* came into *Casfiglio*, and told him that they had verie great paine in their heads, increasing him that: in the verie fame instant they said after he had blessed them and recommended them vnto God, in the verie fame instant they brought that they were well, and that the paine was gone. So they went into their houses and brought vs much *Tune*, and a piece of flesh of a wilde beest, which we knew not what it was. This being published among them, many other diseased people came that night that he should heale them, and euery one of them brought a piece of Venison, and they brought so many that we knew not where to put them. We yielded great thanks vnto God, who so continually euerie day increased his mercie and his grace towards vs. Thus when the cures were ended, they began to dance and sing their rimes, and make their sports vntill the next day at the rising of the Sunne, and this festiual iollitie continued three daies by reason of our coming thither. Afterward we asked them of the Countrie beyond, and of the people and victuals that are found there, and they answered vs, that throughout all that Countrie there was much *Tune*, but that they were now ended and that we should find no people, because after they had gathered the *Tune*, euerie one returned to their houses, and that it was a verie cold Countrie, and verie few skinned were

20 found there. Seeing this, and considering that the Winter, and cold time of the yeere was come we agreed to winter with them. And at the end of five daies, after we came thither they departed thence, and went to seeke other *Tune*, where other people were of other Nations and diuers languages, and hauing trauelled five daies iourney with much hunger, because neither *Tune*, nor other fruits are found by the way, we came to a Riuer and set vp our houses there, and after went to seeke certain fruits of a tree like vnto a fig tree, and there being no high way in all those places, I staid longer then the rest in finding them, and so they returned to their houses, and I remained alone, and coming to seeke our men that night I had almost lost my selfe: and it pleased God that I found a tree vnder the which there was a fire, and at that fire I passed the cold of that night. In the morning I loaded my selfe with wood, and taking two fire brands I returned to seeke them, and went in this manner five daies, alwaies with my fire and burden of wood, because if my fire should haue beene extinguished in places where there had been no wood (as in many places there is none) I was to kindle other fire brands and not to remaine without fire, because I had no other remedie against the cold, being as naked as euer I was borne. And in the night I had this remedie, that I went to any small plat of ground beset with trees neere vnto the Riuer, and there abode before the Sun went downe and made a trench in the ground and put much wood therein, which they vke to doe of certaine trees, whereof in those places there is great abundance, and put many thicks together of such as were faine and drie, and about that trench I made foure fires a crosse, and thought to come from time to time to renew the fires, and had made certaine bundles of straw, whereof in those places there is much, and therewith I couered me in that trench, and in this manner defended my selfe from the cold of the nights: and on a certaine night I was thought that some vnto me had stung me. And when they thought they greatly reioiced to see me, but principally the *Christians*, who said vnto me, that vntill that time they had trauelled

30 with much hunger, and for that cause they came not to seeke mee, and that night they gaue mee of the *Tune* which they had. The day following we departed thence, and went vnto the place where much *Tune* was, where with we all satisfied the great hunger which we had, and the *Christians* gaue many thanks vnto our Lord God, who left vs not without remedie.

The next day many *Indians* came to vs in the morning, and brought five sicke men with them, who were lame and verie ill, and they came to seeke *Casfiglio* that he might heale them, and euery one of them was diseased as their Bowes and Arrowes, which he recovered, and at ry of the setting of the Sun he blessed them, and recommended them vnto God, and wee all blesought him with the best deuotion we could that he would giue them health, seeing we saw there was no other remedie but to doe the best we could that those people might heale vs, that we might

40 contract with them: and although they be of another nation and language, yet they vnderstand the language of them with whom we first abode: and they themselves also that felle fame day came into that place with their houses. The people presently offered vs much *Tune*, because they knew vs both that we had healed them.

Curas very wonderfull, yet true. *Negro* (which trauelled twenty years in the Indies with the Spaniards from 1541.) said that of 15 hundred of *Naruaez* his company (which he returned from Mexico) reported that they had by breathing on ben-cured the flecked to life three dead men, &c. But, lieth here. Let their holines pardon mee, will suffer belone that they should haue living men in their lap vntill half one dead man to life Ben. l. 2. c. 15 I permit one of these relations, more to our knowledge of the Countrey, then for credit of Spaniards in the Indies, which you haue find in the same of another nature. These here challenge to doe one to conuert the people to God, and therefore are no like to haue any discipline beginning, but reuerentially vnderstand the word, or talley, as ended by the Father of faithfull. And why my men be described to the Deuill, rather a liell neuer done or if done, as deuilish Arts to maintain rapine and superstition, which are here mentioned the off. &c. thereof? *As* the title of a great miracle worker in the Indies a vicious man, and hinged for knaueries. This comes head the Author is also by Schmal before, recorded for a bad man in his acts the Riuer of Nauas, l. 16. Remoued: sic, ut figmentis mendacibus hominum ut periculis falsum spiritum &c.

for if we had boiled it, the first of them that came would have taken it, and ate it, wherefore we thought it had not bene well done to put it to that danger; and besides, we were none of them that would bethinke our selves whether wee should rather eat it fode, den or raw.

This was the life we led with these *Indians*, and that little sustenance which we had we got it by small trifles which we made with our hands. After we had eaten their Dogs, supping that we had little strength to be able to go further, we recommended our selves vnto our Lord God, that he would guide vs, and freed our selves from those *Indians*, who brought vs vnto other of their language, who dwell neere therunto: and soas we went it rained all that day, and beside that, we left the way, and were to stay at a very great Mountaine, wher we gathered many leaues of *Tune*, and basked them that night in an Oven which we had made, and put so much fire to them, that in the morning they were ready to be eaten, and after wee had eaten them, we recommended our selves vnto God, and went from thence, and found the way which we had lost. And having passed the Mountaine, we found other houses of the *Indians*, and being come thither, we saw two women and certaine little children that went on that Mountaine, who being vs, they afraid, and fled to call their *Indians*, who went through the Mountaine. And being come, they laid to behold vs behinde certaine trees, so wee called vnto them, who ranne with much feare, and after we had spoken vnto them, they told vs that they had indured great famine, and that neere vnto that place many of their houses stood, and said, that they would bring vs thither: and so that night we came where fiftie houses were, and they were all amazed to behold vs, and stood astonied through exceeding feare: and after they were somewhat comforted, they came neere vnto vs, and laid their hands vpon our faces and bodies, and after put them vpon their owne faces and bodies. So we stayed that night, and when the morning came, they brought the dishe of that were among them vnto vs, inreating vs that we would bl. ss them, and gave vs such as they had to eat, which were the leaues of *Tune* and greene *Tune* roasted or dry, and for the good intertainment they gave vs, and because they parted with that little which they had willingly, and were contented to be without meate themselves to give it vnto vs, we abode with them certaine dayes. And while we thus staid, other *Indians*, of them that were farr beyond, came thither, and when they would be gone, we led to the former *Indians*; that we would goe with the other, which much displeased them, and so we left them forrow for our departure, at the which they concieved great displeasure.

From the land of *Malhada*, all the *Indians* which we saw in that Countrey, observe this for a common custom, that if they perceiue their women to be great with child, they lye not with them, vntill two yeares be passed, after the children be borne, to the which they give sucke, vntill they be of the age of twelue yeares, that they are now of vnderstanding to provide foode for themselves. We demanded of them, for what reason they did thus nourish them, who answered vs, that they did it for the great famine which was in that Countrey: where, as we our selves saw, they were faine to continue sometimes three or foure dayes without eating, and therefore they let them sucke, that in that time they might not dye through hunger, and it notwithstanding some should escape, they would become too delicate, and of little strength. If by chance it happen that any among them be sicke, they let them dye in those fields, if he be not a childe, and all the rest that cannot goe with them remaine there, but for a childe, or a brother of theirs, they lay them vpon their necke, and so they carry them.

They haue all this custome to be separated from their wiues, when there is no agreement betweene them, and the both they and the may marry againe with whom they please. And this is viall among the younger fort; but such as haue children neuer forsake their wiues. And when they contend with other people, or be at variance one with another, they buffet and beate each other with culg. Is vntill they be very weare, and then they part, and sometimes the women part them, going betweene them, because the men come not in to part them: and what choller or passion follow they haue, they fight not together with their Bowes and Arrowes, and after they haue outshotted and culgelled each other, the bruite being ended, they take their houses and women, and goe to lue in the field, separated from the rest, vntill their anger and choller be past; and when they are now pacified, it is not needfull that others interpose themselves to make peace and friendship, because in this manner they make it themselves. And if they who be at variance haue no wiues, they goe to other of their neighbours, who although they were their enemies, receive them courteously, and doe them much flattering kinde, and give them such as they haue, so that when their choller is past, they returne rich vnto their people. They are all warlike people, and vse a great subtilty to defend them from their enemies, as they would doe, if they had bin brought vp in Italy, and in continuall warre. The horses are they that onely overcome them, and which the *Indians* generally feare. They who are to fight with them, must be very wary that they know not that they be faint or cowardly, and while the battale continueth, they are to vie them the worst they can. For if they perceiue them to be timorous or cowards, it is a people that very well knoweth the time to avenge themselves, and to take courage and strength from the feare of their enemies. When they are shut in the warres, and haue spent

Famines Difficulties.

Sine Cerere & libris frigis Persae The Indians let their children sucke like use of cow like yeares.

No deadly fights.

Vie of Horses.

Arrowes, they returne euery one their way, without any pursuit of the enemy, although the one party be few, and the other many, and this is their custome. They goe many times away, though cleane through with Arrowes, and dye not, if they touch not the bowels or heart, nay, they quickly heale them. They lye and lere, and haue the sharpest fences, I thinke, of any men in the world. They are very well able to endure hunger, thirst, and cold, as they who are more acquainted therewith then any other.

In the land of *Malhada* there are two languages: the one called *Canoques* and the other *Han*. In the firme land, asfont that land, are others called *Carruce*, who take their name from the Mountains where they lue. Further, vpon the Sea coast are others, called *Deguenes*, and *Atians*, where they lue. Further, vpon the Sea coast are the *Quasues*, and asfont these within the firme land are the *Marianes*, and going further vpon the coast are other, called *Guasones*, and asfont those within the firme land the *Leguones*, and of these there are many along this bankes further. Other called *Quioles*, lue on the coast, and asfont them within the firme land are the *Anuaries*, and with these the *Malucas* write themselves, and the *Culacmleber*, and other the same coast beyond are others, whom we called them the *Comoles*, and on the same coast beyond are others, whom we called them the *Figures*. All these Nations haue habitations, and people, and diuers languages. Among them there is one language, in the which, when they lye vnto men, looke there, they lay *arraca*, and to the Dogs, they lay *Xo*: and in all that Countrey they make the afflues drinke with a certaine fmoake, and gise whatsoeuer they haue to get it.

Like-wile they drinke another thing which they take from the leaues of trees, like vnto the Mulberry trees, and boile it in certaine vessels on the fire, and after they haue boyled it, they fill the vessels with water, and so keepe it ouer the fire, and when it hath bene twice boyled, they poure it out into certaine vessels, and coole it with halfe a good, and when it is coole, they give it, they drinke it as hot as they are able to suffer it, and while they put it out of the vessel, and vntill they drinke it, they stand crying, *noo will drinke*. And when the women perceiue these exclamations, they presently settle themselves, not daring one to moue, although they thinke that they are very well beloud. And if by chance any of them moue, they accept her 30 handle, and cudgell her, and with much choller and anger cast away the water or drinke which they haue made: and if they haue drunke it, they vomit it out againe, which they doe very easily. The reason of this their custome, they lye it is this, charif when they will drinke of that water, the women moue themselves from the place where they heare that voyce, some bad thing might be put into that drinke, which entering into the body, in short space would cause them to dye. And all the time, that that water is boyled, the vessel must be well closed and shut, and if peradventure it should stand vncovered, and any woman should come and passe by, they cast it away and drinke no more of it. It is of the colour of Saffron, and they drinke it three dayes without eating, and euery day they drinke one *ampora*, and an halie. And when the women haue their naturall purgation, they prouide no meate but for themselves, because no other their perfon will eate of that which the carrieth. In the time that continued among them, I saw a most brutish and beastly custome, to wit, a man who was married to another, and their be certain effeminate and impotent men, who goe clothed and attired like women and their be certain of a woman; they carry no Bowes, but beare very great and weightie burdens: and among them we saw many such effeminate persons, as I haue said, and they are of greater lims and taller then the other men.

After we departed from them whom we left lamenting, we were with the other at their houses, and were very well intertained of them, who brought vs their children that wee should touch their hands, and so they gave vs much Meale of *Mesquique*. These *Mesquiques* are certaine Fruits, which when they are on the Tree are very bitter, and are of the same fort as the *Carruce* are, and they eate them with the earth, and with it they are very sweet and good to eat.

50 The manner how they prepare them is this: they make a Trench in the Earth of what depth they please, and after they haue cast the fruit into this Trench they bruize and breake them very well, with a piece of wood as great as a mans legge, and three Cubits long, and after they are mingled with the earth of the Trench, they take other that are fitted, and put them into the said Trench, and returne to bruize them a little more, and after put them into a vessel like vnto a basket, and cast so much water thereon, as is sufficient to couer it, that the water may rise to the top, and hee that hath bruized them, tasteth them in his mouth, and if hee thinke they be not sweet and pleasant, he demandeth earth and minglith it therewith. And thus he doth vntill he find it sweet, and so afterward they prepare themselves to keels of those Fruits, and so the husks 60 hand, and take it as much as he can, and the seeds or kernels of those Fruits, and so the husks they cast vpon certaine hies, and hee that hath bruised them gathereth them together, and returneth afterward to put them all in a basket, and calteth water vpon them, as the first, and so they returne to wring out the iuyce and water so long as it will drop. And likewise they returne to put the seeds and husks vpon the hie, and so in this manner they doe three or foure times

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times for euerie bruising: and they that are found at this banquet, which because it is verie great, remaine with their bellies much puffed vp through the earth and water which they drinke, and of this the *Indians* made vs many great feasts, and vsied much dancing and iollitie among themselves, for so long time as we thirsted there. And when we slept in the night, fixe men watched with great diligence and care at the doore of the cottage where we abode, not ceasing to come in vnto some of vs till the Sunne arose.

And when we would depart from them, certaine women of other people who liued further beyond came thither, and being informed by them where their houles were, wee departed towards those parts, although they earnestly entreated vs that we would not depart for that day, because those houles were very farr from thence, and that there was no way to goe thither, and that the women who came were weary; but resting themselves vnto the next day, they would afterwards goe with vs, and conduct vs thither. But we dispatched our felues thence, and went away; and a little after those women who came thither with certaine others of the former *Indians*, came after vs; but there being no beaten way nor path, we presently lost our felues, and so went foure leagues, at the end whereof we came to drinke at a water, where wee found the women that followed vs, who told vs what great paines and trauaile they had taken to finde vs. Departing thence, and bringing those women for our guides, wee passed a River somewhat late, and the waterooke vs vp to the breast, and might be as broad as that of *Swell*, and it ranne very throngly. And at the setting of the Sunne we came to an hundred houles of the *Indians*, who before we came, went all forth to receive vs with so reuerent shewing, and loud exclamation, that it was a fearfulfull thing, and gaue great blowes with their hands vpon their thighs, and brought hollow goods with stones within them, which is the instrument of their greatest ill sport, and neuer vied them but for their dances, and for medicines; none dare to take them in his hand but they. And they say that these goods haue vertue and come from heauen, because they grow not in their Countrey, nor doe they know from whence they come, vntill the *Rueters* bring them when they ouerflow. And the feare and confusion of them was so great, that stirring to come nereft vnto vs and touch vs, they so thrunged vs, that it was a wonder that they had not killed vs: and not suffering vs to set our feete on the ground, they carried vs vnto their houles, and bare vs so aboue ground, and the presse of people so thrunged vs, that we entered into the houles which had prepared for vs, and would not content that they should make their festiuall sports any more with vs for that night.

They passed all that night, among themselves, in sports and dancing, and the day following, at a good houre, they brought vs before all the people of that place, that we might touch and blese them, as we had done to the rest with whom we abode. And after this, they gaue many arrowes to the women of another people, who were come with them. The next day we departed thence, and all that people went with vs. And when we came to the other *Indians*, we were very well entertained, as of the other; and they gaue vs such as they had, and Deere which they had killed that day. Among these *Indians* we lawe a new custome, to wit, that they who were first with vs, tooke the Bowes & Arrowes, Shoes and Crownes (if they had any) from them, whom we came to vs to be healed, and after they had thus taken them away from them, they brought them before vs, that we should heale them, and being healed, that we should haue them; so they departed verie well contented, and said that they were whole.

After this, we departed from them and went vnto other, of whom we were verie courteously receiued, and they brought vs their diseased persons, who when we had blessed them, said they were cured, and he that was not well, beleued that we could cure him, & for that which others told them whom we had healed, they made such great sport and dancing, that they suffered vs not to sleepe. Departing from them, we went where many other houles were, and where another new custome began, to wit, that entertaining euery one of vs very well, they who came with vs, tooke all their substance from them, and rifled their houles, without leaving them any kinde of thing, which displeased vs verie much, seeing them so ill vied who so courteously receiued vs, and also fearing that least this might be the occasion of some alteration, or offence among them. But not being able to remedy the same, and chafte those that did it, wee were then to suffer it, vntill we saw we had more authoritie among them. And soeuen they themselves who lost their wealth, seeing we were displeased, comforted vs, saying, that we should not conceiue any displeasure thereat, considering they were so well contented that they had leene vs, and that they had bestowed their substance very well, and would hereafter be paid of others who were exceeding rich.

The next day they brought all their people before vs, the greatest part whereof are Quint-eyed, and one of the same people are blinde, wheratt we greatly marvelled: they are well fed, and of good behaviour, and whiter then all the rest that we had seene vntill then. There we began to see Mountains, which seemed to extend themselves towards the Sea, from the North, and by the relation which the *Indians* made, I suppose they are fiftene leagues from the Sea. We departed thence with those *Indians* towards the Mountains, whereof I now spake. And they brought vs where some of their kindred were, for they would not bring vs but to their kindfolle, because

because they were vnwilling that their enemies should receiue a benefite, as they thought it was to leaue vs. And when wee were come thither, they that came with vs spoiled the other, who knowing the custome had hid certaine things before we came thither. And after they had received vs with much ioy and gladnesse: they tooke out that which they had hidden, and presented it vnto vs, and they were Crownes, Magra, and certaine small plates of Silver. We, according to our custome, gaue them all presently to the *Indians* that came with vs, and hauing giuen vs that which they had, they began their dancing and i festiuall iollitie, and sent to call other people neere therabouts, that they might come to see vs, who came all about the euenning, and brought vs Garlands, Bowes, and other rifling things, which for the most part we diuided among those other *Indians*. And the day following, we being desirous to depart, they would all bring vs to their friends, who remained on the top of the Mountains, laying that there are many houles and people, that they would giue vs many things: but because it was out of our way we would not goe thither, and therefore tooke our iourney through the plaine neere vnto the Mountains, which we supposed should not be very farr from the coast. All those people are very poore and miserable, wherefore we held it better to crosse ouer the land, because the people that dwell further into the Countrey were better conditioned, and would vieds better, and we were certainly perswaded, that we should finde a more populous Countrey, and of better sustentance. And lastly, we therefore did it, because crosseing ouer the land, we lawe more particuliarities, so that if it should please our Lord God to bring some of vs out of that Countrey, and to conduct vs into the land of the *Christians*, wee might be able to make relation and report thereof.

The *Indians* seeing that we were determined to goe whither they would not, told vs, that there was neither people nor Time, nor any other thing to eate, and therefore praised vs that we would stay there for that day, and so we did. Then they sent two *Indians* to discouer the people that way which we purposed to goe, and the next day we departed, carrying many of them with vs, and the women went laden with water, and our authoritie was so great among them, that none durst presume to drinke without our leaue. Two of their Physicians gaue vs two Gourds, and from that time we afterward began to carry Gourds with vs, ioyning this ceremony to our authority, which among them is very great. They who accompanied vs, rifled the houles: but the houles being many, and they but few, they could not carry all away, but should haue bin forced to haue left the halfe, and so we went thence through many Mountains; entering within the land more then fiftie leagues, at the end whereof we found fortie houles, and among other things which they gaue vs, *Andreas Durante* had a thicke and great Bell of copper, with a visage engrauen in it, which they seemed greatly to esteeme, saying that they had gotten it of their other neighbours: who being demanded whence they had it, they said, that they brought it from the Northward, and that it was much worth, and greatly esteemed there. Whereupon we knew, that from what place soeuer it came, the art of casting and melting of mettals must needs be there. And hereupon we departed the day following, and crosseid ouer a Mountain of fix leagues; and the stones which were there, were of the summe of Iron, and late in the euening we came to many houles, seated on the side of a most pleasant River, and the Lords of the same came into the middle of the high way to receiue vs with their children in their armes, and gaue vs many small plates of Silver, and Antonimo being in powder, wherewith they annoint their faces, and gaue vs many garlands, and many mantles of the hides of Kine, and laded all them that came with vs with such as they had: they eate *Tane*, and Pine apples.

They told vs, that in the place where the Bell was made, were many plates of that mettall vnder ground, and that that Bell among them was a thing greatly esteemed, and that mettall were built there, and we supposed that it was the South Sea, for we alwayes knew that that Sea was alwayes richer then that of the North. So we departed from them, and went through so many sorts of Nations, and diuers languages, that the memory of man is not able to reckon them, and one people alwayes spoiled the other, and so forth that they told, and they who gained remained well contented. Through those Valleys where we passed, euery one of them carried a flucke or coddell of three handruls long, and they went all in troopes, and if any Hare arose, whereof there are many in that Countrey, they turned her suddenly, and so many cuddells fell vpon her, that it was a marueilous matter to behold, and in this manner they made her goe from one to another, so that in my iudgement it was the goodliest hunting that could be imagined, because sometimes they came euen into their hands. And when we seled our felues at night, we had so many of them that were giuen vs, that euery one of vs carried eight or ten, and such as carried Bowes, appeared not among vs, but went apart through the Mountains to seeke deere, and when they came in the euening, they brought fure, or fix for euery one of vs, and many Fowles, and Quales, and other hunting game; and finally, whatsoeuer all these people tooke, they presented before vs, not daring to touch or take thereof for themselves, although they should vied for hunger (because they accustomed so to doe, since they came with vs) vntill they had not blessed the same. The women carried many Mats, with the which they made

The *Tunis*
Indians vied
such Marbles
or Kales, and
haue like con-
cits thereof.

Copper Bell
engrauen.

Plates of Plate

South Sea.

Pleasant hun-
ting.

Blinde and
quint-eyed
people.

d. IIII.

They come to the South Sea, and traueil through a plentifull Country, till they meet with Spaniards; whose crueltye and manner of conuincing Saues is related.

They come to the South Sea.

Barren Countrey.

People which live on the powder of straw.

A plentifull Country with houles and corne.

Corall and Turkeies, Emeralds.

Women well vied.

Desire of the Spaniards blessing.

Conceit that they come from heauen.

Many Languages.

11 people de Court.

WE went Westward on our iourney, & crossed ouer all the land vntill we came forth at the South Sea, and the feare wherein they had put vs of the great famine which we were to passe forthely we puffed for fouenteen daies together, as they had told vs) was not able to diuert vs from our intended purpose. Throughout all that Countrey vp to the River, they gaue vs many Mantles of the hides of Kine, and we did not eate of those their fruites, but our luttelance was eury day a piece of the fat of Deere, of the bignesse of a mans hand, which for this necessitie wee prouided alwaies to haue in a readinesse, and so wee passed all those fouenteen daies iourney, and at the end of them wee crossed ouer the Riuer, and traueiled other fouenteen daies more to the West, through certaine plaines and verie great mountaines which are found there: and there wee met with a people; who the third part of the yere eate no other thing but the powder of straw, and because wee passed that way at that season of the yere wee also were constrained to eate it, vntill hauing finished those daies iourney wee found fetled houles, where there was great quantitie of Maiz, and of that and Meale they gaue vs enough, and Gourds, and Pulle, and Mantles of Bombain Cotton, withall which we laded them whom wee had hyred there, who returned the most contented men in the world. Wee yielded many thanks vnto God who had brought vs thither, where we found much plenty of luttelance.

Among these houles they had some that were of earth, and all the rest were of mats and from thence wee passed more then an hundred leagues into the Countrey, and alwaies found fetled houles and much luttelance of Maiz and Pulle: and they gaue vs many Deeres skinnies and Mantles of Bombain Cotton, better then those of New Spaine; and gaue vs also many Garlands, and certaine Corall which grow in the South Sea, and many Turkei stones which come from toward the North. And finally they gaue vs what soeuer they had, and vnto Dorante they gaue Emeralds made into Arrow heads, and with those Arrowes they make their sports and festiuall iollitie, seeming to mee very good. I demanded of them whence they had them, who told me that they brought them from certaine very high mountaines, which lye towards the North, and that they got them by exchange and barter for quills and Parrats feathers, and there were many people there and very great houles. Among them wee saw the women more honourably and honestly vied, then in any other part of India which wee had seene. They wear certain smockes of Bombain Cotton which reach to the knee and ouer them: soft leettes of certaine folds or plaits of Deere skinnies without haire which touch the ground, and they perfume them with certaine roots which make them very fine, and so they vie them very well: they are open before and tied together with silken strings. They goe shod with shoes. All this Nation came vnto vs, that we should touch and blesse them, and they were so importunate herein that they put vs to much trouble; because the ficke and the whole would all goe from us by blessing: and as often happened that of the women that came with vs, some were deliuered, and as soone as the children were borne they brought them vnto vs, that wee should touch and blesse them. The children were borne they brought them vnto vs, and among all these people they held it for a certaintie that wee came from Heauen: because all the things which they haue not, and know not whence they come: they say, that they descend from Heauen. For so long time as wee went with them, wee traueilled all the day without eating vntill night, and wee eate to litle that they were affonied to see it. They neuer knew vs weare, and surely wee so were so accustomed to traueil that they were neuer weary. We had great authoritie among them, and they held reuerent opinion of vs, and to preferre the same wee seildome spake vnto them. The Negro was the man that alwaies spoke and informed himselfe of the way that wee would goe by the direction of the people that were there, and touching euery other thing which we desired to know. We passed through diuers languages, and our Lord God fauoured vs withall, for they alwaies vnderstood vs as we vnderstood them, and if we demanded any thing of them by signes they answered vs as if they should haue spoken our language and wee theirs. For al though we vnderstood fix languages, we could not thereby preuaile with all, because wee found more then a thousand differences of language. Throughout all these Countries they who haue warre among themselves, became suddenly friends that they might come vnto vs and receive vs, and bring vs whatsoeuer they had.

Dorante had fixe hundred Deeres hearts giuen him, whereupon we called it the people of Hearts. Through this Countrey, entrie is made into many Prouinces which stand vpon the South Sea, and if they that desire to goe thither enter not from hence, they are lost, because the Coast hath

hath no Maiz, so that they are faine to eate the powder of beetes, straw, and fish, which they take in the Sea with flotes, because they haue no Canoes, nor any Boat. The women count their priuities with herbs and straw: they are a people of little vnderstanding and miserable. We supposed that neere vnto the Coast by the way of those people which way we went, it is more then a thousand leagues of a populous Countrey, and that they haue much prouision wherein they live, for they haue Pulle and Maiz three times in the yere. We saw three sorts of Deere there, one as great as the biggest steeres of Castiglia. The houles of all those people for habitation are cottages. They haue poyson of a certaine kind of tree of the bignesse of an apple tree; and they doe no more but gather the fruit and anoint the Arrow therewith, and if they haue no fruit they use a bough, and with a certaine milkie iuyce which it hath they doe the same. There are many of these trees that are so poysonous, that if the leaues thereof be bruiled and cast into any standing pool and not running water, all the Deere and whatsoeuer other beaist that drinketh thereof suddenly burst asunder. Wee abode three daies with these people, and about one daies iourney from thence there was another people, where such throwes of raime came pouring downe vpon vs, that by reason the Riuer which was there was so growne we could not passe it, and so we continued there fiftene daies.

In this meane time, Castiglo law the buckle of a Spanish girdle about an Indians necke, and an Iron key fewed together with it, which heooke from him: then we demanded what that thing was, and they answered that it came from heauen; and questioning further with them who brought them, they answered, that certaine men brought them which had beards like vnto vs, who came from heauen: and coming to that riuer with Hories, brought Lances and Swords, and two of them passed ouer with their Lances. Afterwards, as cunningly as we could, we asked them what became of those men, so they answered vs, that they went to the Sea. We went through many Countries, and found them all dispeopled and not inhabited, for the countie people went their way flying through the mountaines, not daring to keepe their houles nor labour for feare of the Christians. It greatly discontented vs, seeing the Countrie verry fruitful and exceeding pleasant and full of water and goodly riuers, and to see them afterward to folitarie and scorched, and the people so feeble and weak, and because fled away and all hid, and that they sowed not in so great famine, they maintained themselves onely with the barkes of trees and roots. Wee had our part of this famine in all this iourney, because they could not so well prouide for vs being foulsly hired, that it seemed they would all die. They brought vs couerings and beades, which they had hid for feare of the Christians, and gaue them vnto vs, and declared how at other times the Christians had entred and passed through that Countrey, and had destroyed and burned the people, and carried halfe the men away, and all the women and litle children, and that such as were able to escape out of their hands fled away. Wee seeing them so frighted that they could not be secured to litle themselves in any place, and that they neither would nor could labour nor labour and manure the Countrey; may, they rather determined to suffer themselves to die, which seemed better vnto them, then to expect to bee so ill interested with so great crueltie as they had bene vntill that time: and they seemed to bee greatly pleased with vs. Norwithstanding we feared that being come vnto them who were vpon the Frontiers, and in warre with the Christians least they would vie vs cruelly, and make vs pay for that which the Christians had done vnto them. But God being pleased to conduct vs where they were, they began to feare and reuerence vs, as the former had done and somewhat more, whereas we did not a litle maruell. Whereby it may clearly appeare, that to allure this Nation to become Christians, and make them obedient to the Imperiall Maistie, they ought to be gently and courteously vied, and this is the onely and most certaine way of all other. They brought vs to a people that abode on the top of a mountain, where they were faine to climbe vp by reason of the exceeding roughnesse of those places, where we found many people gathered together for feare of the Christians. These people received vs with great good will and kindnesse, and gaue vs whatsoeuer they had, and about two thousand burdens of Maiz, which wee gaue vnto those miserable and famished people who followed vs and conducted vs thither: and the day following wee dispatched foure Messengers through the Countrey, as we wiled to doe to the intent that they should assemble and gather together as many people as they could, vnto one people which abode three daies iourney off from thence; and hauing done this, wee departed with all the people that were there, and alwaies found the trackes and tokens where the Christians had lodged, and about midday we found our Messengers, who told vs that they could not meet with any people, because they were all gone and fled, and hidden in the mountaines, least the Christians should either kill them or make them slaves. And that the night before they had seene the Christians; they themselves standing behinde certaine trees to behold what they did, and they saw that they led certaine Indians in a Chaine tied.

From this place, which is called the Riuer of Tetmar, vnto the Riuer where Diego de Guzman arrived, where we vnderstood of the Christians, may be some foure score leagues: and from thence where the waters flated vs, twelve leagues: and from thence to them whom we called the people of the Harts, five leagues: and from thence to the South Sea, were twelve leagues. Through

A thousand leagues of a populous Countrey.

Great Deere.

Poisonous tree.

Notes of Spaniards.

Countries dispeopled by Spaniards.

Gentleness herein crucitie.

De. De. De.

De. De. De.

[illegible]

for the service of our Lord God, to make a matter to bring in, because two thousand leagues which
Christianity shall not be so far to make a matter to bring in, because we came out of captivite, we tra-
we trauailed by land and sea, we were ten moneths after we came out of captivite, we tra-
we without stay, and neuer sound Sacrifices nor Idolatry. In this time, we croffed our from one
Sea to another, and by the notice, which through much diligence we procured to haue, from
the one coast, and by the other, we suppose it to be about two hundred leagues broad and more,
and we vnderstand that on the coast of the South Sea are Pearles and great riches, and that all
the best and richest are none there abouts. We abode in the towne of Saint Michael, vntill the
fifteenth of the moneth of May, and the occasion why we staid there so long was this, because
thence vnto the Citie of Compostella, where the Gouernour *Nunes de Gusman* made his re-
sidence, it was too leagues distance; and the Country was not inhabited & enemy, and it was fit,
that other people should go with vs to conduct vs, among whom there were forty horsemen, who
accompanied vs about forty leagues, and from thence forward, six *Christians* came with vs, who
brought five hundred *Indian* laules, and being come to Compostella, the Gouernour *Nunes* recei-
ued vs very courteously, and gaue vs such as he had to cloath vs, which appaile for many daies,
it was not able to carry, and we could not sleepe but on the ground. And so after tenne or
twelue daies were departed for *Mexico*, and came thither on Saint Iames his euen, where
the Vicerey and the Marquesse of the Valley kindly intreated vs, and gaue vs appaile and
whatsoeuer they had.

To the Reader,

Captaine Soto was the *Junco* of a *Square* of Xerez of Badajoz. He went into the Spanish Indies to see Peter Arias of *Alcalá* and Governor *Don* Juan of the *Indies*: And there he was without any thing of his own, save his *Sword* and *Targes*: And for his good qualities and valor, Peter Arias made him *Captaine* of the *town* of *San* Juan, and by his commandment he went with Fernando Pizarro to the conquest of *Peru*: where (as many persons) of credit report, which were there present) as well as the taking of Atabalupa, Lord of *Peru*, as at the assault of the *Cities* of *Culco*, and in all other places where they found resistance, where fewer he was present, he surpassed all other *Captaines* and principal persons. For such cause, besides his part of the treasure of Atabalupa, he had a good share: For he had gathered an hundred and four hundred men, and he was the first that he led into the part; which 60
600000. Rials of *Plate* in the rent of the *Silks* of *Granada*, and all the rest was delivered him in the Contraband house of *Suila*. From *Suila* he went to the *Court*; and in the *Court*, there accompanied him *Don* Danuoso of *Suila*, and Lewis Mocolfo d'Alarado, Nunno de Tovar, and Iohn Rodriguez Lobillo.

Except

Except John Danusfo, all the rest came with him from Peru, and carry one of them brought; fowretene or fifteen thereof Danusfo: all of them went well and safely apparelled. And although Stobis of his own nature was not liberal, yet forasmuch as that was the first time that he was to see his friends in the Court, he sent for him, and accompanied with those which I have named, and with his friends, and many went forth from the Court to him. He married with Donna Isabella de Boudalis, daughter of Peter Arias de Avila, Esqre of Porto Rico. The Emperor made him the Governor of the Isle of Caba, and of all the Islands of the West Indies, and of the Province of Florida, and of the Province of Florida, and of the Province of Florida; with title of Marquisse of certain parts of the land: that he should command.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

None of those
men prospered
which were
guilty of *Ata-*
balipa or *Ain-*
balipa death:
but by ciuill
wars or other-
wise were con-
sumed. And so
it happened to
this *Saga*.

cabera de Vaca
was the Govern-
our of the Ri-
uer of Plare.
600 men went
with Sato into
Florida. Inca
in his large sto-
ry of this voi-
age containing
six Books, saith
he had 1000
men with him.

Fig. - Great Figs.

te Ananes.
in Great Pine-
apples.

* Erua babosa

ere Mambois, an
as excellent fruit
Guayabas.

of a Plantainos
are
es,
ill, Batatas, or
Potatos.

The Cassini

Store of goods
Horse.

The lengths
and breadths
of Cakes.

A witty strategy.

Paracoffo
leagues from
Punta de Spiritu
to Santa.

ten leagues compasse from the place where he dwelt: But that thirty leagues from thence dwelt an *Indian* Lord, which was called *Paracoffo*, to whom *Moscoso* and *Pena*, with all the rest of that Coast payed Tribute, and that he peradventure might have notice of some good Countrey: and that his Land was better then that of the Sea-coast, and more fruitful and plentiful of Maize. Whereof the Gouverneur received great contentment: and said that hee desired no more then to find victuals, that he might goe into maine Land, for the Land of *Florida*, was so large, that in one place or other there could not choole but bee some Countrey. The *Cacique* *Moscoso* came to the Port to visit the Gouverneur.

The Gouverneur answered him, That although in freeing and tending him the *Christians* he had bestowed his honour and promise, yet he thanked him, and held it in such esteeme, as it had no compariſon; and that he would alwayes hold him as his Brother, and would favour him in all things to the utmost of his power. Then he commanded a shirt to be given him, and other things wherewith the *Cacique* being very well contented, to his leave of him, and departed to his owne Towne.

From the Port de *Spiritu Santo* where the Gouverneur lay, he sent the *Alcalde Mayor Baltasar de Gallegos* with fiftie Horſemen, and thirtie or fortie Footmen to the Province of *Paracoffo*, to view the disposition of the Countrey, and informe himſelfe of the Land farther inward, and to send him word of such things as he found. Likewise he sent his ships backe to the Iland of *Cuba*, that they might returne within a certaine time with victuals. *Vasquez Porcello de Figueroa*, which went with the Gouverneur as Captain Generall, (whose principall intent was to send slaves from *Florida*, to the Iland of *Cuba*, where he had his goods and Mynes) having made fine In-roads, and seeing no *Indians* were to be got, because of the great Bogges and thicke Woods that were in the Countrey, considering the disposition of the same, he determined to returne to *Cuba*. And although there was some difference betweene him and the Gouverneur, whereupon they neither dealt nor conſerred together with good countenance, yet notwithstanding with loving words hee asked him leave and departed from him. *Baltasar de Gallegos* came to the *Paracoffo*.

Paracoffo.

There came to him thirty *Indians* from the *Cacique*, and said, that their Lord was ill at ease, and therefore could not come, but that they came on his behalfe to see what he demanded. Hee asked them if they knew or had notice of any rich Countrey where there was Gold or Silver. They told them they did: and that toward the West, there was a Province which was called *Cale*; and that others that inhabited other Countreys had warre with the people of that Countrey, where the most part of the yeere was Summer, and that there was much Gold: and that when those their enemies came to make warre with them of *Cale*, these Inhabitants of *Cale* did wear hats of Gold, in manner of Head-pieces. *Baltasar de Gallegos*, seeing that the *Cacique* came not, thinking all that they said was fained, with intent that in the meane time they might let themselves in safety, fearing, that if he did let them goe, they would returne no more, commanded the thirtie *Indians* to be chained, and sent word to the Gouverneur by eight Horſemen what had passed: wherof the Gouverneur with all that were with him at the Port de *Spiritu Santo* received great comfort, supposing that that which the *Indians* reported, might be true. Hee left Captain *Calderas* at the Port, with thirtie Horſemen and leuente Footmen, with provision for two yeeres, and himſelfe with all the rest marched into the mayne Land, and came to the *Paracoffo*, at whole Towne *Baltasar de Gallegos* was: and from thence with all his menooke the way to *Cale*. Hee passed by a little Towne called *Aceta*, and came to another called *Tocoffo*: and from thence hee went before with thirtie Horſemen, and sixtie Footmen toward *Cale*. And passing by a Towne, where the people were few, they saw *Indians* a little from thence in a Lake; to whom the Interpreter spake. They came vnto them and gave them an *Indian* for a guide: and hee came to a River with a great current, and vpon a Tree, which was in the midst of it, was pulled by from the otherſide: for one which they drew in at the first without it, was drowned.

Cale.

Paracoffo.

Aceta
Tocoffo
Another
Towne.
A Lake.
A swift River.

From thence the Gouverneur sent two Horſemen to his people that were behind, to make halfe way after him, because the way grew long, and their victuals short. He came to *Cale*, and found the Towne without people. Heeooke three *Indians* which were Spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were fore vexed with hunger and euill wayes, because the Countrey was very barren of Maize, low, and full of water, bogges, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port de *Spiritu Santo*, were spent. Wherefore they made a Bridge, whereon the men passed: the Horſes swamme ouer by a Hawke, that they were pulled by from the otherſide: for one which they drew in at the first without it, was drowned.

Cale.

Bogge country.

From thence the Gouverneur sent two Horſemen to his people that were behind, to make halfe way after him, because the way grew long, and their victuals short. He came to *Cale*, and found the Towne without people. Heeooke three *Indians* which were Spies, and tarried there for his people that came after, which were fore vexed with hunger and euill wayes, because the Countrey was very barren of Maize, low, and full of water, bogges, and thicke woods; and the victuals, which they brought with them from the Port de *Spiritu Santo*, were spent. Wherefore they made a Bridge, whereon the men passed: the Horſes swamme ouer by a Hawke, that they were pulled by from the otherſide: for one which they drew in at the first without it, was drowned.

the Gouverneur, that within seven dayes journey, there was a very great Province, and plentiful of Maize, which was called *Apalache*. And presently hee departed from *Cale* with fiftie Horſemen and sixtie Footmen. Hee left the Master of the Campe *Luis de Moscoso* with all the rest of the people there, with charge that he should not depart thence vntill hee had word from him. And because hitherto none had gotten any slaves, the bread that euery one was to eate, hee was faine himselfe to beate in a Morter made in a piece of Timber with a Pettle, and some of them did hitte the floure through their shirts of Mayle. They baked their bread vpon certain Tiles, where they set them ouer the fire. It is so troublesome to grinde their Maize, that there were many that would rather not eat it, then grind it: and did eate the Maize parched and sodden.

Travelling
Souldiers built
for bread.

The eleventh day of August 1539. the Gouverneur departed from *Cale*, hee lodged in a little Towne called *Tiera*, and the next day in another called *Pana*, and the third day at *Vinama*, and came to another Towne, which they named the Towne of *Enail pacay*, because an *Indian* came in peace, saying, That he was the *Cacique*, and that hee with his people would serue the Gouverneur, and that if hee would let free a giv and twentie persons, men and women, which his men had taken the night before, hee would command provision to be brought him, and would giue him a guide to instruct him in his way: The Gouverneur commanded them to be set at libertie, and to keepe him in a safe guard. The next day in the morning there came many *Indians*, and set themselves round about the Towne nere to a Wood. The *Indian* willed them to carrie him nere them; and that hee would speake vnto them, and assure them, and that they would doe whatsoever hee commanded them. And when hee saw himſelfe nere vnto them hee brake from them, and ranne away so swiftly from the *Christians*, that there was none that could ouertake him, and all of them fled into the Woods. The Gouverneur commanded to looke for *Grayhound*, which was already heeled on them, which passing by many other *Indians*, caught the counterfeit *Cacique*, which had escaped from the *Christians*, and held him till they came to take him. From thence the Gouverneur lodged at a Towne called *Cholapaha*: and because it had flore of Maize in it, they named it *Villa Florida*. Beyond the same there was a River, on which hee made a Bridge of Timber, and travelled two daies through a desert. The fiftieth day of August, hee came to *Caliquen*, where hee was informed of the Province of *Apalache*: They told him that *Pamphilo de Narvaez* had bene there, and that there hee tooke shipping, because hee could find no way to goe forward: That there was none other Towne at all, but that on both sides was all water. The whole company were verie sad for these newes, and counſelled the Gouverneur to goe backe to the Port de *Spiritu Santo*, and to abandon the Countrey of *Florida*, lest he should perish as *Narvaez* had done: declaring, that if he went forward, hee could not returne backe when hee would, and that the *Indians* would gather vp that small quantitie of Maize which was left, wherunto the Gouverneur answered, that hee would not goe backe, till hee had sene with his eyes that which they reported: saying, that hee could not beleue it, and that wee should be put out of doubt before it were long. And hee sent to *Luis de Moscoso* to come presently from *Cale*, and that hee tarried for him heere. *Luis de Moscoso* and many others thought, that from *Apalache* they should returne backe; and in *Cale* they buried their Iron Tooles, and diuers other things. They came to *Caliquen* with great trouble; because the Countrey, which the Gouverneur had passed by, was spoiled and destitute of Maize.

Grayhound
catched the
false
Cacique.
Cholapaha.
A River.
Caliquen.

After all the people were come together, hee commanded a Bridge to be made ouer a River that passed nere the Towne. Hee departed from *Caliquen* the tenth of September, and carried the *Cacique* with him. After hee had travelled three dayes, there came *Indians* peaceably, to visit their Lord, and euery day met vs on the way playing vpon *Flutes*: which is a token that they vie, that men may know that they come in peace. They said, that in our way before was there a *Cacique*, whose name was *Vaschali*, a Nimſon of the *Cacique* of *Choliquen* their Lord, wayting for him with many presents, and they desired the Gouverneur that hee would looke the *Cacique*. But hee would not, fearing that they would rife, and would not giue him any Guides, and sent them away from day to day with good wordes.

A River.

Hee travelled five daies, passed by some small Townes, came to a Towne called *Napeanea*, the fiftieth day of September. There were thirtie or fortie *Indians* thine. The rest fled to two very great Lakes, that were somewhat distant the one from the other: There they were swimming, and the *Christians* round about them. The Calicewermen and Crest-bowmen shot at them from the bankes; but the distance being great, and shooting at a distance, they did them no hurt. The Gouverneur commanded that the same night they should compasse one of the Lakes, because they were so great, that there were not men enow to compasse them both: being better, if some night thrust in the *Indians*, with determination to runne away, came swimming very softly to the bankes, and to hide themselves, they put a water Lilly leaf on their heads. The Horſemen alſo as they perceived at tofthre, ranne into the water to the Horſes backs, and the *Indians* fled a-

Some small
Townes.
Napeanea.
Two very
great Lakes.

gaine into the Lake. So this night passed without any rest on both sides. The Horſemen alſo as they perceived at tofthre, ranne into the water to the Horſes backs, and the *Indians* fled a-

Indians subtilty.

gaine into the Lake. So this night passed without any rest on both sides. The Horſemen alſo as they perceived at tofthre, ranne into the water to the Horſes backs, and the *Indians* fled a-

Thirte dayes
rest.

Mines of Cop-
per and Gold
in *Chica* tow-
ard the
North.
Hatchets of
Copper hold-
ing Gold.
In *Chica* de-
scrib'd by North.
from
Cuzco.
which is with-
in two dayes of
Santa Rita.

Two Christians
sent from *Chica*
to seeke
Chica.
Cuzco
dayes from
Chica, Chap. 14.

A wife Strag-
glen.

Those which
were sent to
seeke *Chica*.
High Moun-
taines.
A little poore
Towne.
An Ox Hide
with his hinde
wool, Chap. 15.

Two dayes
from *Chica*.
Many Townes
of *Chica*.
Cuzco.
July 25.
M. Cuzco.

Many great
Townes.
Many Plu-
mes of diuers
kinds.

them to feed in the night a quarter of a league from the Campe. The *Christians* were there in great danger, because that at that time the *Indians* had set upon them, they had bene in coll case to have defended themselves. The Governour reitred there thirte dayes, in which time, because the Towne was very fruitfull, the horses grew fat. A *Cacique* of a Province called *Casca*, came to this Towne to vjse the Governour. After he had offered himselfe, and passed with him some wordes touching his seruice and content; the Governour asking him whether he had notice of any rich Countrey: he said, yea: so wot, that toward the North, there was a Province named *Chibaca*; that there was a melting of Copper, and of another metal of the same colour, such that it was finer, and of a far more perfect colour, and far better to the light than that they used it not so much, because it was softer. And the like fine thing was told the Governour in *Casca*. In *Chica*, where we saw some little Hatchets of Copper, which were said to haue a mixture of Gold. But in that part the Countrey was not well peopled, and they said there were Mountaines, which the horses could not passe; and for that cause, the Governour would not goe from *Chica* directly thither: And he made account, that travelling through a peopled Countrey, when his men and horses should be in better plight, and hee were better certified of the truth of the thing, he would retorne toward, by Mountaines, and a better inhabited Countrey, whereby he might haue better passage. He sent two *Christians* from *Chica*, with certain *Indians* which knew the Countrey of *Chica*, and the language thereof to view it, and to make report of that which they should find, where he told them that he would tarrie for them.

In teuen dayes he came to *Casca*. The second of lych he commanded his Campe to be pitched two Crosse-bow shot from the Towne: and with eight men of his guard he went where hee found the *Cacique*, which to his thinking receiued him with great loue. As he was talking with him, there went from the Campe certaine Footmen to the Towne to seeke for Maiz, and not contented with it, they ranckled and searched the houses, and took what they found. With this despite the *Indians* began to rise and to take their arms, and some of them with cudgels in their hands, ranne vpon him or *Chibaca*, which had done them wrong, and beat them at their pleasure. The Governour seeing them all in an vprize, and himselfe among them with few *Christians*, to escape their hands vied a stratagem, first against his owne disposition, being so few was, very frank and open: and thought grieued him very much that any *Indian* should be bold as with reason, or without reason, to despite the *Christians*, heooke vp a cudgel, and tooke their parts against his owne men: which was a meane to quiet them: And presently heit word by a man very secretly to the Campe, that some armed men should come toward the place, where he was; and he tooke the *Cacique* by the hand, vjing very milde words vnto him, and with some principall *Indians* that did accompany him, he drew them out of the Towne into a plaine way, and vnto the sight of the Campe, whither by little and little with good discretion the *Christians* began to come and together about them. Thus the Governour led the Campe, and his chiefe men vntill he entred with them into the Campe: and neere vnto his Tent, he commanded them to be put in safe custodie: and told them, that they should not depart without giuing him a guide and *Indians* for burthens, and till certaine sicke *Christians* were come, which he had commanded to come down the River in Canoes from *Chibaca*; and thoselike which he had sent to the Province of *Chibaca*; for they were not returned; and he feared that the *Indians* had slaine the one, and the other. Within three dayes after, thoselike which were sent to *Chibaca* returned, and made report, that the *Indians* had carried them through a Countrey so poore of Maiz, and so rough, and ouer to high Mountaines, that it was impoossible for the Army to trauell that way: and that seeing the way grew very long, and that they linged much, they consulted to retorne from a little poore Towne, where they saw nothing that was of any profit, and brought an Ox Hide, which the *Indians* gaue them, as thin as a calues skin, and the haire like a soft wool, betweene the courtie and fine wool of sheepe. The *Cacique* gaue a guide, and men for burthens, and departed with the Governours leaue. The Governour departed from *Casca* the ninth of Iuly, and lodged at a Towne called *Tali*.

The *Cacique* commanded prouision necessary for two dayes, while the Governour was there, to be brought thither: and at the time of his departure, he gaue him foure women and two men, which he had need of to beare burthens. The Governour trauelled six dayes through many Townes subiect to the *Cacique* of *Casca*: and as he entred into his Countrey many *Indians* came vnto him euery day from the *Cacique*, and met him on the way with messages, one going, and another coming. He came to *Casca* vpon Friday, the sixte and twentieth of Iuly. The *Cacique* came forth to receiue him, two Crosse-bow shot from the Towne in a chaire, which his principall men carried on their shoulders, sitting vpon a cushion, and covered with a garment of Martens, of the falshon and bignesse of a womans Huke: hee had on his head a Diadem of feathers, and round about him many *Indians* playing vpon Flutes, and singing.

There was in the Barres, and in the fields great store of Maiz and French Beanes: The Countrey was greatly inhabited with many great Townes, and many fowne fildes, which reached from the one to the other. It was pleasant, fat, full of good Meadows vpon Rivers. There were in the fields many Plum-trees, as well of such as grow in *Spain*, as of the Countrey: and

wild tall Vines, that ranne vp the trees; and besides these, there were other low Vines with bigge and sweet Grapes, but for want of digging and dressing, they should not abent the milles. The Governour vied to let a guard ouer the *Caciques*, because they should not abent the milles, and carried them with him, till he came out of their Countrey: because that carrying them a-long with him, he looked to find people in the Townes, and they gaue him guides, and men to carrie burthens: and before hee went out of their Countrey, he gaue them licence to retorne to their houses, and to their Porters likewise, altho as hee came to any other Lordships, where they gaue him others. The men of *Casca* seeing their Lord detained, took it in euill part, and reuolted, and had themselves in the Woods, as well thoselike of the Towne of the *Cacique*, as thoselike of the other Townes of his principall subiects. The Governour sent our foure Captaines, euery one his way to seeke them. They tooke many men and women, which were put into chaines: They leaue the hurt which they receiued, and low liuelie they gained in absenting themselves, came again, promising to doe whatsoever they were commanded.

The Governour reitred in *Casca* five and twentie dayes. He departed from thence the twentieth of August to seeke a Province called *Tafalca*: he carried with him the *Cacique* of *Casca*. He passed that day by a great Towne called *Tallmachachi*, the people were dead: hee lodged halfe a league farther where a Brooke. The next day he came to a Towne called *Tana*, a subiect to *Casca*. He layed there fixe dayes because of a River that passed by it, which at that time was very high, and altho as the River suffered him to passe, he set forward, and lodged at a Towne named *Tali*. There came to him on the way, on the *Chibaca* behalfe of that Province, ten or twelue principall *Indians* to offer him his seruice: all of them had their plumes of feathers, and Bowes and Arrows. The Governour comming to the Towne with twelue Horsemen, and some Footmen of his Guard, leaues his people a Crosse-bow shot from the Towne, entred into it, hee found all the *Indians* with their weapons as far as he could shelle, they seemed to haue some euill meaning. It was knowne afterward, that they were determined to take the *Cacique* of *Casca* from the Governour, if he had requested it. The Governour commanded all his people to enter the Towne, which was walled about, and neere vnto it passed a small River. The wall, altho of that, as of others, which afterward wee saw, was of great posts thrust deepe into the ground and very rough, and many long railes as bigge as ones armes laid acrosse betweene them, and the wall was about the heighe of a Lance, and it was daubed within and without with clay, and had loope-holes. On the other side of the River was a Towne, where at that present the *Cacique* was. The Governour lent to call him, and he came presently. After he had passed with the Governour some wordes of offering his seruice, he gaue him such men for his cariages as he needed, and thoselike women for slaues. In that place was a *Christi*an, called *Mangano*, borne in *Salamanca*, of noble Parentage, which went alway to seeke for Grapes, whereof there is great store, and thoselike very good.

The day that the Governour departed from thence, he lodged at a Towne subiect to the Lord of *Tallmachachi*, and the next day hee came to another Towne called *Tosfi*. The *Indians* gaue the Governour thirte women, and such men for his cariages as hee needed. He trauelled ordinarily five or six leagues a day when he trauelled through peopled Countrey: and going through Deserts, he marched as fast as he could, to etiew the want of Maiz. From *Tosfi*, passing through some Townes subiect to a *Cacique*, which was Lord of a Province called *Tallfi*, he trauelled fixe dayes: He came to *Tallfi* the eighteenth of September: The Towne was great, and situated neere vnto a maine River. On the other side of the River were other Townes, and many fields sowne with Maiz. On both sides it was a very plentifull Countrey, and had store of Maiz: they had voided the Towne. The Governour commanded to call the *Cacique*; who came, and betweene them passed some wordes of loue and offer of his seruice, and he presented vnto him foure *Indians*. There came to the Governour in this Towne a principall *Indian* in the behalfe of the *Cacique* of *Tafalca*.

After hee had reitred there twenty dayes, hee departed thence toward *Tafalca*. The third day when he went from *Tallfi*, he lodged at a great Towne called *Chica*. And the next day passed by another, and came to a small Towne of *Tafalca*; and the next day hee camped in a Wood two leagues from the Towne where the *Cacique* reitred, and was at that time. And he sent the Master of the Campe, *Lays de Masaga*, with fiftene Horsemen, to let him knowe how he was coming. The *Cacique* was in his Lodgings vnder a Canopie: and without doores, right against his Lodgings, in an high place, they spread a Mat for him, and two Cushions one vpon another, where hee late him downe, and his *Indians* placed themselves round about him, somewhat distant from him, so that they made a place, and a void room where hee late: and his chiefe men were neere to him, and one with a shadow of Deeres skinn, which kept the Sunne from him, being round, and of the bignesse of a Target, quartered with blacke and white, hauing a rundell in the middle: asure off it seemed to be of Taffara, because the colours were very perfect. It was let on a small staffe stretched wide out. This was the deuice which he carried in his warres. He was a man of a very tall stature, of great limmes, and spare and well proportioned, and was much feared of his neighbours and subiects. Hee was Lord of many Territories and much people.

Two fowes of
Grapes.
Note.

30. of August.

Tallmachachi, a
great Towne.
Tana.
A subiect to
Chibaca.

Chibaca with
his bow.
The subiect of
this waile.

Great store of
Grapes.

July 25.

Heere is a
newly made
or new leagues
a day.
A great
Towne.

September 18.

A fine stone.

Casca a great
Towne.
Tallfi.

In

Talipatanas,
Cahio,
A great River.

Cahio,
A great River.

Some Towns.

A River.

December 17,
Chicaga.

Snowed
and much cold.

Gonies.

An Indian tra-
gement.

Saquechama.
A walled
Towne.

knowne to be healed, the Gouverneur departed from *Manilla*. Every one furnished himselfe with Maize for two dayes, and they travelled five dayes through a Defart: they came to a Province called *Pafallapa*, vnto a Towne, named *Talipatanas*: and from thence they went to another, called *Cahio*: nere vnto it ranne a great River. The *Indians* on the other side cried out, threatening the *Christians* to kill them, if they fought to passe it. The Gouverneur commanded his men to make a Barge within the Towne, because the *Indians* should not perceive it: it was finished in foure dayes, and being ended, hee commanded it to be carried one night vpon Reels halfe a league vnder the River. In the morning there entered into it thirtie men well armed. The *Indians* perceived what was attempted, and those which were nere, came to defend the passage. They resisted what they could, till the *Christians* came nere them; and seeing that the Barge came to the shore, they fled away into the Groves of Canes. The *Christians* mounted on Horbeckes, and went vnder the River to make good the passage, whereby the Gouverneur and his companie passed the River. There were along the River some Townes well stored with Maize, and French Beanes. From thence to *Chicaga* the Gouverneur travelled five dayes through a Defart. He came to a River, where on the other side were *Indians*, to defend the passage. He made another Barge in two dayes; and when it was finished, the Gouverneur sent an *Indian* to request the *Cacique* to accept of his friendship, and peaceably to expell his comming: whom the *Indians* that were on the other side the River flew before his face, and presently making a great shout went their way. Having passed the River, the next day, being the fourteenth of December, the Gouverneur came to *Chicaga*, a small Towne of twentie houses. And after they were come to *Chicaga*, they were much troubled with cold, because it was now Winter, and it snowed; while melt in the field, before they had time to make themselves houses. This Countie was very well peopled, and the houses scattered like those of *Manilla*, fat and plentifull of Maize, and the most part of it was holding: they gathered as much as sufficed to passe the Winter. Some *Indians* were taken, among which was one whom the *Cacique* esteemed greatly. The Gouverneur sent an *Indian* to signifie to the *Cacique*, that hee desired to see him and to have his friendship. The *Cacique* came vnto him, to offer him his person, Countie and Subjects, and told him, that he would cause two other *Caciques* to come to him in peace; who within few dayes after came with him, and with their *Indians*: The one was called *Altamamu*, the other *Nicla*. They gave a present vnto the Gouverneur of an hundred and fiftie Counties, and of the Countie garments, to wit, of Mantles of skinned. The *Cacique* of *Chicaga* came to visite him many times; and sometimes the Gouverneur sent to call him, and sent him an Horse to goe and come. He complained vnto him, that a Subject of his was risen against him, and deprived him of tribute, requesting his aide against him, for he meant to seeke him in his Countie, and to punish him according to his desire. Which was nothing else but a fained plot. For they determined, as soone as the Gouverneur was gone with him, and the Campe was diuided into two parts, the one part of them to set vpon the Gouverneur, and the other vpon them that remained in *Chicaga*. He went to the Towne where he fled to keepe his residence, and brought with him two hundred *Indians* with their Bowes and Arrows. The Gouverneur tooke thirtie Horsemen, and eight Footmen, and they went to *Saquechama* (for so was the Province called of that Chiefe man, which he said had rebelled.) They found a walled Towne, without any men; and thole which went with the *Cacique* set fire on the houses, to dissemble their treason. But by reason of great care and heedfulness that was as well in the Gouvernours people which hee carried with him, as of thole which remained in *Chicaga*, they durst not assault them at that time. The Gouverneur invited the *Cacique*, and certaine principall *Indians*, and gaue them Hoggs to eat. And though they did not commonly use it, yet they were loe greedy of it, that euey night there came *Indians* to certaine houses a Crof bow shot from the Campe, where the Hoggs lay, and killed, and carried away as many as they could. And three *Indians* were taken in the manner. Two of them the Gouverneur commanded to be shot to death with Arrows; and to cut off the hands of the other; and he lent him to be handled to the *Cacique*. Who made as though he grieved him that they had offened the Gouverneur, and that he was glad that he had executed that punishment on them. He lay in a plaine Countie halfe a league from the place, where the *Christians* lodged. Foure Horsemen went a trailing thither, to wit, *Francisco Oforio*, and a servant of the Marquesse of *Aforgia*, called *Reynoso*, and two servants of the Gouverneur, the one his Page called *Ribera*, and the other *Fuentes* his Chamberlaine: and these had taken from the *Indians* some Mantles, wherewith they were offened, and forsooke their houses. The Gouverneur knew of it, and commanded them to be apprehended; and condemned to death *Francisco Oforio*, and his Chamberlaine as principals, and all of them to lesse of goods. The Priests and Priests and other principall persons were earnest with him to pardon *Francisco Oforio* his life, and to moderate his sentence, which he would not grant for any of them. While he was ready to command them to be drawne to the Market place to cut off their heads, there came certaine *Indians* from the *Cacique*, to complaine of them. *John Ortiz*, at the request of *Baltazar de Gallegos* and other persons, changed their words, and told the Gouverneur, that the *Cacique* said, hee had notice how his Lordship held thole *Christians* in prison for his sake, and that they were in no fault, neither

had they done him any wrong, and that if hee would doe him any fauour, hee should fee them free. And he told the *Indians*; that the Gouverneur said, hee had them in prison, and that hee would punish them in such sort, that they should be an example to others. Hereupon the Gouverneur commanded the prisoners to be loosed. As soone as March was come, he determined to depart from *Chicaga*, and demanded of his principall men. Vpon Tuesday the eighth of March, the *Indians* sawe, that hee would passe with his principall men. Vpon Tuesday the eighth of March, the Gouverneur went to the Towne where he was, to aske him for the men: hee told him, hee would send the next day. As soone as the Gouverneur was come to *Chicaga*, hee told *Luis de Mojeda* the Camp-waller, that hee milked the *Indians*, and that hee should keepe a strong watch that night, which hee remembered but a litle. The *Indians* came at the second watch in foure squadrons, euey one by it selfe, and as soone as they were descried, they founded a Drum, and gaue the aliaule with a great crie, and with so great celeritie, that presently they entered with the scouts, that were some what distant from the Campe. And when they were persecuted of them, which were in the Towne, halfe the houses were on fire, which they had kindled. That night three Horsemen chanced to be scouts, two of them were of bafe callings and the worst men in all the Campe, and the other, which was a Nephew of the Gouverneur, which vntill then was held for a tall man, shewed himselfe there as great a coward, as any of them: for all of them ranne away. And the *Indians* without any resistance came and let the Towne on fire, and terrified behind the doores for the *Christians*, which ranne out of the houses, not hauing any leasure to arme themselves; and as they ranne hither and thither amazed with the noise, and blinde with the smoke and flame of the fire, they knew not which way they went, neither could they sight vpon their weapons, nor fallie their Hories, neither saw they the *Indians*, that shot at them. Many of the Hories were burned in the Sables, and thole which could breake their halts at a gallope. The disorder and flight was such, that euey man fled which way he could, without leaving any to resist the *Indians*. But God (which chastiseth his according to his pleasure, and in the greatest necessities and dangers fulfilleth them with his hand) so blinded the *Indians*, that they saw not what they had done, and thought that the Hories which ranne loose, were men on Horbecke, that gathered themselves together to set vpon them. The Gouverneur only roled on Horbecke, and with him a Souldier called *Tapia*, and set vpon the *Indians*, and striking the first he met with his Lance, the Saddle fell with him, which with haste was eull girded; and hee fell from his Horse. And all the people that were on foot were fled to a Wood out of the Towne, and there assembled themselves together. And because it was night, and that the *Indians* thought the Hories were men on horbecke which came to set vpon them, as I said before, they fled; and none onely remained dead, and that was hee whom the Gouverneur slew with his Lance. The Towne lay all burnt to ashes. There died in this huriburle eleven *Christians*, and fiftie *Indians*; and there remained an hundred Hogges, and foure hundred were burned. If any perchance had saved any clothes from the fire of *Manilla*, here they were burned, and many were clad in skinned, for they had no leasure to take their Coates. They endured much cold in this place, and the chiefest need was great fire. They spent all night in turnings without sleepe: for if they warmed one side, they froze on the other. Some inuented the wearing of certaine Mats of drie Iute, and did weare one beneath, and another aboue: many langed at this deuice, whom afterward necessity enforced to doe the like. The *Christians* were so spoiled, and in such want of Saddles and weapons which were burned, that if the *Indians* had come the second night, they had overcome them with litle labour. They removed thence to the Towne where the *Cacique* was wont to lie, because it was in the champagne Countie. Within eight dayes after, there were many Lances and Sables made. There were Ash-trees in thole parts, wherewith they made as good Lances as in *Bisaya*.

Vpon Wednesday the 15. of March, 1541. after the Gouverneur had lodged eight dayes in a Plaine, halfe a league from the place which hee had wintered in, after hee had let v a forge, and tempered the Swords which in *Chicaga* were burned, and made many Targets, Sables, and Lances, on Tuesday night, at the morning watch, many *Indians* came to assault the Campe in three squadrons, euey one by themselves: Thole which watched gaue the alarme. The Gouverneur went out to encounter them. The *Indians* were overcome and put to flight. The ground was champagne and fit for the *Christians*, to take the aduantage of them; and it was now broke of day. But there happened a disorder, whereby there were not put thirtie or fortie *Indians* to flight; and this it was: that a Frier cried out in the Campe without any iust occasion, To the Campe, To the Campe: Whereupon the Gouverneur and all the rest repaired thither, and the *Indians* had time to faue themselves. There were some taken, by whom the Gouverneur informed himselfe of the Countie, through which hee was to passe. The flue and twentieth of April, hee departed from *Chicaga*, and lodged at a small Towne called *Altamamu*. They had very litle Maize, and they were to passe a Defart of seuen dayes iourney. The next day, the Gouverneur sent three Captaines euey one his way with Horien and Footmen to seeke prouision to passe the Defart. And *John Danuies* the Auditor went with fiftene Horsemen, and fortie Footmen that

Chicaga fire on
the fire the
Indians.

The increase
of Hoggs.

The Towne
where the Gov-
ernour lay.
Ash trees.

which was set up in the highest place of the Towne; declaring unto him, that the Christians worshipped the same in remembrance and memorie of that whereon Christ suffered. The Governour and his men kneeled downe before it, and the Indians did the like. The Governour willed him, that from thenceforth he should worship the same, and should aske whatsoever they stood in need of, of that Lord that he told him was in Heaven. Then he asked him how farr it was from thence to Pacaba: He said, one dayes iourne, and that at the end of his Countrie, there was a Lake like a Brooke which falleth into Rio Grande. The same day that the Governour departed thence, he lodged at a Towne belonging to *Cafqui*; and the next day he passed in sight of other Townes, and came to the Lake, which was halfe a Crosse-bow throw out, of a great depth and current. At the time of his coming, the Indians had made an end of the Bridge, which was made of timber, laid one tree after another: and on one side it had a couple of stakes higher then the Bridge, for them that passed to take hold on. The *Cacique* of *Cafqui* came to the Governour, and brought his people with him. The Governour first word by an Indian to *Cacique* of *Pacaba*, that though he were enemy to the *Cacique* of *Cafqui*, and though he were there, yet hee would doe him no disgrace nor hurt, if hee would attend him peaceably, and embrace his friendship; but rather would treat him as a Brother. The Indian, which the Governour sent, came againe, and said, that the *Cacique* made no account of that which he told him, but fled with all his men out at the other side of the Towne. Presently the Governour entred, and ranne before with the Horsemen, that way, by which the Indians fled; and at another Towne distant a quarter of a league from thence, they tooke many Indians: and sithence as the Horsemen had taken them, they delivered them to the Indians of *Cafqui*, whom, because they were their enemies, with much circumspection and reioicing, they brought to the Towne where the Christians were: and the greatest griefe they had, was this, that they could not get leave to kill them. There were found in the Towne many Mantles, and Deeres skines, Lions skines, and Beares skines, and many Cats skines. Many came to farr poorly apppareled, and there they clothed them: some of the Mantles, they made them Coates and Callocks, and some made Gownes, and lined them with Cats skines; and likewise their Callocks. Of the Deeres skines, some made them also Jerkins, Shirts, Hofs and Shoes: and of the Beares skines, they made them very good Clokes: for no watercock pierce them. There were Targets of raw Ox hides found there; with which Hides they armed their Horses.

Vpon Wednesday the nineteenth of Iune, the Governour entred into *Pacaba*: He lodged in the Towne, where the *Cacique* vied to reside, which was very great, walled, and beset with Townes, and many loope-holes were in the Townes and Wall. And in the Towne was great store of old Maiz, and great quantitie of new in the fields. Within a league and halfe a league were great Townes all walled. Where the Governour was lodged, was a great Lake, that came nere unto the wall: and it entred into a ditch that went round about the Towne, wanting but a litle to enuiron it round. From the Lake to the great River was made a weare by which the fish came into it; which the *Cacique* kept for his recreation and sport: with Nets that were found in the Towne, they tooke as much as they would: and tooke they neuer so much, that there was no want perceived. There was also great store of fish in many other Lakes that were thereabout, but it was soft, and not so good as that which came from the River, and the most of it was different from the fresh water fish of *Spainne*. There was a fish which they called *Bagres*: the third part of it was head, and it had on both sides the gills, and along the sides great prickles like very sharpe Aules: those of this kind that were in the Lakes were as bigge as Pikes: and in the River, there were some of an hundred, and of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight, and many of them were taken with the hook. There was another fish like Barbel; and another like Breames, headed like a delicate fish, called in *Spanne* *Bisfio*, betwene red and grey. This was thereof most esteeme. There was another fish called a Pele fish: it had a snout of a Cubit long, and at the end of the upper lip it was made like a Pele. There was another fish like a Weltern Shad: And of them had scales, except the *Bagres*, and the Pele fish. There was another fish, which sometimes the Indians brought vs, of the bignesse of an Hogge, they call it the *Pero* fish: it had rows of teeth beneath and above.

From thence he sent thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen to the Prouince of *Caluca*, to see if from thence he might traill to *Chifoa*, where the Indians said, there was a worke of Gold and Copper. They trauelled fuen dayes iourne through a Desert, and returned very wearie, eating greene Plums and flakes of Maiz, which they found in a poore Towne of fixe or seuen houles. From thence forward toward the North the Indians said, that the Countrie was very ill inhabited, because it was very cold: And there were fish store of Oxen, that they could keepe to come for them: and that the Indians lived vpon their flesh. The Governour so desired, that toward that part the Countrie was so poore of Maiz, that in it they could not be sustaine, demanded of the Indians, which way it was most inhabited: and they said, they had notice of a great Prouince, and a very plentifull Countrie, which was called *Quigante*, and it was toward the South.

The Governour tooke his iourne toward *Quigante*. The fourth day of Augul, hee came to the Towne, where the *Cacique* vied to keepe his Residence: on the way hee sent him a Present of many Mantles and Skines, and not daring to stay for him in the Towne, hee absented himselfe. The Towne was the greatest that was to be seen in *Florida*.

They tooke many men and women. Now seeing the hurt which they sustained for their Rebellion, they came to see what the Governour would command them, and passed to another many times, and brought Presents of Cloth and Fish. The *Cacique* and his two wives were in the times, and brought Presents of Cloth and Fish. The Governour and his Guard did keepe them. The Governour asked them which way the Countrie was most inhabited: They said, that toward the North downe the River were great Townes and *Caciques*, which commanded great Countries, and much people: And that toward the North-west, there was a Prouince nere to certaine Mountaines that was called *Caluca*. The Governour and all the rest thought good to goe first to *Caluca*: saying, that peradventure the Mountaines would make some difference of toile, and *Caluca*, that beyond them there might be some Gold or Silver: As for *Quigante*, *Cafqui*, and *Pacaba*, they were plaine Countries, fat grounds, and full of good Medowes on the Rivers, where the Indians sowed large fields of Maiz. From *Tafalinea* to *Rio grande*, or the great River, is about three hundred leagues: it is a very low Countrie, and hath many Lakes. From *Pacaba* to *Quigante* may be an hundred leagues. The Governour left the *Cacique* of *Quigante* in his owne way.

They went to the Towne, which was his Guide, led him through great Woods without any way Towne: And an Indian, which was his Guide, where as every lodging, they lodged in Lakes and Pools. Fuen dayes iourne through a Desert, where as every lodging, they lodged in Lakes and Pools. In the invery shoale water: there was focke store of fish, that they killed them with cuigels; and the Indians which they carried in chains, with the mud troubled the waters, and the fish being therein, with as it were, a storme, came to the top of the water, and they tooke as much as they listed. The Indians of *Caluca* had no knowledge of the Christians, and when they came fonnere the Towne, that the Indians saw them, they fled vpon a River, which passed nere the Towne, and some leaped into it; but the Christians went on both sides of the River, and tooke them. There were many men and women taken, and the *Cacique* with them. And by his commandment within three dayes came many Indians with a Present of Mantles and Deeres skines, and two Ox hides: And they reported, that fure or fixe leagues from thence toward the North, there was many of these Oxen, and that because the Countrie was cold, it was well inhabited: That the best Countrie which they knew, the most plentifull, and most inhabited was a Prouince that was called *Cayas*, lying toward the South. From *Quigante* to *Caluca* may be fiftie leagues. It was a fat foile and so plentifull of Maiz, that they caft out the old, to bring in the new. There was also great plenty of French Beanes and Pompons. The French Beanes were greater, and better then those of *Spainne*, and likewise the Pompons. The French Beanes were greater, and better then those of *Spainne*, and likewise the Pompons. The French Beanes were greater, and better then those of *Spainne*, and likewise the Pompons.

The *Cacique* of *Caluca* gave a Guide to *Cayas*, and stayed behind in his owne Towne. We trauelled fuen dayes, and came to the Prouince of *Palifima*. The house of the *Cacique* was found covered with Deeres skins of diuers colours and workes dyne in them, and with the flame in manner of Carpets was the ground of the house covered. The *Cacique* left it so, that the Governour might lodge in it, in token that hee sought peace and his friendship. Hee durst not tarrie his coming. The Governour, seeing hee had absented himselfe, sent a Captain with Horsemen and Footmen to seeke him: Hee found much people, but by reason of the roughness of the Countrie, hee tooke none save a few women and children. The Towne was little and scattering, and had very little Maiz. For which cause the Governour speedily departed from thence. He came to another Towne called *Tatalicoya*, he carried with him the *Cacique* thereof, which guided him to *Cayas*. From *Tatalicoya* are foure dayes iourne to *Cayas*. When he came to *Cayas*, and saw the Towne scattered, hee thought they had told him a lye, and that it was not the Prouince of *Cayas*, because they had informed him that it was well inhabited: Hee threatened the *Cacique*, charging him to tell him where he was: and he and he and other Indians which were taken nere about that place, affirmed that this was the Towne of *Cayas* and the best that was in that Country, and that though the houles were distant the one from the other, yet the ground that was inhabited was great, and that there was great store of people, and many fields of Maiz. This Towne was called *Tamoa*: he pitched his Campe in the best part of it nere unto a River. The same day that the Governour came thither, he went a league farther with certaine Horsemen, and without finding any, he found many skines in a pathway, which the *Cacique* had left there, that they might bee found, in token of peace. For so is the custome in that Country.

The Governour rested a month in the Prouince of *Cayas*. In which time the horses fattened and thrived more, then in other places in a longer time, with the great plenty of Maiz and the leaves thereof, which I thinke was the best that hath bene seene, and they dranke of a Lake of very hot water, and somewhat brackish, and they dranke so much, that it swelled in their bellies when they brought them from the watering. Vntill that time the Christians wanted Salt, and there they made good store, which they carried along with them. The Indians doe carrie it to other places to exchange it for Skins and Mantles. They make it along the River, which when

Nnnnn a

Quigante.
The greatest
Towne seene
in *Florida*.

Cloth.

Caluca nere
the
Caribbe
Mountaines
North-west.

A new way to
take fish.

Caluca.
A River.

Two one hides
Store of oxen
toward the
North.

The Prouince
of *Palifima*.

Tatalicoya.

Cayas.

Tamoa.

A Lake of hot
and somewhat
brackish water
Store of Salt
made at *Cayas*.

A Towne be-
longing to
Cafqui.
Other townes.

Targets of raw
Ox hides.
Pacaba, a very
great Towne
beset with
Townes.
Great walled
Townes.

Nets found.

The diuers
sorts of oxen.
I am fish in
Rio Grande.

Gold & Cop-
per in *Chifoa*.

A poore towne
Great store of
Oxen toward
the North of
Pacaba.
This is like
Quigante.

The

it ebbeth, leaveth it vpon the vpper part of the land. And because they cannot make it, without much land mingled with it, they throw it into certain baskets which they haue for that purpose, broad at the mouth, and narrow at the bottome, and set it in the Aire vpon a barre, and throw water into it, and let a small Velliel vnder it, wherein it falleth: Being strained and set to boyle vpon the fire, when the water is sodden away, the Sale remaineth in the bottome of the Pan. On both sides of the Riuer the Countrey was full of fowne fields, and there was flore of Maiz.

Immediately the Gouvernour with certaine Horsemen and fifty Footmen, departed toward *Tulla*, hee found the Towne abandoned: for the *Indians* durst not tarrise his coming. The *Cacique* came, and eightie *Indians* with him. He brought a Present of many Oxe hides: which hee because the Countrey was cold, were very profitable, and ferred for Coverles, because they were very soft, and woollid like theepe. Not farre from thence toward the North were many Oxeen. The *Christians* law them not, nor came into the Countrey where they were, because those parts were euill inhabited, and had small flore of Maiz where they were bred. The *Cacique* of *Tulla* made an Oration to the Gouvernour, wherein hee excused himselfe, and offered him his Countrey, subiect, and perfon. Aswell this *Cacique* as the others, and all those which came to the Gouvernour on their behalfe, deliuered their message or speech in good order, that no Oratour could vter the same more eloquently.

§. III.

His departure to Autiamque, Ortiz his death and disasters following:
Soto takes thought and dieth, Moscoso succedeth. They leave Florida, and arrive at Panuco.

THE Gouvernour informed himselfe of all the Countrey round about; and vnderstood, that toward the West was a scattered dwelling, and that toward the South-east were great Townes, especially in a Province called *Autiamque*, ten dayes iourne from *Tulla*; which might be about eightie leagues; and that it was a plentiful Countrey of Maiz. And because Winter came on, and that they could not trauell two or three monthes in the yeere for cold, waters, and snow: and fearing, that if they should stay so long in the scattered dwelling, they could not be sustained; and also because the *Indians* said, that neere to *Autiamque* was a great water, and according to their relation, the Gouvernour thought it was some arme of the Sea: And because hee now desired to send news of himselfe to *Cuba*, that some supply of men and horses might be sent vnto him: (for it was about three yeeres, since *Donna Isabella*, which was in *Huana*, or any other person in Christendome had heard of him, and by this time hee had lost two hundred and fiftie men, and one hundred and fiftie horses) he determined to winter in *Autiamque*, and the next Spring, to goe to the Sea Coast, and to make two Brigantines, and send one of them to *Cuba*, and the other to *Nueva Espanna*, that that which went in safetie, might give news of him: Hoping with the goods which hee had in *Cuba*, to furnish himselfe againe, and to attempt the Discouerie and conquest toward the West: for hee had not yet come whither *Cuba* had bene. This hauing first away the two *Caciques* of *Caya* and *Tulla*, hee took the way to *Autiamque*. Hee trauelled fife dayes ouer very rough Mountaines, and came to a Towne called *Guapana*, where no *Indians* could be taken for the roughnesse of the Countrey: and the Towne being betweene Hills, there was an ambuballish, wherewith they took two *Indians*; which told them, that *Autiamque* was fife dayes iourne from thence, and that there was another Province toward the South eight dayes iourne off, plentiful of Maiz, and very well peopled, which was called *Guabata*. But because *Autiamque* was neerer, and the most of the *Indians* agreed of it, the Gouvernour made his iourne that way. In three dayes hee came to a Towne called *Auaxa*. He sent a Captaine before with thirtie Horsemen, and fiftie Footmen, and tooke the *Indians* cattelle, hee tooke many men and women prisoners. Within two dayes after the Gouvernour came to another Towne called *Catamaya*, and lodged in the fields of the Towne. Two *Indians* came with a faine message from the *Cacique* to know his determination. Hee had them tell their Lord, that hee should come and speake with him. The *Indians* went and came no more, nor any other message from the *Cacique*. The next day the *Christians* went to the Towne, which was without people: they took as much Maiz as they needed. That day they lodged in a Wood, and the next day they came to *Autiamque*. They found much Maiz laid vp in store, and French Beanes, and Walnuts and Prunes great flore of all sorts. They took some *Indians* which were gathering together the fluffe which their winnes had kidden. This was a Champeine Countrey, and well inhabited. The Gouvernour lodged in the best part of the Towne, and commanded presently to make a fence of timber round about the Campe distant from the house

Many Oxe
hides with
wool on them,
as soles as
theepe wool,
Gruas hills,
Great impoiss:
Many Oxeen
toward the
North.
The great elo-
quence of the
Indians.

A winter of
two or three
monthes.

Guapana, fife
dayes iourne
from *Tulla*.

Guabata.

Auaxa.

Catamaya.

Autiamque fife
dayes iourne
from *Panuco*.

tes, that the *Indians* might not hurt them without by fire. And measuring the ground by paces, he appointed euery one his part to doe according to the number of *Indians* which he had: presently the timber was brought by them; and in three dayes there was an inclosure made of very high and thicke poils thrust into the ground, and many rayles laid acrosse. Hard by this Towne passed a Riuer, that came out of the Province of *Caya*; and about three monthes with great plenty of Maiz, French Beanes, Walnuts, Prunes, and Conies: which writhall that time they knew not how to catch. And in *Autiamque* the *Indians* taught them how to take them: which was, with great springes, which lifted vp their foot from the ground: And the snare was made with a strong liring, which lifted vp a knot of a cane, which ranne close about the necke of the Conie, because they should not gnaw the liring. They took many in the fields of Maiz, especially when it frezed or snowed. The *Christians* stayed there one whole month so inclosed with snowe, that they went not out of the Towne: and when they wanted fire-wood, the Gouvernour with his Horsemen going and coming many times to the Wood, which was two Cref-bow shot from the Towne, made a path-way, whereby the Footmen went for wood. In this meane space, some *Indians* which went loose, killed many Conies with their Gines, and with their Arrows. These Conies were of two sorts, some were like those of *Spainne*, and the other of the same colour and fashion, and as bigge as great Hares, longer, and hauing greater loines.

Vpon Monday the sixt of March, 1542. the Gouvernour departed from *Autiamque* to seeke 20 *Niles*, which the *Indians* said was neere the Great Riuer, with determination to come to the Sea, and procure some succour of Men and Horses: for he had now but three hundred Men of warre, and fortie Horses, and some of them lame, which did nothing but helpe to make vp the number: and for want of Iron, they had gone about a yeere vnshod: and because they were wied to it in the plaine Countrey, it did them no great harme. *John Ortiz*, died in *Autiamque*, which grieved the Gouvernour very much: because that without an Interpreter he feared to enter farre into the Land, where hee might bee lost: whereby it often happened, that the way that they went one day, and sometimes two or three dayes, they turned backe, and went astray through the wood here and there. The Gouvernour spent ten dayes in traelling from *Autiamque* to a Province called *Agaya*; and came to a Towne that stood neere the Riuer that passeth by *Caya* and *Autiamque*. There hee commanded a Barge to bee made, wherewith hee passed the Riuer. When hee had passed the Riuer, there fell out such weather, that four dayes hee could not traell for Snow. As loone as it gaue ouer snowing, he went three dayes iourne through a Wildernesse, and a Countre so lowe, and so full of Lakes and euill wayes, that hee trauelled one time a whole day in water, sometimes knee deepe, sometimes to the shirrup, and sometimes they swamme. He came to a Towne called *Tutelpinco*, abandoned, and without Maiz: there passed by it a Lake, that entered into the Riuer, which carried a great streame and force of water.

The Gouvernour went a whole day along the Lake seeking passage, and could finde none, nor any way that did passe to the other side. Coming againe at night to the Towne hee found two peaceable *Indians*, which shewed him the passage, and which way hee was to goe. There they made a canoe, and of the timber of houses charched with cane, rafts wherewith they pulled the Lake. They trauelled three dayes, and came to a Towne of the Territorie of *Niles*, called *Tianzo*. There they took thirtie *Indians*, and among them two principall men of this Towne. The Gouvernour sent a Captaine with Horsemen and Footmen before to *Niles*, because the *Indians* might haue no time to carrie away the prouision. They passed through 3 or 4 great Townes; and in the Towne where the *Cacique* was resident, which was two leagues from the place where the Gouvernour remained, they found many *Indians* with their Bowes and Arrows, in manner as though they would haue stayed to fight, which did compass the Towne; and as soone as they saw the *Christians* come neere them without misdoubting them, they set the *Caciques* house on fire, and died ouer a Lake that passed neere the Towne, through which the Horses could not passe. 30 The next day being Wednesday the nine and twentieth of March, the Gouvernour came to *Niles*: he lodged with all his men in the *Caciques* Towne, which stood in a plaine field, there was inhabited for the space of a quarter of a league: and within a league and halfe a league were other very great Townes, wherein was great flore of Maiz, of French Beanes, of Walnuts, and Prunes. This was the best inhabited Countrey, that was leene in *Florida*, and had most flore of Maiz, except *Caya* and *Apalache*. There came to the Campe an *Indian* accompanied with others, and in the *Caciques* name gaue the Gouvernour a Mantle of Martens skinned, and a Cordon of Pearles. The Gouvernour gaue him a few small Margerites, which are come thence much esteemed in *Perna*, and other things, wherewith he was very well contented. Hee promised to returne within two dayes, but neuer came againe: but on the contrary the *Indians* came by night in Canoes, and carried away all the Maiz they could, and made them Cabins on the other side of the Riuer.

This Riuer which passed by *Niles*, was that which passed by *Caya* and *Autiamque*, and fell into *Rio grande*, or the Great Riuer, which passed by *Pachaba* and *Agucio*, neere vnto the Province of *Guachaya*. Within few dayes the Gouvernour determined to goe to *Guachaya*, to leaue

N n n n n 3

A Riuer.
Three men
abode in
Autiamque.

Frost and snow
A month of
snow.

Conies of two
kinds.

March 6.
1542.

The death of
John Ortiz,
and the great
mille of him,
being
their Interpreter.

Agaya.
A Riuer.

Great snow as
about the twen-
tieth of March

Tutelpinco.
A great Lake.

Rafts wherewith
they pulled
the Lake.

Tianzo.
3 or 4 great
Townes.

March 30.
Niles.

Very great
Townes.
The best
Countre of
Florida.
Martens
skinned.
A Cordon
of Pearles.

A Riuer falling
into the great
Riuer.

though they had been venomous. For the sayles which were white seemed blacke with them. Those which rowed, while others kept them away, were not able to rowe. Having passed the feare and danger of the storme, beholding the deformities of their faces, and the blowes which they gave themselves to drive them away, one of them laughed at another. They met all together in the creeke, where the two Brigandines were, which outwent their fellows. There was found a skumme, which they call *Copee*, which the Sea catcheth up, and it is like Pitch, wherewith in some places, where Pitch is wanting, they pitch their ships: there they pitched their Brigandines. They rested two dayes, and then etious proceeded on their Voyage. They sailed two dayes more, and landed in a Bay or arme of the Sea, where they layed two dayes.

From the time that they put out of *Rio Grande*, to the Sea, at their departure from *Florida*, untill they arrived in the River of *Panuco*, were two and fiftie dayes. They came into the River of *Panuco* the tenth of September, 1543. There arrived there of those that came out of *Florida*, three hundred and eleven *Christians*.

From the Port of *Spiritu Santo*, where they landed when they entered into *Florida*, to the Prouince of *Oente*, which may be foure hundred leagues, little more or lesse, is a very plaine Countre, and hath many Lakes and thicke Woods, and in some places they are of wilde Pine-trees; and is a weakesoyle: There is in it neither Mountaine nor Hill. The Countre of *Oente* is more fat and fruitfull; it hath thinner Woods, and very goodly Medowes, vpon the Rivers, from *Oente* to *Cuisfachiqui* may be an hundred and thirty leagues: eight leagues thereof are Desert, and haue many Groves of wilde Pine-trees. Through the Wildernesse great Rivers doe passe. From *Cuisfachiqui* to *Xuala*, may bee two hundred and fifty leagues: it is all an hilly Countre. *Cuisfachiqui* and *Xuala* stand both in plaine ground, high, and haue goodly Medowes on the Rivers. From thence forward to *Chieba*, *Coca*, and *Talsie*, is plaine ground, drie and fat, and very plentifull of Maize. From *Xuala* to *Talsie* may be two hundred and fifty leagues. From *Talsie* to *Rio Grande*, or the Great River, may be three hundred leagues: the Countre is lowe, and full of Lakes. From *Rio Grande* forward, the Countre is higher and more champaigne, and best people of all the Land of *Florida*. And along the River from *Aguayo* to *Pachaba*, and *Coligon*, are an hundred and fifty leagues: the Countre is plaine, and the woods thicke, and in some places champaigne, very fruitfull and pleasant. From *Coligon* to *Antismague* are two hundred and fifty leagues of hilly Countre. From *Antismague* to *Agucay*, may be two hundred and fifty leagues of plaine ground. From *Agucay* to the River of *Doyean* an hundred and twentie leagues, all hilly Countre.

From the Port of *Spiritu Santo* vnto *Apalache*, they travelled from East to West, and North-west. From *Cuisfachiqui* to *Xuala* from South to North. From *Xuala* to *Coca* from East to West. From *Coca* to *Talsie*, and to *Rio Grande*, as far as the Prouince of *Quinquar*, and *Aguayo* from East to West. From *Aguayo* to *Pachaba* to the North. From *Pachaba* to *Tulla* from East to West: and from *Tulla* to *Antismague* from North to South, to the Prouince of *Gnacboya* and *Doyean*, &c.

This Relation of the discovery of *Florida* was printed in the house of *Andrew de Burgos*, Printer and Gentleman of the house of my Lord Cardinall the Infant. It was finished the tenth of February, in the year one thousand five hundred fiftie and seven, in the Noble and most lloyall Citie of *Euora*.

CHAP. III.

Diuers expeditions from Mexico and other parts of New Spaine and New Biskay, especially to the more Northerly parts of America, by diuers Spaniards in a hundred yeares space.

§. I.

The Relation of NYUNNO di GYSMAN written to CHARLES the fift Emperour; translated out of RAMVSIO third Tome, and abridged.



Writ from *Mechuacan* to your Maiestie (after I had written from *Mexico*) that I went thence with one hundred and fiftie horsemen, and as many footmen well armed, and with twelue small Peeeces of artillery, and 7. or 8000. *Indians* our friends, and all necessaries for the discovery and conquest of the Countre from the *Techicumeche* which continue with *New Spaine*. Arrived at the River of the purification of *Saint Mary*, so called, for passing it on that day. And because that Countre was of the enemies, I determined to plant there three great Crosses, which I had

carried with me, well wrought and of good proportion, which after Masse said in Procession with Trumpets, the Captaines and I carried on our shouldiers, and planted one on the River, and the second before a Church of the Purification, then begun to be builded, and the third before the way which I was to passe, to the which Crosses with all deuotion wee after made due prayer. This done, the handlers of the Cross began to be directed in the land of those infidels, which had not bene done since the *Christians* entred those parts. Incontinently some people met vs in peace, yeelding themselves and promising seruice. Meane while the Church was finished and walked about, that fiftene or twenty horsemen might lodge within. There Masse was said, and a Sermon was preached; after which certaine ordinances were red for good orders to be kept in the Armie. After this, on the tenth of February possession was taken in your Maiesties name of that *New Discoverie*, and on the fourteenth was made the request which is accustomed to be made.

In regard of accusations made against *Cacenci* Lord of *Mechuacan* for rebellion and conspiracy to haue slaine vs, I marched against him and found the information true, besides other enormities in sacrificing *Indians* and *Christians*, as he had vsed to doe before he was a *Christian*, whereupon I condemned him to the fire, as may be seene in the proccesse made against him. Having executed this man and pacified the Countre, I left a Spaniard in a fortress there built by the *Indians*, and travelled six daies in a Countre not inhabited, three of them downe the River, leaving at every lodging place a Crosse. On the first day we came to the Prouince *Cinacua*, full of good Townes and abounding in viduals. The people had at first armed themselves for resistance, but when I sent *Barim* against them, they were all fled to the Mountaines. The light horse tooke some of the slowest not without making some defence. I sent them word not to be afraid, but to returne to their houses and give their obedience, which they refusing, I marched against them with three Squadrons, and sent the Querleer on one part, and Captaine *Ognate* on the other, and I was at their backes. The Querleer found none but women and children. *Ognate* encountered with about one hundred men with their Bowes and Arrows wounded slightly two horses and three men, but many of them were slaine, others taken with women and children about five hundred, which I caused to be kept together, left the *Indians* should sacrifice them after their wont. The *Cacique* was fled to the next Prouince, so called *Cuinagiro*, of another signiorie and language. Because hee came not at my sending, I went to seeke him. Entering that Prouince where were many Townes, and great store of Maize and Fruits, we found many people dead, sacrificed, which had out of the former Prouince retired thither for feare of vs, with many peeces of flesh which they vsed to eate. I sent many prisoners to their friends to let them see that I came not to slay them: The language of this people none of ours could vnderstand. The Querleer encountered three hundred armed with Bowes and Arrows, which the day before had killed foure of our *Indians*: they set vpon ours singing, and killed a Horse, but hauing lost one hundred of their company, the rest escaped. I found my men cutting the Horse in peeces, that the enemies might see no signe of him, whereby they might know that a Horse could dye. I sent the Campe Maister to discover the foord: three *Indians* ran on him, one of which had a two hand sword of wood, which gaue him two blowes, but the *Indian* was slaine. I moved forwards, and discovered many inhabited places. Another skirmish happened with the *Indians* wherein about one hundred of them were slaine. All the Countre is full of Maize, Kidney-beanes, Hens, Parrats, Palmits: there growes much Cotton, and some shewes appeared of Gold and Silver found with some of the inhabitants.

I procured the *Cacique* to come to me with all his principall men, whom I entertained with much kindnesse, and made a speech to them, giuing them to vnderstand what God was, and the Pope, and what they ought to doe to be saved; and how the King of Castile was the Minister of God in earth, and Lord of all these parts subject to him; and that to me in his royall name they were to yeelde obedience and seruice; and that they should abstaine from sacrificing & adoration to Idols and Devils, which they had hitherto done, because God alone was to be worshipped, feared, and serued, and after him they ought to serue and obey on earth the King of Castile. The *Cacique* answered that till that houre hee had neuer knowne any thing of that which I had spoken, nor had euer heard of any but me that which I declared; but that hee now conceived great pleasure to haue vnderstood it, and that from henceforth hee would hold for God the King of Castile, and would worship him. I answered that hee ought not so to doe, for the King of Castile was a mortall man as we our selues are, but that hee was Lord and Soueraigne ouer vs all, and giuen to vs of God to rule and gouerne vs, and we were to serue and obey him. And God about, which created heauen and earth, and all things visible and inuisible, is he which ought to be worshipped, feared, and serued about all things, forasmuch as hee giueth vs, and of his hands we hold the life and being which we haue, and he is able to take it from vs at his pleasure.

In this manner he stood aduised of that which he ought to doe, although their wit and capacitie be very small, and their will much disagreeing, by reason of their ancient custome of seruing the Duell. But seeing all things must haue a beginning and labour, and herein especially the

* *Alli quari*, to or at the which.

* *Cacenci* Lord of *Mechuacan* whereupon.

Cinacua.

Cuinagiro. Wretched Hospitality.

Couragious Indian.

Spanish preaching to conuert Infidels.

Indian simplicity.

* *Ante de Mexico* writeth to the Emperour, that hee had 14.000. *Indians* and 400. horsemen.

* *Ante de Mexico*, Cronicles created.

the grace of God is necessary and the holy Ghost to be infused; it is to be believed and hoped of his infinite gentleness and mercy, that having directed your Maiestie to discover this place and conquest, in vertue thereof and good fortune, after that of God, all things shall be done prosperously, and he will suffer to give to this Nation knowledge of the truth. And if it be not so suddenly done, yet the way shall be opened, and the Countre conquered in, and inhabited of *Christians*, which adore and laud his holy Name, where before, the Devill was adored with many idolatries; and the Barons of his most holy Croffe shall be fixed in all these Countreies, that when he shall send his *Grace*, those Nations may be prepared to receive it. I gave to that *Cacique* all the people which I had taken, and they began to reinhabite their houses: and after a most sumptuous Croffe placed there, and possession of those Countreies taken in your Maiesties name, I departed by the way of another Province called *Cuxico*, situate on the other side of a great River issuing out of a great Lake, After a battell with this People, wherein we prevailed by our Artillerie, the *Cacique* lent a Messenger to me, by whom I lent him word, that we came thither to haue them our friends, and to take possession of that Countrey, in the name of the King of *Castile*. Having obeyed prouisions, and passing further, in an Island in the River happened a hard skirmish, in which diuers were hurt, many of theirs flaine and taken, and the rest fled. The last which was taken, and which fought most courageously, was a man in habite of a woman, which confessed, that from a childe he had gotten his liuing by that subtiltie, for which I caused him to be burned.

Returning to the Campe, I caused the principall Lords of the Countrey to come to me, and pacified them, giving them clothes, restoring the prisoners, and bidding them returne to their habitations: giving them to vnderstand on behalfe of the King of *Castile*, *That he was Lord and the Minister of God in Earth, in which God, the King and all men of the world are to beleeue, to adore, feare and serue him as God alone, maker and Creator of all things: and on Earth to beleeue, to adore, feare and serue him as God alone, maker and Creator of all things: and to mee in his Royall name, and that they should not worship Idols, nor take many wives, they answered me, that so they would die, and their sacrificing to Idols hitherto grew from hence, that they knew not what God was; and because the Duill commanded them to observe those formes, and desired flesh and blood of them, giuing them to vnderstand, that he was the Lord of all the world, whereupon for feare they had committed this error, which henceforth they would cease to doe. Great are the sinnes of all men liuing, seeing God permits so great abominations to be committed against his diuine Maiestie, and that such a multitude of soules are lost, and remaine blinde as brute beasts, and worke for they follow their naturall courte, which these haue lost: although some may vnely publish the warre which is made upon them to be winning, but also seek to disturbe it, *Least the will worthe and holy worke, and of most merit, (with the punishment of that Nation) that noth ing can be done in the seruice of God greater, howe soeuer it be done by the hands of great sinners, and especially by me, who am the greatest of all sinners, that nothing is hidden from his beate, and as the mercifull and good of all good, I hope in his infinite clemency, that he will receive my meane desire, and small paine and labour, in diminution of my sinnes: and will permit by his infinite bountie and grace, and because your Maiestie doth al for the seruice of God which is death, whose charge it is to guide the enterprise in such manner, as that the beginning be with manifesting his Name, where before, that of the Enemie was serued vnbly, and adored. For it is knowne to your Maiestie, that where soeuer I come, I give all the people to vnderstand what God is, and who your Maiestie is. The Towne about this place or ford of the River is called *Guanaczi*, where a Croffe was planted.**

Departing toward the Province of *Tonala*, I sent the Quarterer to the Province of *Caymacare*, on the other side of the River. The Seniors of that Province (for they had no particular Lord) sent Messengers that they expected mee in peace, and would giue me what I would howlouer *Cayula*, *Cayula*, and *Caymacare*, the three neighbour Provinces were fooles, and refused vpon warre. They fought with vs so valiantly, that some one *Indian* would turne his head against a Light-horseman, and taking his Lance with one hand, with the other would lay on him with a club which they vse; and others would lay hold on the Bridles, and those which had beene in *New Spaine*, and other parties, testifie that more courageous *Indians* haue not bene seene. They vse Bowes, Arrows, Clubs, and two-hand Swords of wood, a Sling, and stone Targets. The most of them feare the Horses, holding opinion that they would eat them, and a thousand of them haue bene afraid of those Horsemen; yet neuertheless some are thus hardy. The Countrie is temperate, they are great Sacrificers, haue Silver, and some Gold: but made shew not to care for it, and said I had no need of Gold, but that they should feare, and not sacrifice as before. In the place of the victorie was erected a faire Church called, *The victorie of the Croffe*, and a Croffe of fixtie foot long there erected. *Zaparlala* received mee in peace, *Axamocentla* people fled, yet sent store of viduals, as did also *Tetatlalan*.

Our *Indians* in our march had ill use and sacrificed certaine women and children, the signes whereof I saw, it being a thing impossible to remedie, notwithstanding all the punishment I inflicted, howe soeuer some say, they are good *Christians*. And let your Maiestie beleeue, that they doe at this present time as they did before, but secretly. And for this, and for other such causes

which I haue written to your Maiestie, there ought not so much libertie be giuen them, nor more then that which is accustomed to their state and fining; for to doe otherwise, is to giue occasion to them to be bad, and especially this People is of such nature, that they must be very much holden vnder, and made to feare, that they may be good *Christians*.

From *Xalpa* three Embassadors came to me, with offer of peace, subiection, and certaine Silver plates, and an Idol made of Corton, and full of blood, and a Rator of stone in the midst, wherewith they sacrificed, which was burned in their sight, to their great amazement, whithough it would haue deliueyed all. Against *Mandie* Thursday a Church was erected of reeds in a day, and devout Procession was then made of more then thirrie Dioclinians. On Easter Tuesday, and devout Procession was then made of more then thirrie Dioclinians. On Easter Tuesday, I departed thence to *Tetatlalan*, thence by Mount *Ameo* to *Tetlachoban*, a strong place, being all of stone cut round, where every Lord of the Province ought to haue a house wherein to sacrifice: there had beene a great Idol of Gold, destroyed in other warres. The Palaces were of stone engrauen, some pieces of eightene spannes, with great Statues of men, with other things like those of *Mexico*. The Courts of the Palaces were spacious, and faire, with Fountaines of good water. Thence I sent Captaine *Verdugo* to *Xaltenango*, thorow a Valley of fixe leagues, but the people were fled to the Mountaines. A Croffe was planted, and Masse said for the seruice of God, there where the Duill had so long bene serued, and had receiued to many Sacrifices, I guided the Armie, one part to goe to *Mechuacan* (another Province, not that of *New Spaine*) neere to the South Sea I marched with the other to *Guatimala*, and there planted a Croffe on a Hill, and thence to *Tetulan*, accompanied with the *Caciques* of the Countrey; thence to *Xalisco*. Here the way was so bad that in fiftene dayes I rode not three, and many heaits were lost.

I sent to the principall Lords of *Xalisco*, to whom I made the request accustomed. They were all retired to the Mountaine tops. Finding my life neere the Sea, I tooke possession thereof for your Maiestie. At *Tetiquen* two of the Lords of *Xalisco* came to me in peace, and to yeeld obedience, as likewise other Townes had done neere the Sea, where are said to be Mines of Gold. There I made Officers in your Maiesties name, as being a new Diocouerie and Conquest separate from *New Spaine*, that there might be some to receive your Maiesties fitts. Two Croffes were erected in *Xalisco* and two in *Tepeque*, a place well watered, and very fertile. In marching from thence a great and dangerous battell was giuen vs by the *Indians* wherein we obtained victorie. They wounded fittie Horses, of which only fixe died (one Horie I assure your Maiestie, is worth about foure hundred Pezos) diuers of the principall Commanders were wounded also. The next day I made a Procession with a *Te Deum*. Thence I passed the great River of the *Trinitie*, to come to *Omitlan*, the chiefe of that Province. The Countrie is very hot, and the River full of Crocodiles, and there are many venomous Scorpions. Here was erected one Church, and two Croffes. *Axtatlan* is three dayes iourney hence where they prepare to giue mee battell. From thence ten dayes further I shall goe to finde the *Amazons*, which some say dwell in the Sea, some in an arme of the Sea, and that they are rich, and accounted of the people for Goddesse, and whither then other women. They vse Bowes, Arrows and Targets; haue many and great Townes; 40 as at certaine time admit them to accompany them, which bring vp the males, as these the female issue, &c. From *Omitlan* a Province of *Mechuacan* of the greater *Spaine*, on the eighth of Iuly, 1550.

I had thought but for prolixitie, here to haue added Aluarados Conquests the other way from Mexico, two of whose Letters are extant in Ramulio. The later of them is dated from the Cite of *Saints Iago*, which hee founded. Hee writes that hee was well entertained in Guatimala, and passed along with diuers fortunes, foure hundred leagues from Mexico conquering; and let your Lordship beleeue mee, this Countrie is better inhabited and peopled then all that which your Lordship hath hitherto gouerned. In this Province I haue found a Vulcan, the most dreadful thing that ever was seene; 70 which casteth forth stones as great as a house, burning in light flames, which falling in pieces, and cover all that fiery Mountaine. Threecore leagues before we saw another Vulcan, which sendeth forth a fearful smoke, ascending up to Heauen, and the body of the smoke encompasseth halfe a league. None drinke of the freames which runne downe from it, for the Brimstone sent. And especially there comes thence one principall River, very faire, but so hot, that certaine of my companie were not able to passe it, which were to make our roades into certaine places; and searching for a Ford, found another cold River running into it, and where they met together, the Ford was temperate and passable. I beseech your Lordship to grant mee the fauour, to see the Governour of this Cite, &c. From *Saint Iago*, Iuly 28. 1554.

60

Oooooo

J. II.

*Christians for
Idols.
Xalpa.
Bounty Idoll.*

*Bloody Pro-
cession.
Tetatlalan.*

Xaltenango.

*Mechuacan on
the South Sea.*

Xalisco.

*Tetiquen a new
Province.*

*Amazons
Drinking.*

*Pe. Aluarados
Letters to
Cort which
he founded
here but on
this discovery
and Conquest.
Two most ter-
rible Vulcans.*

Cuxico.

*So some pro-
fessid.*

*None will this
Disunite.*

*Preaching by
the Sword a
worthe, holy
maruolous,
sanctuary
worke.*

*Guanaczi.
Tonala a free
State.*

*Caymacare,
Cayula, and
Cayula.*

*Valiant Indi-
ans.*

*Zaparlala.
Axamocentla.*

*Indian Chris-
tians but in
name and
name.*

came by flocks vnto our lodging, and witnessed their loue, with exceeding great signification of good will, with salutation and words, which yet we vnderstood not, Haying to long with vs till they were friendly diffused by vs: neither neglected they the opportunitie offered vpon the first occasion, to shew how greatly they affected the *Christian* religion; for as soon as we entered into the first Villages of this Province, the day following there assembled a great number of old and yong folkes to be baptized, which was a great comfort vnto vs; we christened full foure-hundred boys and gyles; we raised the mindes of the rest with good hopes, that as soon as they were instructed with necessary doctrine, they should be partakers of the same Sacrament. We found foure hundred *Christians*, which hauing bin baptized by the *Franciscan* Fathers, which came into these parts twelue yeares past, when at length they were flaine by the *Indians* that were left destitute of a teacher; neither can all of them be instructed by vs, w^{ch} some helpe be sent vs; for besides that the people are many, they also differ in language and tongues, although there be two chiefe and most general.

We learne two tongues with great celeritie, which albeit they be not so vulgar and general, yet are they more necessary; and we have profited so much in three moneths, that we could easily vnderstand the *Indians* when they spake. Wherefore we began to instruct in the Catechisme, and with gylt speeches to exhort the Nation, to keepe them within the compasse of their dutie, and to deliuer them of all feare: when they see that they receive of vs the service and formes of praying to God, not in a strange but in their owne language; the which together with the Catechisme they learne with great care and shortnesse of time; And now wee have Christened aboute sixteen hundred, as well those of yeares as boyes; besides those foure hundred, which being christened by the aforesaid Fathers, almost in their infancie, and fully twelue yeares neglected, had scarcely any shew of Christendome, but were married with Pagans after their Countrey fashion. From many of them we tooke away their Concubines, because such is the custome of this Nation, that they take as many as they are able to keepe. Many of them were likewise married.

There are also many more which desire to be baptized, but since the people be exceeding many, and the workemen but two onely, we are not able to sustaine the labour. The last of November I visited the people of this tract or Riuer, and in the space of twelue or thirtee miles, there are foure thousand *Indians* at the least, which vie Bowes and Arrows, besides women and children. Among these are certaine of bad name and fame, which haue familiarity and acquaintance with the Duell, with whom they commit abominable and very horrible finnes.

Many of them fled into the Mountaines, that their children might not be Christened, because the Duell had reported abroad, that all they should die that were Baptized. Notwithstanding in feuen or eight dayes we Christened two hundred and fortie children. Necessary enforced me to leaue them, and to goe to another place, to helpe our neighbours: yet I am greatly desirous to returne moued with a certaine pity, because I see this people so strongly possessed by the Duell being vnterly ignorant of the faith.

There are now thirtee Churches in these three Riuers, besides those which are erected by little and little, neither haue we any more holy Vestments for them, then those which we carrye about with vs, and one other furniture of an Altar, which belongeth to the *Spaniards*; we haue neuer a Bell in any of these Churches. We furnished an Altar with one Croffe and certaine pictures, which were brought hither from *Culiacan*, because we want other furniture, which we looke for from your Reuerencies, and it will be very profitable, since this Nation is so delighted with outward ornaments.

We celebrated the dedication of a Church at *Petatlan* on the day of the conception of the Virgin, the Mother of God. In the same I set vp a certaine small Image consecrated to the conception of the blessed Virgin: We went on Procession, wherein the Boyes sang the *Te Deum laudamus* in the vulgar language: I added a Prayer, and then red Masse, because the fingers are yet ignorant of Song, and can sing nothing else but Amen, with a rude and vtuned voyce. Many of the *Pagans* were present, which were invited to this holy day from other places, and were almost amazed beholding these first beginnings, wishing that the like solemnitie might be kept in their Villages. As farre as hitherto we are able to gather, the *Indians* the inhabitants of these and the neighbour *Pagan* Castles, where there is greater store of people, and lesse diuersitie of languages, are quick and prompt, tractable, and of easier conuersion, then any that I haue hitherto seene or knowne. I could wish that I might sometime lue privately with my selfe, yet this is the concourse of commers, that they loue me not thus quiet, and though I be silent, yet they minister diuers speeches, inquiring of our things, and rehearsing their owne, and come to vs in the night to prayer. They are ingenious and docile, although they haue no teacher, by whose instruction this force of nature should be exercised. They lue in Castles and Countrey Villages, in houses ioyned neere the one to the other, and builded of chalke and timber, which they adorne with Mats and coverings of reedes.

In the marriages which they make, when they take many wiues, it seemeth not inconvenient

ent or indecent vnto them, to take their filter, mother, or daughter, because they thinke that this maketh much for domesticall peace, and that thereby all emulation may be avoided. And though they make no account of affinity, yet they haue exceeding great regard of consanguinitie. They loue their children most tenderly for a certaine time, and teach them nothing else but such things as they know themselves, and neuer teach them nor chastise them for any thing, and so they lue like beasts. They marrie them at their time; and this is the forme of their marriage: The Parents of each partie meete together, and after conferences had betweene them, they dance according to their Countrey custome, and giuing hands returne home; if the Bridegroom or Bride be vnder age, they stay certaine moneths and sometime a yeare, neuer seeing one the other: afterward as time conuenient the Father of the spouse giueth an house to his daughter and son in law, with furniture thereto belonging.

They also make the Bridegroom a Knight, if he be of a worthy Familie, with diuine rites, whereof these be the chiefe ceremonies: They deliuer him a Bowe, and instruct him how to vie his new weapons; and to shew a signe of his industrie and abilitie, he is turned out to some yong Lyon or wilde beast, which when he hath killed, he is aduanced to some honour and dignitie, whereby he excelleth others which are not Knights. Among the things belonging to policie, this is one which they doe obserue; that they adoept other mens children for their owne; but this adoeption into another familie hath very seuer and dangerous ceremonies, for they thrust a stick into their mouths into the bottome of their throates, wherewith they are almost choked; if it fall out well, they vomit vp all the maste in their stomackes, and so they passe out into the right of another man. Whatsoever time remaineth from labour and trauaile they spend in a play, which is like to Dice, but consisteth of diuers signes. They play with exceeding great moderation and patience of minde, being most cunning in this kinde of sport, no oath is heard among them, nor any contentions or brabbling word, though they looke their apprell and all that they lue, and goe home naked, as sometime it falleth out.

When they be sicke, if the disease be sore and dangerous, they digge a place for their buriall, and loe sometimes it standeth ouer sixe dayes open, which custome was very profitable to a certaine woman for when I came into a certaine Village, and saw the ground digged very deeply, knowing what the matter was, I came vnto her lying on her Couch and sicke, and hauing instructed her in the Catechisme which I had written in the vulgar Tongue, in the principles of Christian Religion, I baptized her, but she recovered. Now the cause why they open the places of their burials is this, That presently they may couer the bodie or ashes of him that is dead (for sometimes they burne the bodies with all the house and household stuffe.) They sprinkle the Sepulchre with a certaine dult, whereof they make a drinke, and bring meate with them, and after they haue wept out the Graue, they make themselves drunke, the Kinsfolke of the dead making a Feast for them that doe a silt them. And these be their Funerals.

The Vicar of the Church of *Culiacan*, which is fortie two leagues from *Cinola*, where the aforesaid Fathers lue, in his Letters lent to a certaine friend writeth after this manner: In *Cinola* the Fathers labour painfully in the Land in conuerting the *Indians* vnto the Faith so fruitfully and happily, that we all hold it for a Miracle. Neither can it be beleued, both with what celeritie they haue learned and speak the tongue of that Countrey, and with what facilitate and contentment. The Inhabitants come to be baptized, and desire to be instructed in the Articles of our faith. Doubtles it is the worke of God; wherefore the Diuine Maieste doth fauour and promote the same.

A Letter written from *Valledia* by LUDOVICVS TRIBALDVS TO LETVS to Master RICHARD HAKLVT, translated out of Latine, touching IVAN de ONATE his Discoueries in new *Mexico*, five hundred leagues to the North from the old *Mexico*.

When you shall see the English returned home out of our Spanie, and can finde no Letters sent vnto you from vs, perhaps, and that worthily you will ascribe vs of breach of our friendship, and also as little mindfull of our promise, Yet we as free from this fault salute you most willingly. For it is not long since we arrived here, that is to say in this Court, a little after the departure of your Countreman into England. Yet we made our iourney by Sea and by Land aduersely pleasantly and according to our desire. After we had rested our selves a small while, we desired nothing more then to visit Andrew Garcia Cepelae, a man for very respects linked vnto vs in most straight bands of friendship. He greatly reioyced of your good will toward him: And presented me a certaine briefe yet very persequious Relation of things attested by Don Iuan de Onate, among the *Indians* of New Mexico.

For therein is written, that he departed from old *Mexico* in the yeere 1599. with an Armie and Carriages of five thousand men, in which number boyes, women, yongmen and Soldiers are

Their plurality and incests in marriages.

The bad education of their children, Forme of Marriages.

Their forme of making Knights.

Adoption.

Their quietnesse and kind play.

Their buriall.

Their burials, Don Iuan de Onate his first relation. 1000. letters 1599 are

rage, to glean and call the remainder of these folks (for there was a good Christian moured with pittie and compassion, to convert and win unto Christ such as might be found) there were not found but eleven persons which I saw: other Iles more then thirty, neere to the Ile of *Saint Iohn* have likewise bin depopled and marred. All these Iles containe about two thousand leagues of land, and are all depopled and laid waste.

*12,000,000 miles
See the end of
this discourse.

As touching the maine firme land, we are certaine that our *Spaniards*, by their cruelties and cursed doings have depopled and made desolate more then ten Realmes greater then all *Spain*, comprising alio therewith *Aragon* & *Portugall* and twice as much of more land then there is from *Seuill* to *Ierusalem*, which are about a thousand leagues: which Realmes as yet vnto this present day remaine in a wilderness and vtter desolation, hauing bin before time as well peopled as we be poffible. We are able to prele a good and certaine accompt, that there is within the space of the last foure yeares, by those said tyrannies and diuellish doings of the *Spaniards*, deaden by death iustly and tyrannically more then twelve Millions of foules, men, women, and children. And I doe verily beleue, and thinke not to mislike therein, that there are dead more then fiftene Millions of foules.

The cause why the *Spaniards* have destroyed such an infinite of foules, hath bene onely, that they have held it for their last labour and marke to get Gold, and to enrich themselves in a short time, and to mount at one leape to very high estates, in no wise agreeable to their persons: or to say in a word, the cause hereof hath bene their avarice and ambition. And by this means have died so many Millions without tith and without Sacraments.

Of the Ile of Hispaniola.

In the Ile *Hispaniola*, which was the first (as we have said) where the *Spaniards* arrived, began the great slaughters and spoyles of people: the *Spaniards* having begun to take their wives and children of the *Indians*, for to serve their turne and to vie them ill, and hauing begun to eate their vittuals, gotten by their fweate and travail: so contenting themselves with that which the *Indians* gave them of their owne good will, every one after their abilitie, the which is alwaies very small, forasmuch as they are accustomed to have no more store then they have ordinarily neede of, and that such as they get with little travail: And that which might suffice for three houholds, reckoning ten persons for each household for a monthes space, one *Spaniard* would eat and destroy in a day.

Now after sundry other forces, violence, and torments, which they wrought against them: the *Indians* began to perceive that those were not men descended from heauen. Some of them therefore hid their vittuals, others hid their wives and children, some others fled into the Mountaines, to separate themselves a faze off from a Nation of so hard natured and ghastly constitution. The *Spaniards* buffeted them with their fists and bastonades: pressing alio to lay hands vpon the Lords of the Townes. And these causes ended in so great an hazard and desperatenesse, that a *Spaniard* Captaine durst adventure to ransome the wife of the greatest King and Lord of this Ile. Since which time the *Indians* began to search meanes to cast the *Spaniards* out of their lands, and set themselves in armes: but what kinde of armes? very feeble and weak to withstand or resist, and of little defence. The *Spaniards* with their Horses, their Spears and Lances, began to commit murders, and strange cruelties: they entred into Townes, Burowes, and Villages, sparing neither children nor old men, neither women with child, neither them that lay In, but that they ripped their bellies, and cut them in peeces, as if they had bene opening of Lambes that vpon in their fold. They laid wagers with such as which one thrust of a sword would pounce or bowell a man in the middle, or with one blow of a sword would most readily and most deliquely cut off his head, or that would best pierce his entrails at one stroke.

Ambition.

Cruelty.

Theyooke the little foules by the heels, ramping them from the mothers dogges and crushed their heads against the cliffs. Others they cast into the Rivers laughing and mocking, and when they tumbled into the water, they said, now shift for thy selfe such a ones corpse. They put others, together with their mothers, and all that they met, to the edge of the sword. They made certaine Gibbets long and low, in such sort, that the feete of the hanged on, touched in a manner the ground, every one enough for thirteene, in honour and worship of our Saviour and his twelve Apostles (as they vied to speake) and letting to fire, burned them all quicke that were fastened. Vnto alio others, whom they vied to take and refuse alue, cutting off their two hands as neere as might be, and so letting them hang, they said: Get you with these Letters, to carry tydings to those which are fled by the Mountaines. They murdered commonly the Lords and Nobility on this fashion: They made certaine grates of peaches laid on picketforkes, and made a little fire vnderneath, to the intent, that by little and little yelling and despairing in these torments, they might give vp the Ghost.

Torture.

One time I saw foure or five of the principall Lords roasted and broyled vpon these grillions. Alio I thinke that there were two or three of these grillions, garnished with the like furniture, and for that they cryed out pittiously, which thing troubled the Captaine that he could not

not then sleepe: he commanded to strangle them. The Sergeant, which was worse then the Hangman that burned them (I know his name and friends in *Seuill*) would not haue them strangled, but himselfe putting Ballets in their mouthes, to the end that they should not cry, put to the fire, vntill they were lustily roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaid things and the fire, vntill they were lustily roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaid things and the fire, vntill they were lustily roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaid things and the fire, vntill they were lustily roasted after his desire.

Dogges.

10 wrought great destructions and slaughters: And forasmuch as sometimes, although I toldome, when the *Indians* put to death some *Spaniards* vpon good right and Law of due Justice: they made a Lawe betweene them, that for one *Spaniard* they had to slay an hundred *Indians*.

There were in this Ile *Hispaniola*, five great principall Realmes, and five very mighty Kingdomes, vnto whom almost all other Lords obeyed, which were without number. There were also certaine Lords of other severall Prouinces, which did not acknowledge for soveraigne any of these Kings: One Realme was named *Magua*, which is as much to say, as the Kingdome of the plaine. This Plaine is one of the most famous and most admirable things of all that is in the world. For it containeth foure score leagues of ground, from the South Sea vnto the North feare, hauing in breadth five leagues, and eight vnto ten.

The Realmes which were in this Ile at this present.

20 It hath on this side and other exceeding high Mountaines. There entred into it about thirty thousand Ruers and Lakes, of the which twelve are as great as *Ebro*, and *Duro*, and *Guadalupe*. And all the Ruers which issue out of a Mountaine which is towards the West, in number about five and twenty thousand, are very rich of Gold. In the which Mountaine or Mountaines, is contained the Prouince of *Cibao*, from whence the Mines of *Cibao* take their names, and from whence cometh the same exquisite Gold and fine of foure and twenty Carrees, which is renowned in these parts. The King & Lord of this Realme was called *Guacanex*, which had vnder him his Vassils & Lieges so great and mighty, that every one of them was able to set forth three thousand men of armes for the seruice of the King *Guacanex*. Of the which Lords I have knowen some certain. This *Guacanex* was very obedient and vertuous, naturally desirous of peace, and well affectioned to the deuotion of the Kings of *Castile*, and his people gaue by his commandment, every housekeeper a certaine kinde of Drum full of Gold: but afterwards being not able to fill the Drum, cut it off by the middle, and gaue the halfe thereof full. For the *Indians* of that Ile had little or none industrie or practise to gather or draw Gold out of the Mines. The *Cacique* preferred vnto the King of *Castile* his seruice, in causing to be manured all the lands from the 7. place, where the *Spaniards* first lited, vnto the Towne of *Saint Domingo*, which are fiftie leagues large, on condition that he should exact of them no Gold: for hee said (and hee said the truth) that his Subiects had not the skill to draw it out. As for the manning which hee said he would procure to be done: I know that hee could haue done it very easily, and with great readinesse, and that it would haue bene worth vnto the King every yeere more then three Millions of Castellans, besides that it would haue caused, that at this houre there had bin about fiftie Cities greater then *Seuill*.

Great Rivers in *Spain*, as 1000. Ruers in this Ile of *Hispaniola*.

40 The painment that they made to this good King and Lord, so gracious and so redoubted, was to dishonour him in the person of his wife, an euill Christiana, Captaine railing her. This King could haue attended the time and opportunitie to auenge himselfe in leying some arme: but hee aduised to withdraw himselfe rather, and onely to hide him out of the way, thus being banished from his Realme and state, into a Prouince of the *Ciguani*, where there was a great Lord his vassall. After that the *Spaniards* were ware of his absence, and hee could no longer hide himselfe: they made warre against the Lord which had given him entertainment, and make great slaughters through the Countrey as they goe, till in the end they found and tooke him, thrusting him laden with chaines and irons into a Ship, to carry him to *Castile*: which Ship was loft vpon the 50 sea, and there were with him drowned many *Spaniards*, and a great quantity of Gold, amongst the which also was the great weage of Gold, like vnto a great loaf, weying three thousand six hundred Castellans. Thus it pleased God to wreake vengeance of matters so lewd and so enormous.

The greatest peece of Gold which euer was found in this Ile.

60 The other Realme was called *Manien*, where is at this day the Port at one of the bounds of the plaine, towards the North: and it is farre greater then the Realme of *Portugall*, and much fertiler, worthy to be inhabited, hauing great Mountaines, and Mines of Gold, and Copper very rich. The King was called *Guacanagari*, which had vnder him many great Lords, of which I haue knowne and seene sundry. In this Kings Countrey arrived first the old Admirall, when hee discouered the *Indies*, whom at that time that hee discouered the Ile, the said *Guacanagari* receiued so graciously, bountifully, and courteously with all the *Spaniards* who were with him, in giuing him all entertainment and succour, for at the very instant was the Ship loft (which the Admirall was carried in) that hee could not haue bin better made off in his owne Countrey of his owne Father. This did I vnderstand of the Admirall owne mouth: This King

Morion.

dyed, in flying the slaughters and cruelties of the *Spaniards* through the Mountaines, being destroyed and deprived of his estate. And all the other Lords his subiects dyed in the tyrannie and seruitude that shall be declared hereafter.

The third Realme and dominion was *Magnana*, a Countie also admirable, very heistfull, and very fertile, where the best Sugar of the Ile at this day is made.

The King of this Countie was named *Camado*, who surpassed all the others in strength and state, in grauitie, and in the ceremonies of his seruice. The *Spaniards*ooke this King with great subtiltie and malice, euen as he was in his owne house, doubting of nothing. They couened him afterwards into a Ship to carry him to *Castile*: but as there attended them six other Ships in the port, all ready to hose vp (sile) beheld how God by his iust iudgement, would declare, that it, fo with other things, was an exceeding great iniquitie and vniuil, by sending the same night a tempest, which lunk and drenched that Naue with the *Spaniards* that were within. There died alpe to wick them the said *Camado*, charged with bolts and stons.

The Prince had three or foure brothers valiant men, and courageous like himselfe, who considering the imprisonment of their Lord & brother fo against all equitie, together with the waits and slaughters which the *Spaniards* made in other Realmes, and specially after that they had heard that the King their brother was dead, they put themselves in armes to encounter the *Spaniards*, and to avenge the wrong; who on the other side meeting with them on horsebacke; fo they rage in difcomfures and malices, that the one moitie of this Realme hath bene thereby delolate and dispoiled.

The fourth Realme is the same which is named of *Xaragua*. This Realme was as it were the centre or middle point, or to speake of, as the Court of this Ile, the dmonior ouer all the other Realmes in language and polished speech, in police and good manners, the best composed and ordered. For as much as there were many noble Lords and Gentlemen, the people also being the best made and most beautiful. The King had to name *Babecan*, which had a sister called *Anacana*. These two, the brother and sister, had done great seruices to the Kings of *Castile*, and great good turnes to the *Spaniards*, deliuering them from sundry dangers of death.

After the deceale of *Babecan*, the Governour of this Ile with threthcore Horses, and more then three hundred footemen, the hosenmen alone had bene enough to spoyle and ouerrune not this Ile alone, but all the firme land withall: And to him came, being called, more then three hundred Lords vnder assurance, of whom the chiefeft, he fraudulently cauted to be conueyed into a house of tharch, and commanded to set to fire. Now on this wife were these Lords burned all alure: all the reit of the Lords, with other folke infinite, were smitten to death with their Speares and Swords. But the Soueraigne Lady *Anacana*, to doe her honor, they hanged. It happened that certain young striplings to make them their Pages; because they would not haue them slaine, and setting them behinde them on their horse backs; another *Spaniard* came behinde, which stabbed them through with a speare. If so be any childe or boy tumbled downe behinde, which another *Spaniard* came and cut off his legges. Some certaine of these *Indians* which could escape this crueltie so vnaturall, passed ouer vnto a little Ile nere vnto the other, within an eight leagues. The Governour condemned all those which had passed the water, to become slaves; because they had fled from their burthene.

The fifth Realme was called *Higney*, ouer the which reigned an ancient Queene named *Higmanama*, whom the *Spaniards* hanged vp. The people were infinite whom I saw burnt alive, and sent in peeces, and tormented diuertyly and strangely, and whom I saw made slaves, euen fo many as theyooke alure. And now for as much as there are fo many particularities in the Mallicases and destruction of these peoples, that they cannot conveniently be comprised in writing (yea I doe verily beleue, that of a number of things to be spoken of, there cannot be dispatched of a thousand parts one:) I will only in that which concerneth the warres about mentioned, conclude, auctre, and iustifie in conscience, and as before God, that of all others, which I ouerpasse to speake of, or shall be able to speake of, the *Indians* neuer gaue no more occasion or cause, then might a content of good religious persons well ordered, why they should be robbed and slaine, and why those that escaped the death, should be retained in a perpetual captiuitie and bondage. I affirme yet moreover, for ought that I can beleue or coniecture, that during all the time that all this huge number of these Islanders haue bene murdered and made away vnto, they neuer committed against the *Spaniards* any one mortall offence, punishable by the law of man. And concerning offences, of the which the punishment is reserved vnto God, as are desire of reuengement, hatred and rancour, which these people might beare against enemies fo capital as were the *Spaniards*, that very few persons haue bene attached with the blemish, and leffe violent and forcible dill finle them, by the good experience I had of them, then children of tenne or twelue yeeres of age. And I know for certaine and infallible, that the *Indians* had euermore most iust cause of warre against the *Spaniards*; but the *Spaniards* neuer had any iust cause of warre against the *Indians*; but they were all diabolicall and most vnrighteous

more then can be spoken of any tyrant that is on the whole earth. And I affirme the like fame for all their other acts and gettis by them done throughout all the *Indies*.

The warres achieved, and all the men done to death thereby, referred commonly the young folke, women, and children (the which they deperated among them, in giuing to one thirtie, to another fortie, and to another an hundred, or two hundred, according as eury one had the fauour of the head tyrant, whom they called the Governour) they gaue them to the *Spaniards* vpon that condition and colour, that they would teach them the Catholike faith, they themselves whoooke vpon them this charge of soules, commonly all idiots, or vnterly ignorant persons, barbarous men, extremely couetous and vicious.

Now the carke and care that these had of them, was to lead the men vnto the Mines, to make them draine them out Gold, which is an intolerable traull; and the women they bestowed into the Countie to their Farmes, to manure and till the ground, which is a fore traull, euen for the very men, the ablest and mightiest. They gaue to eate neither to one nor other, euen faue graffes and such like things of no substance; in such sort as the milke of the breasts of the wives new deliuered of their childebirth dried vp; and thus dried vp in a small season, all the little creatures their young children. Further, by reason of the separation and not cohabiting of the men with their wives, the generation ceased betweene them. The men died with toyle and famine in the Minerals: these the women died of the time in the fields. By these means were confirmed and brought to their ends fo huge a number of the folke of this Island. By the like might

to be abolished and exterpate all the inhabitants of the world.

As touching loding, they laid vpon them fourecore or an hundred pounds waight, which they should carie an hundred or two hundred leagues. The *Spaniards* also causing themselves to be carried in Lyvres vpon mens armes, or beds made by the *Indians* in fashion of Nets. For they ferued their turnes with them to transport their carriages and baggage as beasts, whereby they laid vpon their backs and shoulders, whales and gals as pore galled beasts. Also as touching whippings, balaoning, buffeting, blowes with the fit, cutting, and a thousand other kinds of torments, which they practised vpon them during the time that they traumled, of a truth, they cannot be recounted in a long season, nor written in a great deale of paper, and they should be euen to affright men withall.

It is to be noted, that the destruction of these Isles and lands, began after the deceale of the most gracious Queene, dame *Isabel*, which was the yeare one thousand five hundred and foure. For before there were laid wait in this Ile, but certain Prouinces by vnusit warre, and that not wholly altogether, & these for the more part, or in a manner all were concealed from the knowledge of the Queene (vnto who it may please God to giue his holy glory) forasmuch as she had a great desire, and a zeale admirable, that those people might be saued and prosper, as we do know good examples, the which we haue seene with our eyes, and felt with our hands. Further note here, that in what part of the *Indies* the *Spaniards* haue come, they haue euermore exercised against the *Indians*, these innocent peoples, the cruelties aforesaid, and oppressions abominable, and inuented day by day new torments, huger and monitrouer, becoming eury day more cruell, wherefore God also gaue them ouer to fall headlong downe with a more extreame downfall into a reprobate sentience.

Of the two Isles Saint Iohn, and Iamayca.

The *Spaniards* passed ouer the Ile of Saint Iohn, and to the end of *Iamayca* which were like Gardens for Bees; yet setting before them the same end which they had in the Ile *Hispaniola*, and committing the robberies and crimes aforesaid, adioyning thereunto many great and notable cruelties, killing, burning, roasting and casting them to the Dogs: furthermore, afterwards oppressing, and vexing them in their Minerals and other traull, vnto the rooting out of those pore innocent which were more in these two Isles, by supputation fix hundred thousand foules; yea I beleue that they were more then a Million, although there be not at this day in either Ile two hundred persons, and all perished without faith and without Sacraments.

Of the Ile of Cuba.

In the yeare 1511. they passed to the Ile of *Cuba* (where were great Prouinces, and great multitudes of people): they both began and concluded with them after the fashion afore spoken, yea worse and farre more cruellly. There came to passe in this Island matters worth noting: *Acaciguo*, named *Hathway*, which had conuised himselfe from the Ile *Hispaniola* to *Cuba*, with many of his people, to auoide the calamities & practises fo vnaturall of the *Spaniards*; when as certain *Indians* had told him tidings that the *Spaniards* were coming towards *Cuba*, he assembled his men, and bespake them: Now you know that the *Spaniards* are coming on this side, and yee know also by experience, how they haue entreated such, and such, and the people of *Hagiti* (meaning

Geni sine genti ratione perit.

600000 of a Million in 50 years and 1000000

Dancers made to Gold.

PPPPPP

thereby *Hispaniola*) hither they come to doe the like here. Wot yee why they doe it? they answered, no, vntill it be that they are by nature void of humanitie. He replied: They do it not only for that; but because they haue a God whom they honour, and doe demand very much, and to the end to haue from vs as well as others to honour him withall, they doe their vttermost to please vs. He had then by him a little Cheff full of Gold and Jewells, and said, Behold here the God of the *Spaniards*, let vs do him, if it to seeme you good. *Acries* (which are windles and dances) thus doing, we shall please him, and he will command the *Spaniards* that they shall doe vs no harme: They answered all with a loud voyce: Well said Sir, well said. Thus then they danced before it, vntill they were weary, then quoth the Lord *Hathney*, Take we heede how euer the world goe, if we keepe him, to the end that he be taken away from vs, in the end they will kill vs; wherefore let vs call him into the Riuier: wherunto they all agreed, and so they call it into a great Riuier there.

This Lord and *Cacique* went alwayes flying the *Spaniards*, incontinent as they were arrived at the Ile of *Cuba*, as he which knew them but too well, and defended himselfe when he met them. In the end he was taken, and onely for because that hee fled from a Native to vniuit and cruell, and that he defended himselfe from such as would kill him, and oppress him euen vnto the death, with all his folke, he was neuer heard of. Now as he was fastned to the stake, a religious man of Saint *Francisco* order, a deuous person, spake to him somewhat of God and of our Faith, which things this said Lord had neuer heard of, yet might be sufficient for the time which the butchers gaue him, that he would beleue those things which were spoken to him, hee should goe to heauen, where is glory and rest euertlasting, that if he did not beleue, hee should goe to hell, there to be tormented perpetually. The Lord after hauing a little paused to thinke of the hell, then he was tormented by the Religious man, whether that the *Spaniards* went to heauen; who answered, yea, such of them that were good. The *Cacique* answered againe immediately without any further deliberation, that he would not goe to heauen, but that he would goe to hell, to the end, not to come in the place where such people should be, and to the end not to see a Nation so cruell. Loe here the praises and honour which God and our faith haue receiued of the *Spaniards*, which haue gone to the *Indies*.

One time the *Indians* came to meete vs, and to receiue vs with victuals, and delicate cherries, and with all entertainment ten leagues of a great Cite, and being come at the place, they presented vs with a great quantity of fish, and of bread, and other meate, together with all that they ted vs to the vttermost. See incontinent the Duell, which put himselfe into the *Spaniards* could doe for vs to the vttermost. See incontinent the Duell, which put himselfe into the *Spaniards* could doe for vs to the vttermost. See incontinent the Duell, which put himselfe into the *Spaniards* could doe for vs to the vttermost.

Another time, but a few dayes after the premises. Tient messengers vnto all the Lords of the Province of *Huana*, assuring them, that they should not neede to feare (for they had heard of my credit) and that without witting the *Spaniards* would come to receiue vs, and that there should be done vnto them no displeasure: for all the Countrey was afraid, by reason of the mischiefes and murderings passed, and this bid by the aduice of the Capitaine himselfe. After that we were come into the Province, one and twenty Lords and *Caciques* came to receiue vs, whom the Capitaine apprehended incontinently, breaking the safe conduct which I had made them, and intending that the day next following to burne them aloue, saying that it was excellent so to doe, for that otherwise those Lords one day, would doe vs a shrewd turne. I found myselfe in a great deale of trouble to saue them from the fire; howbeit in the end they escaped.

After that the *Indians* of this land were thus brought into bondage and calamitie, like vnto those of the Ile of *Hispaniola*, and that they saw that they died and perished all without remedie, dy: some of them began to flye into the Mountaines, others quite desperate hanged themselves, and there hung together husbands with their wives, hanging with them their little children, and through the crueltie of one only *Spaniard*, which was a great tyrant, and one whom I knowe, And through the crueltie of one only *Spaniard*, which was a great tyrant, and one whom I knowe, there hung themselves more then two hundred *Indians*: and in this fashion died an infinite of people.

There was in this Ile an officer of the Kings, to whom they gaue for his share three hundred *Indians*, of whom at the end of three months there died by him in the trauell of the Mines, two hundred and fixty: in such sort, that there remained now but thirty, which was the tenth part. Afterwards they gaue him as many more, and more, and those also hee made hauocke of in like manner, and still as many as they gaue him, so many he slew, vntill hee died himselfe, and that the Duell carried him away.

In three or foure months (my selfe being present) there died more then sixe thousand children, by reason that they had plucked away from them their fathers and mothers, which sent them into the Mines, I beheld also other things frightfull. Shortly after they refused to climbe after those which were in the Mountaines, where they wrought also ghastly slaughters, and thus laid waste all this Ile; which we beheld not long after, and it is great pittie to see it so dispeopled and desolate as it is.

Of Terra Firma, or the firme land.

In the yeere 1514. there landed in the Maine a mischieuous Gouernour. Hee not onely wasted and dispeopled the Sea Coast, but sacked also great Realmes and Countreies, making hauocks by slaying and murdering of peoples, infinite to be numbered, and sending them to Hell. He ouerran and harried most of the places in the Land, from *Darien* vpward, vnto the Realme and Prouinces of *Nicaragua* within being, which are more then five hundred leagues of the best, and most fertile ground in the whole World, where there were a good number of great Lords, with a number of Townes, Boroughes, and Villages, and store of gold in more abundance then was to be found on the earth vntill that present.

This Gouernour with his men, found out new torts of cruelties and torments, to castue them to discouer and giue him gold. There was a Capitaine of his, which flew in one walke and course which was made by his commandement, to rob and roote out more then fortie thousand soules, putting them to the edge of the Sword, burning them, and giuing them to the Dogges, and tormenting them diuersly: which also a Religious man of the Order of Saint *Francisco*, who went with him, beheld with his eyes, and had to name *Frier Francis of Saint Romane*.

The most pernicious blindness, which hath alwayes possessed those who haue gouerned the *Indians*, in stead of the care which they should haue for the conseruation and saluation came to that pass, as to command orders to bee set downe vnto the *Indians* to receiue the faith, and render themselves vnto the obedience of the King of *Castile*, or otherwise to bid them battle with fire and Sword, and to slay them or make them slaues: he commanded (or peradventure the theues, whom he dispatched to doe the execution, did it at their heads) when they were purposed to goe a roving and robbing of any place, where they knew that there was any gold, the *Indians* being in their Townes and dwelling houses, without mistrusting any thing, the wicked *Spaniards* would goe after the gaze of Theeues, vnto within halfe a league neere some Towne, Borough, or Village, and there by themselves alone, and by night make a reading, publication, or Proclamation of the said Ordinances, saying thus, *O yee, Caciques and Indians of this firme Land of such a place: Be it knowne vnto you, that there is one God, one Pope, one King of Castile, which is Lord of all these Lands: make your appearance, all delay for, and be here at day tomorrow, &c. which if you shall not accomplish: Be it knowne vnto you, that we will make warre vpon you, and we will kill you, and make you slaues.* Hereupon at the fourth watch in the morning, the poore Innocents, sleeping yet with their wives and children: these Tyrants set vpon the place, calling fire on the houses which commonly were thatched, and so burne vpp all quicke men, women and children, more suddenly then that they could of a great many be perceived. They massacred at the instant those that seemed them good, and those whom they tooke prisoners, they caused them cruelly to die vpon the Racke, to make them to tell in what places there were any more Gold then they found with them: and others which remained aloue, they made them slaues, marking them with a hot Iron, so after the fire being out and quenched, they goe seeke the gold in their houses. This is then the

deportment in these affaires of this person, with all the bond of his vngodly *Christians*, which he trained from the fourteenth yeere, vnto the one and twentieth, or two and twentieth yeere, sending in these Exploits sixe or moe of his Seruants or Souldiers, by whom hee receiued as many treasures, ouer and besides his Capitaines Generals part, which hee leuied of all the Gold, of all the PEARLES, and of all the Jewells which they tooke of those whom they made their slaues. The selfe same did the Kings Officers, euerie one sending forth as many seruants as he could.

The Bishop also, which was the chiefe in the Realme, he sent his seruants to haue his share in the bootie: They spoiled more gold within the time, and in this Realme, as farre forth as I am able to reckon, then would amount to a Million of Ducates, yea, I beleue, that make my reckoning with the least. Yet will it be found, that of all this great theueing, they neuer sent to the King ought saue three thousand Cattilians, hauing thereabout killed and destroyed about eight hundred thousand soules. The other Tyrant Gouernours which succeeded after, vnto the yeere thirtieth and three, slue or at least wile consented, for all those which remained to slay them in that tyrannical slauerie.

Amongst an infinite sort of mischiefes, which this Gouernour did, nor consented vnto the doing during the time of his gouernment, this was one: To wit, that a *Cheke* or Lord giuing him, either of his good will, or which is rather to be thought for feare, the weight of nine thousand Ducates: the *Spaniards* not content withall, tooke the said Lord, and tied him to a stake, setting him on the earth, his feet stretched vp, against the which they let fire to cauke him to giue them some more gold. The Lord sent to his house, whence there were brought, yet moree then three hundred Cattilians. They gaue asleth to giue him new torments. And when the Lord gaue them no more, either because hee had it not, or because hee would giue them no more, they bent his feet against the fire, vntill that the verie marrow sprang out, and trilled downe the soles of his feet: so as hee there-with died. They haue oftentimes exercised these kinde of torments towards the Lords, to make them giue them gold, wherewith they haue also slaine them.

Another time, a certaine companie of *Spaniards*, ving their thefts and robberies, came to Mountaine, where were assembled and hid a number of people, hauing hunted those men to pernicious and horrible: whom incontinent starting vpon, theyooke about three or fourefcore, as well women as maids, hauing killed as many as they could kill. The morrow after, there assembled a great companie of *Indians*, to pursue the *Spaniards*, warring against them for the great desire they had to recover their wives and daughters.

The *Spaniards* perceiving the *Indians* to approach fo neere vpon them, would not forgoe their prey, but flab their Swords throw the bellies of the wives and wenches, leaving but one alone alive of all the fourefcore. The *Indians* left their hearts to burit for sorrow and griefe which they suffered, yelling out in cries and speaking such words: O wicked men, O yee the cruell *Spaniards*: doe yee kill *Las Iras*: They terme *Iras* in that Countrie the women: as if they would say, to kill women, thofe be acts of abominable men, and cruell as beasts.

There was about ten or fifteene leagues from *Isanama*, a great Lord named *Paris*, which was very rich of gold: The *Spaniards* went thither, whom this Lord receiued as if they had bene his owne brethern, and made a Present vnto the Captaine of fiftie thousand Castilians of his owne voluntarie accord. It seemed vnto the Captaine and the other *Spaniards*, that he which gaue such a great summe of his owne will, should haue a great treasure, which should be the end and ending of their trauels. They pretend in words to depart: but they returned at the fourth watch of the morning, setting vpon the Towne which mistrusted nothing set it on fire, whereby was burnt and slaine a great number of people, and by this means they brought away in the spoile fiftie or threefcore thousand Castilians more. The *Cacike* or Lord elcaped without being slaine or taken, and leaued incontinent as many of his as he could. And at the end of three or foure daies ourra- ket the *Spaniards* which had taken from him an hundred and thirtie, or thortie thousand Castilians, and set vpon them valianly, killing fiftie *Spaniards*, and recovering all the gold which they had taken from him. The others laud themselves by running away, being well charged with blowes and wounded. Not long after, diuers of the *Spaniards* returned against the said *Cacike*, and discomfited him with an infinite number of his people. Those which were not slaine, they put them to the ordinarie bondage: in such sort, as that there is not at this day, neither tracke nor token, that there hath bene liuing there either people, or so much as one man alone borne of woman within thirtie leagues of the Land, which was before notably peopled and gouerned by diuers Lords. There is no reckoning able to be made of the murders which this Caitiffe with his companie committed in these Realmes which he so dispeopled.

Of the Province of Nicaragua.

The yeere 1522. or twentie three, this Tyrant went farther into the Land: to bring vnder this yoke the most fertile Province of *Nicaragua*, and so in thither he entred in an euill hour. There is no man which is able worthily and sufficiently to speake of the fertilitie, healthfulness, proprietie, and frequency, of those Nations that there were.

He sent fiftie Horsemen, and caused to slay all the people of this Province, (which is greater then the Countie of *Raffion*) with the Sword: in such sort, as that hee leaue no man, nor woman, nor old, nor young, for the least cause in the World: as if they came not incontinent at his command: or if they did not bring him so many load of Maize, which signifieth in that Countie bread Come: nor if they did not bring him so many *Indians* to serue him and others of his company for the Countie lay leuall, as was said, and no creature could escape his horses and deuillish rage. He sent *Spaniards* to make out routes, that is to say, to go a sheeuing into other Provinces: and gaue leaue to those Routers, to carrie with them as many *Indians* of this peaceable people as they liked, and that they should ferue them, whom they put to the chaine, to the end they should not giue out the burdens of three or fourefcore pounds weight, wherewith they loaded them, whereof it came to passe oftentimes that of foure thousand *Indians*, there returned 30 not home to their houses six alive: but euen fell downe starke dead in the high way: and when any were so wearie that they could march no further for the weight of their burdens, or that some of them fell sicke, or fainted for hunger or thirst, because it should not need to stand so long as to vnlooke the chaine, and to make the speedier dispatch, hee cut off the head from the shoulders, and to the head tumbled downe one way, and the bodie another. Now consider with your selues, what the other puerle foules might thinke the whites.

He was the cause that the *Indians* sowed not their grounds one whole yeeres continuance. So as now, when they wanted bread, the *Spaniards*ooke away from the *Indians* their Maize, which they had in store for prouision, to nourish them and their children: whereby there died of famine more then twentie or thirtie thousand foules. And it came to passe, that a woman faine mad with the famine lue her Sonne to eat him.

They haue discomfited and oppressed in this Province a great number of people, and hastened their death in causing them to beare boords and timber vnto the Hauei thirtie leagues distant, to make ships with: and sent them to goe tecke Honie and Wax amidst the Mountaines, where

Cause and extremitie of famine.

the Tigres deuoured them: Yea they haue liden women with chille, and women new deliuered or lying in, with burdens enough for beasts.

The greatest plague which hath most dispeopled this Province, hath bene the licence which the Gouernour gaue to the *Spaniards*, to demand or exact of the *Cacikes* and Lords of the countie flauies. They did giue them euery foure or fise moneths, or as oftentimes as euery one could obtaine licence of the Gouernour fiftie flauies: with threatnings, that if they gaue them not, they would burne them alive, or cause them to be eaten with Dogges. Now ordinarily the *Indians* doe not keepe flauies, and it is much if one *Cacike* doe keepe two, three or foure: Wherefore to serue this turne, they went to their subiects, andooke first all the Orphelins, and afterwards they exacted of him that had two children one, and of him that had three, two: and in this manner was the *Cacike* faine to furnish still to the number that the Tyrant imposed, with the great weeping and crying of the people: for they are people that doe loue (as it seemeth) tenderly their children. And for because that this was done continually, they dispeopled from flauies at *Isanama* and *Pera*: where they all died not long after. For it is a thing proved and experient: a thousand times, that when the *Indians* are transported from their naturall Countrey, they loose end their liues: besides that these giue them not their sustentance, neither yet diminish they of their toile, as neither doe they buy them, for sought else but to toile. They haue thus this manner of doing drawne out of this Province of the *Indians*, whom they haue made flauies, being as fere borne as I am, more then fise hundred thousand foules. And by the Deuillish warres which the *Spaniards* haue made on them, and the hideous thralldome that they haue laid vpon them, they haue brought to their deaths, other fiftie or threefcore thousand persons, and doe yet daily make huocke of them at this present. All these slaughters haue bene accomplished within the space of fouretee yeeres. There may be left at this day in all this Provinces of *Nicaragua*, the number of about foure or fise thousand persons, which they also cause to die as yet euery day, through bondages and oppresious ordinarily and personall, hauing bene the Countie the most peopled in the World, as I haue already said.

Tribute flauies.

500000 *Indians*
transported.
50000. slaine.

Of New Spaine.

In the yeere 1517. was New Spaine discovered: at the Discouerie whereof were committed great disorders and slaughters of the *Indians*, by those which had the doing of that Exploire. The yeere 1518. there went *Spaniards* Christians (as they terme themselves) to rob and slay, notwithstanding that they said they went to people the Countie. Since that yeere, 1518. vnto this present yeere 1542. the vniust dealings, the violence, and the Tyrannies which the *Spaniards* haue wrought against the *Indians*, are mounted to the highest degree of extremite: those selfe-same *Spaniards*, hauing thorowly lost the feare of God, and of the King, and forgotten themselves. For the difcomfitures, cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, the destructions of Cities, pillages, 40 violences, and Tyrannies which they haue made in so many Realmes, and so great haue bene such and so horrible, that all the things which we haue spoken of, are nothing in comparison of those which haue bene done and executed from the yeere 1518. vnto the yeere 1542. and as yet at this time, this month current of September, are in doing and committing the most grieuous, and the most abominable of all: in such sort that the rule which we set downe before is verified: That is, That from the beginning they haue eternally proceeded from euill to worse, and haue bene beyond themselves in the most grieuous disorders and deuillish doing.

In such wise, as that since the first entering into New Spaine, which was on the eight day of April, in the eighteenth yeere vnto the thirtieth yeere, which make twelue yeeres complete: the slaughters and the destructions haue neuer ceased, which the bloudie and cruell bands of the *Spaniards* haue continually executed in foure hundred and fiftie leagues of Land or thereabout: 50 compass, round about *Mexico*, and the Neighbour Regions round about, such as the which might containe foure or fise great Realmes, as great and a great deale farrer fertiler then is Spaine. All this Countie was more peopled with Inhabitants, then *Tolado*, and *Stanh*, and *Valledad*, and *Sanagoe*, with *Barcelona*. For that there hath not bene commonly in thiose Cities, nor neuer were such a world of people, when they haue bene peopled with the most, as there was then in the said Countie, which containeth in the whole compass more then 1800. leagues: during the time of the aboue mentioned twelue yeeres, the *Spaniards* haue slaine and done to death in the said 400. leagues of Land what men, what women, what young and little children, more then foure Millions of foules, with the dint of the Sword and Spere, and by fire, during (I say) the 60 Conquest (as they call them.) Neither yet doe I here comprize those, whom they haue slaine, and doe lay as yet euery day, in the aforesaid slaues and oppression ordinarie.

Amongst other Murders and Maltresses, they committed this one which I am now to speake of, in a great City more then of a thirtie thousand households, which is called *Choluta*: that is, that coming before them the Lords of the Countie and places neere adioyning, and first and

In the forme
discourse of
Hernu, you
may find the
names of all
these fiftie *Spaniards*,
or as this
rule is recti-
fied, supplae-
ment, which
rather depu-
luate then a
people whole
Provinces. I could
haue added
their names,
but was loth
to doe more
then the
Author
had done
then, while
in my of
them in ca:
yes his
puffe name
and bitter
incur-
ous haue
been, only
minding
the
Storye, the
also multi-
plying
many
things.
Foure Mil-
lions slaine.
Of New Spaine
in particu-
lar.

space, from the yeere 24. vnto the yeere 40. and yet at this houre they slay and destroye those that remaine.

This Tyrant had a custome, when as he went to make warre vpon any Citie or Prouince: to carrie thither of the *Indians* already vnder-yoked, as many as hee could, to make warre vpon the other *Indians*: and as he gaue vnto a ten or twentie thousand men which hee led along no sustenance, he allowed them to eate the *Indians* they tooke: And so by this meane hee had in his Campe an ordinarie shambles of many flesh, where in his presence they killed and roasted children. They killed men onely to haue off from them their hands and their feete, which parts they held to be the daintiest morsels.

He was the death of an infinite fort of the *Indians* in making of ships, the which hee transported at this rate great store of Artilerie, which hee loaded vpon the shoulders of these poore folke going naked: whereby I haue leue very many fall downe in the high way, by reason of their great burdens. He vndid whole households, by taking from the men their wives and daughters: the which afterwards hee dispersed in gittes to his Mariners and Souldiers to please them withall, who led them along with them in their Nauires. Hee stuffed all the ships with *Indians*, where they died for thirst and hunger. He made two Nauires, either of a great number of ships, with the which hee consumed as with fire and lightning flashing from Heauen all those people.

Of new Spaine, and Panuco, and Xalisco.

After the exceeding cruelties and slaughters aforesaid, and the others which I haue omitted, which haue bene executed in the Prouinces of New Spaine and Panuco: there came to Panuco another Tyrant, cruell and vnbredid, in the yeere 125. Who in committing very many cruelties, and in branding many for slaues, after the manner aforesaid, which were all free, and in sending very many ships laden to Cuba, and Hispaniola, where they might best make merchandise of them, hee achieved the deklolation of this Prouince.

And it hath come to passe in his time, that there hath bene giuen for one Mare, eight hundred *Indians* oules partakers of reason. And this man from this roome was promoted to be President of Mexico, and of all the Prouince of New Spaine, and there were promoted with him other Tyrants, to the offices of Auditorships: in the which dignities they let forward also this Countre into so extreme a deklolation, that if God had not kept them by meanes of the resistance of the religious men of Saint Francis Order, and if that there had not bene prouided with all speed a Court of Audience, and the Kings Counsell in those parts friend to all veritie, they had layd waste all New Spaine, as they haue done the Ile of Hispaniola. There was a man, amongst those of the companie of this Captaine, who to the end to enclose a Garden of his, with a wall: kept in his workes eight thousand *Indians*, without paying them ought, nor giuing them to eate, in manner that they died, filling downe suddenly, and hee neuer tooke the more thought for the matter.

After that the chiefe Captaine which I spake of, had finished the laying waste of Panuco, and that hee vnderstood the newes of the coming of the Kings Court of Audience: hee aduised with himselfe to proceed farther into the innermost parts of the Realme, to search where he might tyrannize at his ease, and drew by force out of the Prouince of Mexico, fifteene or twentie thousand men, to the end, that they should carrie the loades and carriages of the *Spaniards*, which went with him, of whom there neuer returned againe two hundred, the others being dead on the high-ways.

He came at the Prouince of *Mechuacham*, which is distant from Mexico fortie leagues, a Region as blissefull and full of Inhabitants, as is that of Mexico. The King and Lord of the Countre went to receive him with an infinite companie of people, which did vnto them a thousand seruises and courtesies. He apprehended him by and by, for that hee had the beate to be very rich of Gold and silver: and to the end, that he should giue him great treasures, hee beganne to gise him the torments, and put him in a paire of stocks by the feete, his body stretched out, and his hands bound to a stake, hee maketh a flasing fire against his feete, and there a boy with a basting sprinkler looked in Oyle in his hand, stood and basted them a little and a little, to the end to well royst the skinne. There was in one side of him a cruell man, the which with a Crof-bow bent, ayimed right at his heart, on the other side another which held a Dog snarling, and leaping vnto to runne vpon him, which in fliet then the time of a Credo, had bene able to haue torne him in pieces: and thus they tormented him, to the end hee should discouer the treasures which they desired, vntill such time as a religious man of Saint Francis Order tooke him away from them, notwithstanding that hee died of the same torments. They tormented and slue of this fashion very many of the Lords and *Caciques* in these Prouinces: to the end that they should giue them Gold and Silver.

At the same time a certaine tyrant found, that certaine *Indians* had hid their Idols, as those which had neuer bene better instructed by the *Spaniards* of any better God, hee apprehended and detayned prisoners the Lords, vntill such time as that they would giue them their Idols.

supposing all this while they had bene of Gold or of Silver: howbeit they were not so, wherefore hee chastised them cruellly and vniuilly. But to the end he would not remayne fruitless of his intent, which was to poylle, hee constrained the *Caciques* to redeeme their said Idols: and they redeemed them for such Gold and Silver as they could finde, to the end, to worship them for Gods, as they had bene wont to doe aforesome.

This great Captaine passed farther from *Mechuacham* to the Prouince of *Xalisco*, the which was all whole most full of people, and most happie. For it is one of the most fertilest and most admirable Countre of the Indies, which had Burrowes conuayning in a manner seuen leagues. As hee entered this Countre, the Lord with the Inhabitants, according as all the *Indians* are accustomed to doe, went to receiue him with presentes and ioyfullnesse. Hee began to commit his cruelties and mischieuoulnesse, which hee had learned, and all the rest had bene accustomed to practises, which is to heape vp Gold, which is their God. Hee burned Townes, hee tooke the *Caciques*, which is to heape them torments. Hee made slaues all that hee tooke. Whereof there died an infinite number tyed in chaines. The women new deliuered of child-birth, going laden with the stuffe of mil. *Christians*, and being not able to beate their owne children because of trauell and hunger, were faine to cast them from them in the wayes, whereof there died an infinite.

An euill *Christian* taking by force a young Damselfe to abuse her, the mother withstood him: and as hee would haue taken her away, the *Spaniard* drawing his Dagger or Rapier, cut off her hand, and slue the young girle with slashes of his weapons: because hee would not consent to his appetite.

Amongst many other things, hee caused vniuilly to be marked for slaues, foure thousand and five hundred slaues as free as they, men, women, and sucking babes, from of a yeere and a halfe old, vnto three or foure yeeres old: which notwithstanding had gone before them in peace, to redeeme them with an infinite number of other things that haue not bene set downe in writing.

His Stewards slue very many of the *Indians*, hanging them and burning them alive, and casting some vnto the Dogs, cutting off their feet, hands, head and tongue, they being in peace, onely to bring them into a leare, to the end they should terue him.

It is said of him, that hee hath destroyed and burned in this Realme of *Xalisco*, eight hundred Burrowes, which was the cause that the *Indians* being fallen desperate, and seeing those which remained, how they perished thus cruellly: they liu'd themselves, and went into the Mountaynes, slaying certaine *Spaniards*: howbeit by good sight. And afterwards because of the wickednesse and outrages of other tyrants now being, which passed by that way to destroy other Prouinces (that which they call *descouering*) many of the *Indians* assembled, fortifying themselves vpon certaine Rockes. Vpon the which Rockes the *Spaniards* haue made, and yet at this present, and afeild doe make so many cruelties, that they almost made an end of laying desolate all this great Countre, slaying an infinite number of people.

Of the Realme of Yucatan.

There are one thousand five hundred twenty and six, was deputed out the Realme of *Tucatan* another cattiffe Gouverneur, and that through the lies and false reports which himselfe had made vnto the King: in like manner as the other tyrants vntill this present, to the end there might be committed vnto them offices and charges, by meanes whereof they might rob at their pleasures. This Realme of *Tucatan* was full of inhabitants: for that it was a Countre in euery respect wholesome, and abounding in plentie of victuals, and of fruites more then Mexico, and singularly exceeded for the abundance of Honie and Waxe there to be found, more then in any quarter of the Indies, which hath bene seene vnto this present. It containeth about three hundred leagues compass. The people of that Countre were the most notable of all the *Indians*, as well in consideration of their policie and prudence, as for the vprightnesse of their life, verily worthy the training of the knowledge of God: as hee haue as in an earthly Paradise, if so be they had not made themselves vnworthy, because of other mee blessings a great many, which God had set open in this Indies. This tyrant began with three hundred men to make warre vpon these poore innocent people, which were in their houses without hurting any body: where hee slew and rauished infinite numbers. And for because the Countre yielded no Gold, for if it had yielded any, hee would haue consumed those same *Indians*, in making them to loyle in the Mines: to the end he might make Gold of the bodies and soules of those for whom Iesus Christ suffered death, hee generally made slaues of all those whom hee slew, and returned the Ships that were come thither, vpon the blowing abroad and noyle of the filling of slaues, full of people bartered for Wine, Oyle, Vinegar, powdered Bacon flesh, Garments, Hories, and that euery man had need of, according to the Captains estimate and iudgement. He would that hee choose amongst an hundred or fiftie young Damofels, bartering some one of the fairest, and of the

Shambles of
many flesh.

800. *Indians*
giuen for a
Mare.

Xalisco.

800. Townes
destroyed.

the best complexion, for a Caske of Wine, Oyle, Vineger, or for Porke powdered. And in like manner he would let choosout a young handsome Stripling amongst two or three hundred for the forsaide Merchandize. And it hath bene seene, that a youth seeming to bee the Sonne of some Prince, hath bene battered for a Cheefe, and an hundred persons for an Horse. Hee continued in these doings from the yeere twentie fixe, vntill the yeere thirtie three.

As these *Spaniards* went with their said Dogges foraging by the tracke, and hunting out the *Indian* men and women: An *Indian* woman being sicke, and seeing she could not escape these Dogges, that they should not reare as shey did other sides: tooke a cord and hanged herselfe at a beame, hauing fastened at her foot a child the head of a yeere old, and she had no sooner done: beheld these Cures, which come and dispatch this infant, howbeit that before it died, a Religious man a Priest baptized it.

When the *Spaniards* parted out of this Realme, one amongst others said, to a Sonne of a Lord of some Cite or Province, that he should goe with him: the *Boy* answered, and said, he would not forsake his Countrey. The *Spaniard* replied: *Go with me, or else I will cut off thine eares.* The young *Indian* perfited in his first saying, that he would not forsake his Countrey. The *Spaniard* drew out his Daggers, cut off first one, and then his other eare. The young man abiding by it still: he would not leave his Countrey: he mangled off also his Nose, with the vppermost of his hand: making no more scrupulosity of the matter, then if he had giuen him but a philip. This damnable wretch magnified himselfe, and vaunted him of his doings. villanously vnto a reuerend Religious person, saying: that hee tooke as much paines as hee could, to beget the *Indian* women in great numbers with child: to the end, he might recouer the more money for them in selling them great with child for slauers.

In this Realme, or in one of the Provinces of New *Spain*, a certaine *Spaniard* went one day with his Dogges on hunting of Venison, or else Conies, and not finding game, he minded his Dogges that they should bee hungry, and tooke a little sweete Babie which hee bearead the mother of, and cutting off from him the armes and the legges, chopped them in small gobbets, giuing to euery Dogge his Luerie or part thereof, by and by after these morells thus dispatched, he cast also the rest of the bodie or the carcase to all the kennel together.

Being now departed the Realme all the Demilli Tyrants, blinded with the courtousnesse of the riches of *Peru*, that reuerend Father, *Frier James*, with foure other Religious of *Saint Francis*, was moued in spirit to goe into this Realme to pacifie them, and for to preach to them, and to winne vnto Iesus Christ those which might bee remaining of the Butcheres and Tyrannous Murders, which the *Spaniards* had bene perpetrating fouen continuall yeeres. And theles that theie came were those Religious persons, the which in the yeere thirtie foue, certaine *Indians* of the Province of *Mexico*, sending before them Messengers in their behalfe, requested them that they would come into their Countrey, to giue them knowledge of that one only God, who is God, and very Lord of all the world according in the end to admit them with condition, that they should enter themselves alone, and not the *Spaniards* with them, that which the Religious promised them. For it was permitted them, yea commanded them so to doe, by the Viceroy of New *Spain*, and that there should bee no kind of discomfiture bee done vnto them by the *Spaniards*. The Religious men preached vnto them the Gospell of Christ, as they are accustomed to doe, and as had bene the holy intention of the Kings of *Castile*, that should haue bene done. Howbeit, that the *Spaniards* in all the seven yeeres space past, had neuer giuen them any such notice of the truth of the Gospell, or so much as that there was any other King, sauing himselfe, that so tyrannized ouer them, and destroyed them. By these meanes of the Religious, after the end of fortie dayes that they had preached vnto them, the Lords of the Countrey brought vnto them, and put into their hands their Idols, to the end that they should burne them. After this they brought vnto them their young children, that they should catechise them, whom they lost as the Apple of their eye. They made for them also Churches, and Temples, and houses. Moreover, some other Provinces sent, and instated them, to the end that they might come to them, also, to preach, and giue them the vnderstanding of God, and of him whom they said to bee the great King of *Castile*. And being perswaded and induced by the Religious, and did a thing which neuer yet before had bene done in the *Indies*. Twelve or thirtene *Lords*, which had very many subiects and great domination, assembling euery one for his owne part his people, and taking their aduise and content, of their owne voluntarie motion, yielded themselves to the subiection, and to be vnder the domination of the Kings of *Castile*: admitting the Emperour as King of *Spain*, for their Liege Soueraine. Whereof also they made certaine Instruments, by them conigned, which I keepe in my charge, together with the Testimonies thereunto of the said Religious.

The *Indians* being thus onward in the way of the faith, with the great ioy, and good hope of the Religious Brethren, that they should be able to winne vnto Iesus Christ all the people of the Realme that were the refuse, being but a small number of the slaughterers, and wicked vnderpeised: There entered at a certaine Coast, eighteen *Spaniards* Tyrants on horsebacke, and twelue on foot, druing with them great loads of Idols, which they had taken in the other Provinces

of the *Indians*. The Captaine of those thirtie *Spaniards* called vnto him a Lord of the Countrey therabouts as they were entered, and commandeth him to rake those Idols, and to disperte them throughout all his Countrey, telling euery Lord for an *Indian* man, or an *Indian* woman, to make slauers of them, with threatening them, that if he did not doe it, he would bid them battaile. That said Lord being forced by feare, distributed those Idols throughout all the Countrey, and commanded all his subiects, that they should take them to adore them, and that they should retorne in exchange of that were *Indies* and *Indians* tomake slauers of. The *Indians* being affraid, those which had two children, gaue him one, and hee that had three gaue him two. This was the end of this Sacrilegious Trafficke: and thus was this Lord or *Cacique*, faine to content the

10 *Spaniards*: I by not *Christians*. One of these abominable Chafferers, named *John Garcia*, being sicke, and neere his death, had vnder his bed to packs of Idols, and commanded his *Indian* Maid that serued him, to looke to it that she made not away his Idols, that there were for *Murderers*, for they were good sufficient that making vent of them, they should not take lesse then a *llave* a piece for one of them with another: and in fine, with this his Testament and last Will thus deuised, the Catife died.

The *Indians* perceiving that, that which the Religious had promised them was as good as nothing: namely, that the *Spaniards* should not enter those Provinces: and seeing the *Spaniards* which had laded thither Idols from other places, there to make vent of them, they hauing put all their Idols afore into the hands of the *Friers*, to the end they should bee burned, and to the end the true God should be by them adored, all the Countrey was in a mutinie, and a rage against the Religious *Friers*, and the *Indians* coming vnto them, say: *Why haue you led vs vs, in promising vs by deccits that there should not enter any Spaniards into these Countreies? And why haue you burnt our Gods, seeing the Spaniards doe bring vs other Gods from other Nations? Were not our Gods as good, as the Gods of other Countreies?* The *Friers* pacified them in the best manner that they could, not knowing what to answer them, and went to seeke out those thirtie *Spaniards*, to whom they declared the euill which they had done, praying them to get them thence: which the *Spaniards* would not doe, but said to the *Indians*, that those Religious men had caused them to come thither themselves of their owne accord, which was rightly an extreme malicioussnesse. In the end the *Indians* deliberated to kill the Religious men: By occasion whereof, the *Friers* fled away 30 in a night, hauing aduertisement of the case by some of the *Indians*.

Of the Province of Saint *Martha*.

The Province of Saint *Martha*, was a Countrey where the *Spaniards* gathered Gold in all plenty: the Land being with the Regions adiacent very rich, and the people indolent to draw out the Gold. Wherefore also infinite Tyrants haue made thither continually with their ships, ouer-running, and ranging along the Countrey, killing and spoiling those the Inhabitants, and ransoming from them that gold that they had, with speede retorne euer to their ships, which went and came oftentimes. And so wrought they in those Provinces great walls and slaughterers, and cruelties horrible, and that most commonly on the Sea-coast, and certaine leagues within the Countrey. At what time there went *Spaniards* Tyrants to inhabit there. And for as much as the Countrey was exceeding rich as hath bene said, there euer succeeded Captaines one in another, every one more cruell then other: in such sort that it seemed that euery one enforced himselfe, for the maiestie in doing of euils. The yeere 1539. there went a *Captaine* Tyrant, very resolute, with great troups: but without any feare of God, or compassion of the nature of man, who wrought such wailes and slaughters to great, that he exceeded all others that had gone before him, himselfe robbing for the space of fixe or seven yeeres that he liued, great Treasures: after being decessed without confession, and fled from the place of his residence: there succeeded him other murdering Tyrants and Theues, which made an end of the rest of the people: that from the yeere 1539. vnto this day, they haue reduced into a Wildernesse in thote fame 30 quarters more then 400. leagues of Land, which was no lesse peopled then the other Countreies which we haue spoken of.

Verily it had bene to make a bed-roll of the Vngraciousnesse, of the Slaughters, of the Desolations, of the Iniquities of the Violence, of the Murtheres, and other great Infolencies which the *Spaniards* haue done, and committed in those Provinces of Saint *Martha*, against God, the King, and against those innocent Nations: I should write an Historie very ample. But that may be done if God spare me liue, hereafter in his good time: onely I will let downe a few words of that which was written in a Letter by a Bishop of this Province, to the King our Soueraine: and the Letter beareth date the twentieth of May, 1541. The which Bishop amongst other words speaketh thus: *I say, sacred Maestie, that the way to redresse this Countrey, is that his Maestie deliuer bene vnto her an bull, and which may increase her as a reason, and according as shee desireth: otherwise, I am sure hereafter as the Tyrants which now haue the government, do torment and murther her, she will soone take an end, &c. And a little below he saith: Whereby, your Maestie shall know cleerly, how these which gouerne in these quarters doe de-*

Bishop of S.
Martha's Letter to Charles the 5th.

serve to be dismounted, and depofed from their government, to the end, that the Common-weales may be relieved. That if he be not done, in more aduife, they can neuer be cured of their difeafes. His Ma-
 iestie shall vnderftand moreover, that in thefe Regions, there are not any Chriftians but Devils, that
 thefe are no Seruants of God and the King, but Traitors to the ftate, and their King. And in truth
 there are no Seruants of God and the King, but Traitors to the ftate, and their King. And in truth
 the greateft incommode that I find in reducing the Indians, that are in warre, and to fet them at peace,
 is to lead thofe which are at peace to the knowledge of our faith, is vnnatural and cruell entreatie,
 and to lead thofe which are in peace to the knowledge of our faith, is vnnatural and cruell entreatie,
 which they that are in peace receive of the Spaniards, being fo deeply altered, and leuenced, that they haue
 nothing so more hatred and horror, then the name of Chriftians, the which in all thefe Countries they
 call in their Language, Yares, that is to fay, Devils. For the afts which they committed here, are
 call in their Language, Yares, that is to fay, Devils. For the afts which they committed here, are
 of Chriftians, nor of men which haue the ufe of reafon: but of Devils, whereof I committe to
 the Lord the Indies which doe fo thefe behauiours to be generally fo farre efranged from all humanitie,
 paffe, that the Indies which doe fo thefe behauiours to be generally fo farre efranged from all humanitie,
 and without any merite, affixed in the heads as in the members: they efteeme, that the Chriftians do hold
 thefe things for a Law, and that their God, and their King are the Authors thereof. And to endeuour
 to perfwade them otherwise, were to endeuour in vaine, and to misleade vnto them the more, vnleffe
 to perfwade them otherwise, were to endeuour in vaine, and to misleade vnto them the more, vnleffe
 to deride and fcorne Iefus Chrift and his Law. (I be Indians that are in warre, fending the intricate cy-
 cle, towards the Indians that are in peace: would chofe rather to die once for all, then to endure
 dre deaths, being vnder the command of the Spaniards, I know this by experience, moft villonious
 Celar, &c.

He calleth the Indians in warre, thofe which faued themselves by flying into the Mountaines
 from the slaughters of the malicious Spaniards. And hee calleth the Indians in peace, thofe
 which after hauing loft an infinite of their people, by the Maffacres, haue bene thral-
 led into the Tyrannicall and horrible feruitude aforefaid, and whereof in the end they
 haue bene fined out, defolated, and flaine, as appeareth by that which hath bene faid
 by the Bifhoppe, which notwithstanding fpeaketh but little, in comparifon of that which
 they haue fuffered.

The Indians in that Countrie haue accuftomed to fay, if when they are trauelled and driuen
 vp the Mountaines Ioden, they happen to fall downe, and to faint for feeblenefle, and for
 paine: for at that time they lay on vpon them blowes with their feet and with their ftaves, and
 they breake their teeth with the pummels of their Swords, to make them rife, and march on
 without taking of breath, with thefe words, *Out vpon thee, what a Villaine art thou!* they
 (I fay) the Indians, for their parts are wont to fay, *I can no more: kill me here right. I doe defire
 to be here: and this they fay with great fighes, and being fcarce able to fpeake,* for hauing their
 heart drawne together, declaring a great anguish and dolor.

Of the Province of Carthagene.

This Province of Carthagene, is fituate vnder, and a fiftie leagues diftant from the fimes
 of Saint Martha, towards the Weft, confining with the Province of Cen, vnto the Gulph
 of Araba: which are a hundred leagues all along the Sea-fide, and is a great Countie with
 in Land towards the South. Thre Provinces fince the yeere 1498. or ninetie nine, vt
 till now haue bene euill entreated, martyred, maffacred, defolated like vnto that of
 Saint Martha.

Of the Coast of Pearles, and of Paria, and of the Ile of the Trinitie.

From the Coast of Paria, vnto the Gulfe of Venezuela, without forth, which are two hun-
 dred leagues: the Spaniards haue wrought great and ftrange deftructions, rioting vpon that
 people, and taking aloue as many as they could, to the end they might fell them for flaves: and
 oftentimes making their prifoners againft the affurance and the promife of friendship made vnto
 them. It cannot be well told, nor particularly expreffed, the fundie kindes and greivous
 vexations, wrongs, hurts, and fpoiles, which thofe people, indured at the Spaniards hands,
 from the yeere 1510. vntill this prefent, I will onely rehearfe two or three afts, by the which
 it may be iudged of the reft, innumerable and excefliue, and worthy all torments and fire.

In the Ile of the Trinitie, which is farre greater and more fertile then the Ile of Sicilie, and
 ioyneth with the firft Land of the Coast of Paria, and where the people are the beft difpofed,
 and moft inclined to vertue in their kind, of all the Indians, as they went, there a Captaine Ro-
 que in the yeere 1510. accompanied with fixtie or feuentie other petite Theues well appointed:
 they published among the Indians by Proclamations, and other publike Summons, that they
 fhould come and dwell and live with them in that Ile. The Indians received them as their owne
 bowels and babes: and as well the Lords as Subiects ferued them with exceeding readines,
 bringing them to eate from day to day, as much as might fuffice to feed, as many mee people.
 For this is the liberallitie of all thefe Indians of the new World, to beftow on the Spaniards
 all that they haue in great abundance.

The Spaniards build a great houfe of Timber in the which the Indians should dwell altogether:

for the Spaniards would haue it fo, that there fhould bee one only houfe for all, and no more, to
 compaffe that, which they had alreadie premeditated to doe, and did it. When they laid the
 Thatch vpon the binding ftaves or ftarres, and had alreadie covered to the height of two mens
 length, to the end that thofe that were within might not fee thofe that were without, vnder
 colour to haften forward the worke, that it might bee the fooner difpatched, they fet a great
 number of people within, the Spaniards deciding themfelves, the one part of them being be-
 towled without, compaffing the houfe round about with their weapons, becaufe of thofe that
 might get forth, the other part of them preffe into the houfe: Thus laying hands on their
 Swords, they beganne to threaten the Indians naked as they were, to kill them if they did
 10 flirre, and then bound them. And thofe which fled they hewed them in pieces: Howbeit fome
 of the Indians which fled, both of the hurt and not hurt, with others that had not come within the
 houfe, tooke their Bowes and Arrows and afsembled themfelves in another houfe, about an
 hundred or two hundred perfons: And as they kept the gate, the Spaniards fet fire on the houfe,
 and burned them aloue. After with their purchase, which might bee of an hundred or fourelicke
 perfons of them which they had bound: they got them to the Ile of Saint Iohn, where they
 fold the one moitie, and thence to the Ile of Hispaniola: where they fold the other moitie. As
 I reprehended the Captaine for this notable Treafon, at the fame time, and at the fmelles of
 Saint Iohn, he made anfwere: Sir, quiet your felfe for that matter. So haue they com-
 manded me to doe, and I giuen me inftrution which lent me: that if I could not take them by warre,
 20 I fhould take them vnder countenance and colour of peace. And in truth the Captaine told mee
 that in all his life, he neuer had found Father nor Mother, but in this Ile of Trinitie, in refpect
 of the friendly courtesies the Indians had fhewed him.

At another time, the Religious Friars of Saint Dominickes Order, being determined to goe
 preach, they received them as Angels come from Heauen: and heard with great affection, at-
 tention, and willingneffe fuch words as the Religious at that time were able to giue them to vn-
 derftand, mote by fignes then otherwife, for they knew not the tongue. It came to paffe that
 there arriued there another fhip, after that the fhip in which the Religious men came was de-
 parted thence, and the Spaniards in this Veffell, keeping their Deuillifh cuftome, by furtiue without
 the knowledge of the Religious, carried away the Lord of the Countrie called Affonso: were it
 30 that Friars had giuen him this name, or elle others. For the Indians loue and defire to heare the
 name of the Chriftians, defiring incontinently that it may be giuen them euen before they know
 any thing, that they may be baptized. They induced fraudulently this Don Affonso to come a-
 board their fhip with the Ladies his wife, and other perfons, making femblance to goe about
 to feale them. In the end there entred feuenteen perfons, together with the Lord and his Ladie:
 the Lord trufting that the Religious perfons being entred into his Countrie, would keepe the
 Spaniards from doing any wrong: for otherwife hee would neuer haue put himfelfe in the hands
 of the Spaniards. The Indians therefore thus being in the fhip, the traitorous Spaniards hoiled failles,
 and away they went to Hispaniola with them, there felling them for flaves. All the Countrie
 feeling that their Lord and Ladie were carried away, they ranne to the Religious men, pur-
 40 pofing to kill them. The poore men appealed the Indians in the beft manner they could, faying
 that they would write to them at Hispaniola by the fift fhip that went, and would take fuch care
 and order in the matter, that their Soueraigne fhould be reftored them againe with thofe that
 were in his company. God fent immediately a fhip thither, and they wrote to the Spaniards Reli-
 gious men that were in the Ile of Hispaniola. They cry out, and call Heauen and Earth witneffe
 againft them, both firft, and fundry times after: But the Iudges of the audience, would neuer
 giue them audience to doe them iuflice, for becaufe themfelves had part in the bovie of the In-
 dians, which the Tyrants had fo againft all right and reafon taken. The two Religious men, which
 had promifed the Indians of the Countrie, that their Lord Don Affonso, with others fhould
 come home with the reft within four months, feeling that they came not neither in foure
 50 nor eight made themfelves readie to the death, and to giue their life, which they had gaged
 before they came out of Spaine, if neede fhould bee, and in that fort the Indians tooke
 vengeance on them in killing them iufly, notwithstanding that they were innocent:
 for becaufe that they thought, that the Religious men had bene the occafion of this
 Treafon.

Another time, by reafon of the great Tyrannies and execrable afts of the curfed ones,
 bearing the name of Chriftians, the Indians flue other two Religious men of Saint Dominickes
 Order, and one of Saint Francis. Whereof I can be a good witneffe for that I elaped at the time
 miraculoufly from the fame death, of the which it fhould be a hard matter to intreat, and would
 be to amaze men, by reafon of the greivoufneffe and horriblenefle of the cafe. Wherefore I will
 60 not lay it abroad (to be too tedious) vntill his time, and at the day of iudgement it fhall be
 more euident, when God fhall take vengeance of the Theeues fo horrible and to abominable as
 are done by the which beare the name of Chriftians againft the Indians.

Another time in thofe Prouinces at the Cape of the Caldera, (as they call it) there was a
 Towne, the Lord whereof was named Higuerote a name either proper to the perfon, or it may
 be

be common to the Lords of the place. This Lord was so bounteous, and his people so virtuous and serviceable, that as many *Spaniards* as came thither by ship, they found there good entertainment, meate, lodging, all cheering, and refreshing. This said Lord had also delivred many from death of those which were dead thither out of other Provinces, where they had rioted and tyrannized; and come thither sick, and halfe dead for hunger, whom they refreshed, and afterward sent them away safe, to the *Ile of Paria*, where there were *Spaniards*, and might have slaine them if he had would, without that ever any should have knowne it. And shortly to say the *Spaniards* did call the Subjects of *Higuerota*, the Houfe and Harbour of every body. A *Cacife Tyrant* aduised himselfe to our-gate that people also, when as they thought themselves free enough: and getting him to a ship, he had there invited a great number of people to come aboard her as they were accustomed to doe, and to trust the *Spaniards*. A great number of people being entered into her, men, women, and children, hee boyled failes, and went to the *Ile of Saint John*, where hee told them all for slaves. I came at the same instant to the *Ile of Saint John*, and I saw the Tyrant, and vnderstood what he had done. He had destroyed all that Township: whereby hee did great harme to all other his fellow Tyrants; wonted to rob, and roue all along those Coasts, inasmuch as they had in abomination this act so hideous, being benefite there, by of their Harbour, and house of retire, as ordinary and familiar vnto them as it had bene their owne home and house.

They haue singled out at times from all this Coast, the which was very well peopled, vnto the *Iles of Saint John* and *Hispaniola*, about two Millions of Soules, leifed vpon by their purchases in thecheuing and robbing: which also euery one of them they haue slaine not long after, by thrusting them into the Minerals and other tormoles, besides the great numbers there were there already before time, as we haue aboue said.

It is a tried case, that they neuer conserue away their shippings of *Indians* so robbed and purchased, as I haue said, but that they saile the third part into the Sea, besides those which they fly, when they will force them to themselves for their chaffer. The cause is, that when as they will by all means attaine to the end which they haue propoised to themselves: they haue need of a great number of people, for to draw a great deale of money, according to the quantitie of the slaves: and they prepare but a very small deale of sustenance and water, to serue but a few persons: to the end that those Tyrants whom they call *Paragoyers* of the ships should not spend them much. And there is but euen (scarce enough, faue to serue the *Spaniards* turne which goes a rousing and robbing: and there is alwaies wanting for the poore *Indians*. Wherefore also they die for hunger and thirst: and then there is none other remedie but to saile them out the board into the Sea. And verily a man among them did tell me, that from the *Ile of Lucayo*, where had bene wrought great slaughters in this manner, vnto the *Ile of Hispaniola*, which are fixtie or seuentie leagues there trended a ship all along, without that it had either *Compasse* or *Mariners Card*: being guided onely by the tracke of dead *Indians* carcases floating vpon the Seas, of whom which had bin cast in. And after they be landed in the *Ile*, whither they bring them to make sale of them it is to make a heate to yearne of whosoever, haue he neuer so lit le compassion to behold them naked and famished, fall downe and faint for hunger and thirst, women, and aged men, and children.

Afterwards they loone after separate them, as it were Lambes, the fashens from the children, and the wiewes from the husbands, in making troopes of them of ten or twentie persons, and so call lots on them, to the end, those *Paragoyers* should take their share, which are those who doe rigge and turnish two or three ships for the Naues of those Tyrants, leaving vpon all they come by, and pulling the poore men from their owne houses. And looke when the lot falleth vpon the flocke where there were among them any old or sicke person, the Tyrant to whom the same was allotted would say: *The Devil take the old Graybeard, why dost thou grieve him mee, to let end I should see him here him? And thus, sicke, Rascall, what haue I to doe that hee should fall out my way let: to the end, I should be his Physician to cure him?*

The tyrannie which the *Spaniards* exercise ouer the *Indians*, to fish for Pearles, is one of the cruellest things that is in the World. There is no hell in this life, nor other desperate state in this World, that may be compared vnto it: although that the Trade of Gold finding, be in his kind, very greivous, and very miserable. They let them into the Sea, three, foure, or five fathom forth downe right vnder water, from the morning vntill Sun-set, where they are continually sitting without fire, to plucke Oysters, in the which are engendered the Pearles. They first vpon above the waters, with a Net full of Oysters to take breath: where (standeth ready a *Spaniard* Tormentor, in a little Cocke Boate, or a Brigantine, and if the poore wretches fall neere (to let while to rett themselves: they all to be buffet them with their fists, and draw them by the haire into the water to retorne to their fishing. Their sustenance is fish, and the same very fish which containeth the Pearles, and the bread *Cacah*, or some Maiz, which are the kinds of bread of that Countie: the one of very denier nourishment, the other is not easie to be made into bread, of the which also, they neuer geue them their belly full. The beds that they lyege them in a night, is to fet them by the heeles, their bodies reccoyling on the cold ground, in a paire of

Two Millions of Soules in this Coast.

Manner of voyage at Sea.

Manner of landing and fishing.

Manner of Pearle-fishing.

stockes for feare of running away. Sometimes they are drowned in the Sea, and at their fishing and trauell picking of Pearles, and neuer rife vp againe about the water: because the * *Buncies* * *Sharks*: and whetpooles doe kill them and eate them.

It is impossible, that men should be able to liue any long season vnder the water without taking breath, the continual cold piercing them, and to they die commonly, partraking of blood at the mouth, and of the bloody fluxe, caused by the cold. Their haire, which by nature are cole blacke, alter and become after a branded ruffet, like to the haire of the Sea-wolves. The Salt water breaketh out of their shoulders, in such sort, that they seeme to bee a kinde of monsters in the shape of men, or else some other kinde of men. They dispatched in riding about this insupportable trauell, or rather to speake rightly, this deuillish torment, all the *Lucayan Indians* which were in the *Iles*, haue laoured these gaires, and every *Indian* was worth vnto them a fiftie, or an hundred Castillans. They made an open Mart of them, notwithstanding it were inhibited them, by the Magistrate otherwise vniuersall: for the *Lucayans* were good swimmers. They also, about these things haue slaine a number of the people of other Provinces.

Of the River Yuia pari.

Here runneth through the Prouince of *Paria*, a River named *Yuia Pari*, more then two hundred leagues within land from the head. There entered the same River, an vnclucky tyrant, a great many leagues vponward, in the yeere 1539, with foure hundred men, or more: which there wrought great slaughters, burning alive, and putting to the edge of the sword, an infinite sort of *Indians*, which were in their lands and houses, doing hurt to no creature, and therefore secure, and mistrusting nothing.

In the end hee died an euill death, and his Nauie was dispraged: albeit that other tyrants there were which succeeded him in his misenououesnes and tyrannies: and yet as this day thine they goe, destroying, and slaying, and plunging into Hell the soules for whom the Sonne of God shed his blood.

Of the Realme of Venezuela.

The yeere 1526. the King our Soueraigne, being inuiced by finister informations and persuasions damagable to the State, as the *Spaniards* haue alwaies pained themselves to conueale from his Maistie the damages and dishonours which G. I. and the Soules of men, and his State doeth recouie in the *Indes*: granted and committed a great R. alme, greater then all *Spain* (*Venezuela*, with the gouernment and entire iurisdiction) vnto certaine *Dutch Merchants*, with certaine capitulations and conuentions accorded betwene them.

The same entering the Countrey with three hundred men: they found the people very amiable, and meeke as Lambes, as they are all in those parts of the *Indes*, vntill the *Spaniards* doe outrage them. Thele sit vpon them without comparison a great deale more cruilly, then any of the other tyrants, of the which wee haue spoken before: shewing themselves more vnaturall and fierce, then raging Tigres, or Wolves, or ramping Lions. These haue layd desolate and destroyed more then foure hundred leagues of most fertile land, and therein of Prouinces exceeding and wonderfull faire Vallies, to the breadth of forty leagues, and Bournes very great, full of people and of Gold. They haue slaine, and wholly destroyed great and diuers Nations, to farte forth as to abolish the Language wanted to be spoken, not leaving alive that could skill of them: vntill some one or other, who had hid themselves in the caues and bowels of the earth, fleeing the dint of the sword, to raging and plaguing. They haue slaine destroyed, and sent to Hell by diuers and strange manners of cruelties and vngodlines, more (I suppose) then foure or five millions of soules: and yet at this present they cosse not to doe the same by infinite outrages, spoiles and slaughters, which they haue committed, and doe commit daily vnto this present.

They tooke the Lord Soueraigne of all the Prouince, without all cause, onely to bereave him of his Gold, giuing him also the torture: which Lord vnbound himselfe, and escaped from them into the Mountaines, whereto allo the Subjects rose, and were in a mutinie, hiding themselves vpon the Mountaines, amongst the hedges and holes, and there the *Spaniards* make after to chale them, and haue found them, commit cruel massacres, and as many as they take alive, they fell them in pore sale for slaves. In diuers Prouinces, yea in all where they became before that they tooke the Soueraigne Lord, the *Indians* went to recouie them with longes, and dances, and with presents of Gold in great quantitie. The payment made them, was to be put to the edge of the sword, and hewen in pieces. One time, as they went to recouie the *Spaniards* in the fashion a-bouesaid: the *Dutch* Captaine tyrant caused to bee put in a starched house a great number of people, and halked in pieces. And being on high, neere the top of the house, certaine bames, which diuers had got vpon, auoyding the bloody hands and swords of those people (O mercilesse beafts) the deuillish man, sent to put to fire, whereby as many as there were, were burned alive.

Fouste or five millions soules in Venezuela.

Fifteen M.Lls.
was paid for
Atabalpa's ran-
some.

The Spaniards fet against him, and flew an infinite sort of his people: they tooke him also in person, who came carried in a Litter borne vpon mens shoulders. They treat with him, to the end that he should ransom himselfe. The King offereth to performe foure millions of Castellans, and performeth fifteene, they promise to releaue him: notwithstanding in the end, keeping no faith nor truth (as they neuer kept any in the *Indies*, vnto the *Indians*) they laid to his charge altogether vntuly, that by his commandement the people assembled. The King answered, that in all the Countrey there moued not a leafe of a tree, without his good will: that if there assembled any people, they were to beleuee that it was by his commandement, and as touching himselfe that he was prisoner, and they might lay him.

All this notwithstanding, they condemned him to be burnt alive: but at the request of some 10 certain, the Captaine caused him to be strangled: and being strangled, hee was burned. This King vnlerstanding his sentence, said: *Wherefore will you burne me? What trespass haue I done yet? Did not you promise me to set me at liberty, if I gave you the Gold? And haue I not performed more then I promised? Seeing you needes will haue it so, send me to your King of Spaine: I will be content to the great confusion and detraction of the great wrongfulness that the Spaniards did, whom in the end they burned.* Here let be considered the right and title of this warfare, the imprisonment of this Prince, the sentence, and the execution of his death, and the confession, whereby they possesse great treasures, as indeede they haue robbed in those Realmes from this King and other seuerall Lords infinite.

As touching the innumerable cruelties, and notable, for the mischiefs and enormities withall 20 committed in the rooting out of those peoples by them, who call themselves *Christians*: I will here rehearse some certaine, the which a Frier of *Saint Francis* order saw at the beginning, and the same certified vnder his name and signet: sending them into all those quarters, and amongst others into this Realme of *Castile*, wherof I retaine a Copie in my keeping, in the which it is thus written:

Testimony of
Frier Marke,
touching, Pri-
gers and the
Spaniards which
first entred Pe-
ru.

I Frier Marke, of the order of *Saint Francis*, commissarie ouer the other Priors of the same Order in the Provinces of Peru, and who was one of the first religious men, which entred into the said Provinces with the Spaniards: doe say, bearing true testimony of certaine things: the which I haue seen with mine eyes in that Countrey, namely concerning the enuicous and some certain knowledge that these *Indians* of Peru, 30 are a people the most kinde hearted that hath bene scene among all the *Indians*, being courteous in conversation, and friendly vnto the Spaniards. And I saw them giue to the Spaniards in abundance, Gold, Silver, precious stones, and all that was asked them, and that they had, doing them all kinde of service lawfull. And the *Indians* neuer yielded forth to warre, but kept them in peace so long time, as they gaue them no occasion, by their call entreating of them and their cruelties, but contrariwise received them with all amitie and honour in their boroughes, in giuing them to eate, and as many faine man- 40 and women kinde, as they demanded for their service.

Item, I am witness, that without that the *Indians* gaue occasion: the Spaniards as soone as they were entred the land, after that the great Cacique Atabalpa, had giuen to the Spaniards more two mil- 40 lions of Gold, and had put into their power the whole Countrey without resistance, incontinent they burned the said Atabalpa, which was Lord of the whole Countrey. And after him they burned his captaine general Coquilima, who had come to the Governour in peace with other Lords. In the like manner also a few dayes after they burned a great Lord named Chamba, of the Province of *Quito*, without any fault as aill, and without hauing giuen the least occasion that might be. In the manner they burned also 50 suffly Schappetta Lord of the Canaries. Also they burned the feete of Aluis a great Lord amongst all those which were in *Quito*, and caused him to endure sundry other torments, so make him tell where was the Gold of Atabalpa: of the which treasure, as it appeared, he knew nothing.

Also they burned in *Quito* Colopanga, who was Governour of all the Province of *Quito*, which vpon the request to him first made by Sebastian of Bermudez, Captaine vnder the Governour, was come to them in peace: and only because he gaue them no Gold so much as he demanded of him, they burned him 60 with very many other Caciques and principall Lords. And for ought that I can understand, the intent of the Spaniards was, that there should not be left alive one Lord in the whole Countrey.

Item, I certify, that the Spaniards caused to assemble a great number of *Indians*, and locked them up in three great houses, as many as could be pored in, and setting to fire, they burned them all, without that they had done the least thing that might be, or had giuen to the Spaniards the least occasion thereof whatsoeuer. And it came to passe, that a Priest, who is named Ocanna, drew a yong Boy out of the fire, in the which he burned, which perceiving, another Spaniard tooke from out of his bands the Boy, and 60 flung him into the middle of the flames, where he was relined into ashes together with others. The which Spaniard returning the same day to the Campe, fell downe dead suddenly, and mine aduise was, he should not be buried.

Item, I affirme, to haue scene with mine own eyes, that the Spaniards haue cut the hands, the noses, and the eares of the *Indians*, and of their women, without any other cause or purpose, save only that so it came into their fantasie, and that in so many places and quarters, that it should be too tedious to re- 70 hearse. And I haue scene, that the Spaniards haue made their *Maitines* runne vpon the *Indians* to rest them

"A people of
those parts,
good warriors,
not of the Ca-
nary Islands."

them in pieces. And moreover, I haue scene by them burnt so many houses, and whole boroughes, or town- 10 ships, that I am not able to tell the number. Also it is true, that they violently plucked the little infants from the Mothers breasts, and taking them by the armes, did throw them from them as farre as they could: Together with other enormities and cruelties without any cause, which gaue me astonishment to be- hold them, and would be so long to rehearse them.

Item, I saw when they sent for the Caciques and other principall *Indians*, to come see them in peace, and assurance to them made, promising them safe conduct: and incontinent as they were arrived, they 10 burned them. They burned two whiles I was present: the one in Andon, and the other in Tumbala: and I could neuer preuaile with them to haue them deliuered from burning, preached I vnto them neuer so much. And in God and my conscience, for ought that ever I could perceiue, the *Indians* of Peru, neuer 20 ift themselves up, nor neuer rebelled for any other cause, but for the enill entreating of the other side, as is manifest vnto every one, and for iust cause: the Spaniards destroying them tyrannously against all reason and iustice, with all their Countrey, working vpon them so many outrages, that they were determined to die, rather then to suffer much another time. Item, I say, that by the report of the *Indians* them- selves, there is yet more Gold hidden then is come to light, the which because of the uniuersities and cruelties 30 of the Spaniards, they would not discover, neither ever will discover, so long as they shall be so enill entrea- ted, but will chuse rather to dye with their fellows.

Where God our Lord hath bene highly trespassed against, and the Kings Majesty enill wronged, haueing bene defrauded in that, that his highnesse hath 40 vsed such a Countrey, as hath bene able to yeelde seruance to all Castile: for the recouerie of which Coun- try, it will be a matter of great difficultie, dispende, and charge.

All these hitherto are the sumall words of the said religious person: to the which are also ratio- 50 nated by the Bishop of Mexico, which witnesseth that the reuerend Father hath to his know- ledge affirmed all the aboue said. It is here to be considered, that the good Father saith, that he saw those things. For that, that he hath bene fittie or hundred leagues vp into the Countrey, for the space of nine or ten years, and at the very beginning, when there were not as yet but very few of the Spaniards: but at the ringing of the Gold, there were quickly gathered and 60 flocked thither foure or five thousand, which held themselves forth ouer many great Realmes and Provinces, more then five hundred or sixe hundred leagues, to the which Countrey hath bene thoroughly destroyed, they executing till the selfe same practices, and others more bar- 70 barous and cruell.

Of a vertue, from that day vnto this present, there hath bene destroyed and brought to de- 80 folation moe foules then he hath counted: and they haue with less reason of God or the King, and with less pittie then before, abolished a great part of the lineage of mankind. They haue flaine vnto this day in the same Realmes (and yet daily they doe slay them) moe then foure millions of foules. Certaine dayes passed, they perished in shooting with darts of reedes to death 90 a myghtie Queene, whose name was Eleng, who is yet King of that Realme, whom the Spaniards by laying hands vpon him compelled to rebel, and in rebellion he perished. They tooke the Queene his wife, and so as hath bene said, flue her against all reason and iustice, being great with childe as she was, as it was laid onely to vexe her husband withall.

Bishop of Mex-
ico told many.

Fourre Millions
daine in Peru,
Sec.

Of the new Realme of Granado.

W^{IT}HIN the yeare 1539: there tooke their flight together sundry tyrants, flocking from 10 *Venezuela*, from *Saint Martha*, and from *Caribage*, to search for the *Perous*: and there were also others which came downe from Peru it selfe to assay, to make a glade farther in to the Countrey: And they found from beyond *Saint Martha* and *Caribage* three hundred leagues vp into the Countrey, fertile lands, and admirable Prouinces, full of infinite people, kinde 20 hearted like the rest, and very rich, as well of Gold as of precious stones, which they call Emeralds. Vnto the which Prouinces they gaue the name of *New Granado*: for because that the tyrant came first into this Countrey, was a *Granadan*, borne in our Countrey. A Governour, for as much as he which robbed and flew in the new Realme of *Granado*, would not ad- 30 mune him nor comfort with him to rob and slay as did he: he procured an enquire, and thereby e- uidence came in against him with sundry witnessess vpon the fact of his slaughters, disorders, and murders which he had done, and doth as yet vnto this day, the proceesse of which enqui- re, together with the evidences was read, and is kept in the Records of the Council of the *Indies*.

The witnessess doe depose in the same enquire, that the said whole Realme was in peace, the 40 *Indians* stirring the Spaniards, giuing them to eate of their labour, and labouring continually, and manuring the ground, and bringing them much Gold and precious stones, such as are Emeralds, and all that which they could or had: the Townes, and the Lordships, and the people being di- 50 stributed amongst the Spaniards every one his share: which is all that they studie for, for that, that it is their meane way to attaine to their last end and scope, to wit, Gold. And all being sub- dued to their tyrannie and accustomed bondage, the tyrant the principall Captaine which com- manded ouer that Countrey, tooke the Lord and King of the Countrey, and detained him pri- 60 soner

And in some quarters they have found two or three hundred leagues of Land dispeopled and burned, and great Cities destroyed. And finally, by that, that sithence into the Realmes of *Pern*, of the Province file of *Quito*, are entered farre into the Countrey fore and fell tyrants, as late as to the said Realme of *Grenada*, and of *Papayan*, and of *Cali*, by the coast of *Caribagene*, and *Araba*, and other accursed tyrants of *Caribagene* have gone to assault *Quito*, and moreover, afterwards of the Rivers side of *Saint John*, which is on the South side, all the which have met to ioyne hands together in this exploit: they have rooted out and dispeopled aboute sixe hundred leagues of land, with the losse of an infinite of foules, doing full the selfe same to the poore wretches that remaine behinde, howe lesse innocent they appeare to be.

After the ends of the slaughters and massacres of the warres, they bring the people into the horrible bondage, abusefull, and give them to the commandement of Deuils, to one an hundred *Indians*, to another three hundred. The commander Deuill commandeth, that there come before him an hundred *Indians*, which incontinent present themselves like Lambes. He causing forty or fifty amongst them to haue their heads cut off: sayth vnto the other there present, I will serue you of the time faue, if you doe me good seruice, or if so be, that you goe out of my fight without my leaue. That for the honour of God, all they that haue read this piece of worke, or shall give it a reading, consider now, whether this act, so hideous, fell and vnnaturall, doe not exceed all cruelty and iniquities, that may be imagined, and whether the *Spaniards* haue any wrong offered them when a man calleth them Duels, and whether were better, to give the *Indians* to keepe to the Deuils in Hell, or the *Spaniards* which are at the *Indies*.

After this I will rehearse another deuillish part, the which I cannot tell whether it be lesse cruell and void of manhood, then are those of fawge beasts: that is, that the *Spaniards* which are in the *Indies*, doe keepe certaine Dogs most raging, taught and trained wholly to the purpose, to kill and rend in pieces the *Indians*. That let all those that are true *Christians*, yea, and all those which are not so, behold, if euer there were the like thing in the whole world: that is, to feed those Dogs, they leade aboute with them wherefoeuer they goe a great number of *Indians* in chains, as if they were Hogs, and kill them, making a humbles of mans flesh. And the one of them will say to another, Lend me a quarter of a villaine, to give my Dogs some meate, vntill I kill one next, al together as if one should borrowe a quarter of an Hogge or Mutton. There be others which goe forth a hunting in the morning with their curres, the which being returned to eate, if another aske him: How haue yee sped to day? they answer, Very well: for I haue killed with my Dogs to day, fifteene or twenty Villacores. All these diabolical doings, with others like haue bene proued in the suits of Law, that the tyrants haue had one of them against another. Is there any case more ougly or vnnaturall?

I will here now depore me of this discouerie, vntill such time, that there come other newes of things, in vngriuousness more notorious and remarkable (if it so be, that there can be any more grieuous) or vntill such time as we may returne thither to behold them our selues anew, as we behold them for the space of two and forty yeeres continually with mine owne eyes: protesting in a good conscience before God, that I doe beleue, and I hold it for certaine, that the damages and losses are so great, with the deftitions and ouertrownes of Cities, maiesties and all murders, with the cruelties horrible and ougly, with the raums, iniquities and robberies, all the which things haue bene executed amongst those people, and are yet daily committed in those quarters: that in all the things, which I haue spoken and declared, as I was able the next quarter to the truth: I haue not said one of a thousand, of that which haue bene done, and is daily a doing at this present, bee it that you consider the qualitie, or bee it, that yee consider the quantitie.

And to the end that all *Christians* haue the greater compassion of those poore innocents, and that they complaine with me the more their prouision and destruction, and that they detest the greivousnesse, lossefulness, and feltnesse of the *Spaniards*: that all doe hold it for a most vngriuous vertue, with all that hath bene abusefull, that sithence the first Discouerie of the *Indies* vntill now, the *Indians* neuer did harme vnto the *Spaniards* in any place wherefoeuer, vntill such time, that they first requered wrongs and injuries, being robbed and betrayed: but indeed did repaie them to be immortal, supposing them to be defended from Heauen, and they receiued them for such, vntill such time as that they gaue it forth manifestly to be knowne by their doings, what they were, and whereto they tended.

I will adioyne herunto this, that from the beginning vnto this houre, the *Spaniards* haue led no more care to procure: hat vnto those people should be preached the Faith of *Iesus Christ* then as if they had bene Curd Dogs, or other beasts: but in heu thereof, which is much worshipful haue forbidden by expresse lawes the religious men to doe, for because that that seemed vnto them an hindrance likely to be, to the getting of their Gold, and other riches which their avarice forgot in. And at the day there is no more knowledge of God throughout the *Indies*, to wit, whether he be of timber of the aire, or the earth, then there was an hundred yeeres agoe, excepting New Spaine, which the religious men haue gone, which is but a little corner of the *Indies*: and so are they perished, and doe perish all with Faith, and without Sacraments.

I brother *Barthelemy de las Casas* or *Casas*, religious of the Order of *Saint Dominicke*, which by the mercy of God am come into this Court of *Spaine*, to see that the Hell might bee withdrawn from the *Indies*, and that these innumerable foules, redeemed by the blood of *Iesus Christ*, should not perish for euer more without remedie, but they might knowe their Creator: and be faued: also for the care and compassion they haue of my Countrey, which is *Castile*, to the end that God destroy it not for the great finnes thereof, committed against the Faith and the honour, and against our neighbours: for certaine mens likes notably zealous of the glory of God, touched with compassion of the afflictions and calamities of others, followers of this Court: howbeit, that I was purposed to doe it, but I could not so soone haue done it, because of my continual occupations, I aschued this Treatise and Summarie at *Valencia*, the eight of December, 1543, the force being mounted to the highest type of extremitie, and all the violences, tyrannies, delations, anguishes, and calamities abusefull, spred ouer all the *Indies*, where there are *Spaniards*, although they be more cruell in one part then they be in another, and more fawge and more abhominable.

Mexico and her confines are lesse euill intreated. In truth, there they cannot execute their outrages openly, for that there and not elsewhere, there is some forme of iustice, as slender as it is. For because that there also they kill them with deuillish tributes: I am in good hope, that the Emperour and King of *Spaine*, our liege Soueraigne Lord, *Don Charles* the fit of that name, who beginneth to haue vnderstanding of the mischiefs and treasons that there haue bene, and are committed against those poore people, against the will of God, and his owne, (for they haue alwaies cunningly concealed the truth from him) will roote out those euils, and take some order for this new world that God hath giuen him, as vnto one that loueth and doeth iustice: whose honour and prosperous estate Imperiall, God almightie vouchsafe to bleffe with long life, for the benefit of his whole vniuersall Church, and to the gloriacion of his owne Royall Ioues. Amen.

After hauing concluded in writing the premises, I vnderstood of certaine Lawes and Ordinances, which his Maiestie hath made about this time at *Barcelona*, Anno 1542, in the month of Nouember, and the yeere following at *Madrid*: by the which Ordinances, there is order set downe, as the case them seemeth to require: to the end, to cut off the mischiefs and fins which are committed against God and our neighbours, tending to the vter ruine and perdition of this new world. His Maiestie hath made these Lawes, after hauing holden many assemblies of persons of authority, of learning and conscience, and after hauing had disputations & conferences in *Valadolid*: and finally with the assent and aduise of all those others which haue giuen their aduise in writing, and haue bene found needfull approaching vnto the Law of *Iesus Christ*, the which treasures haue foyled the hands, and much more the foules of many, ourwhom those treasures and avarice haue got the matters, and where hence hath proceeded the blinding, which hath caused for to marre all without remedie.

These Lawes being published, the creatures of those tyrants, who then were at the Court, drew out sundry copies thereof (for it grieved them at the hearts: for that it seemed them that thereby there was a doore shut vp vnto them against their ruine and extortion afore rehearsed) and dispersed them into diuers quarters of the *Indies*. Those which had the charge to robbe, root out, and consume by their tyrannies, (euen as they had neuer kept any good order but rather disorder, such as *Lucifer* himselfe might haue held) as they read those copies before the new Iudges might come to execute their charge, knowing it (as it is said, and that very credible) by those who vntill this time haue supported and mainteyned their crimes and outrages, to be likely that such execution should be vied of those Lawes: they ranne into a mutinie in such wise, as that when the good Iudges were come to doe their duties, they aduised with themselves (as those which had lost the feare and loue of God) to call off also all shame, and obedience which they owe to the King, and soooke vnto them the name of name of open

and arant traitors, behauing themselves as most cruell and gracelesse tyrants: and principally in the Realme of *Pern*, where presently this yeere 1542, are committed acts so horrible and frightfull, as neuer were the like, neither in the *Indies*, nor in all the world besides, not only against the *Indians*, the which all or in a manner all are slaine, all those Regions being dispeopled: but also betwixt themselves by a iust iudgement of God, who hath permitted that they should be the Butchers one of another of them. By means of the support of this rebellion, none of all the other parts of this new World would obey those Lawes: But vnder colour of making supplication to his Maiestie to the contrary, they haue made an insurrection as well as the others. For that it irketh them to leaue their estates and goods which they haue viltured, and to vrbide the hands of the *Indians*, whom they detaine in a perpetuall captiuitie. And there where they cease to kill with the sword, readily and at the instant, they kill them a little and a little, by personal slauieries, and vniust charges and intolerable. That which the King could not suffer to let: for because that they all, great and little, roue and robbe, some more, some lesse: some ouerly, and some courtely, and vnder the pretence of keeping the King: dishonour God, and robbe the King.

Giulio watres
in Penberwick
see *Spaniards*.

they neuer, neither at this time, neither hereafter in time to come, may be alienated or taken from the said Royall Crowne, neither that they be giuen, commanded, demised in fee farm, by deposit, commendement or alienation, either vnder any other title or manner whatsoeuer, and be subsumed from the Royall Crowne, for any whatsoeuer the seruice or defect of any, either vpon any necessitie that may happen, or for any cause or colour whatsoeuer that may be pretended. For the inuoluble obseruation, or establishment of which Law, your Maiestie shall formally sweare by your Faith and on your Word and Royall Crowne, and by all other sacred things, whereby *Christian* Princes doe usually sweare, that at no time neither your selfe, neither your successours in the said Dominions, or in the *Indies*, so farre as in you shall lie, shall reuoke the same: and you shall further set downe in expresse wordes in your Royall Will and Testament, that this decreete our keep, maintaine, and vpholde: also that so farre as in your selfe or in them shall lie, they shall confirme and continue the same. And for proofe of the necessitie hereof, there be twenty reasons to be alleged: out of which twenty we haue drawne and put in writing so many as may seeme to serue to our purpose.

The *Spaniards* through their great avarice and countenance to get, doe not permit any religious persons to enter into their Townes and Holds which they poffesse, alledging that they receive double loffe by them. One and the same thing is also said by the *Indians* who say the *Padres* occupied with their own business, have no time to attend together to their Sermons, so that in the meane time their worke is omitted, while the *Indians* being idle, labour not; yea, it hath so fallen out, that the *Indians* being in the Church at the Sermon, the *Spaniard* coming in in the face of all the people, hath taken fifty, or an hundred, or so many as he hath needed to carrie his baggage and stuffe, and such as would have got, hee hath loosed with stripes, flogging them forth with his feet, thereby to the great griefe of the *Indians*, and of the religious persons troubling and molesting all that were present, &c.

Out of this reason.

The *Spaniards* are charged to instruct the *Indians* in our holy Catholike Faith: whereupon at a time when we examined *John Colmenero* of *Saint Marthy*, a iustallitic, ignorant, and foolish man, who had gotten a great Towne in commendam, and had a charge of foules, he could not tell how to blesse himselfe: and asking him what doctrine he taught the *Indians* committed to his charge, he said, he gaue them to the Deuill: also that it was enough for him to lay, *Per signum sancti Crucis*. How can the *Spaniards* that trauell to the *Indies*, how noble or valiant foules they be, haue any care of the foules, when the throust of the world is in their chier Ceread and in their Commandments, and to knowe how many more persons may in their owne falsation, neither doe trauell to the *Indies* for any other purpose but to satisfy their owne desires and curious affections, being for the most part vicious, corrupt, vnholie, and disordinate persons: so as he that would weigh them in an equall ballance, and compare them with the *Indians*, should finde the *Indians* without comparison, more vertuous and holy then them. For the *Indians* what infidels (ouer they be, doe neuerthelesse keep them to one and their owne wife, as nature and beneficell teacheth, and yet we see some *Spaniards* haue fourteen or more, which Gods Commandments doe forbid. The *Indians* detour no mangs goods, they doe no man wrong: they doe not rise, trouble, or flay any, where themlsues doe see the *Spaniards* commit all iniquities, injuries, and treacheries, that man can commit against all equitie and iustice. To be briefe, the *Indians* doe not beleaue any thing but, doe more than all that is lawfull in the sight of God, and are instructed in this opinion by their priests: that he is the worth, and most vniust, and the most wicked of all Gods, because he hath chosen the *Indians*: also concerning your Maiestie, they thinke you the most vniust, and cruell of all Kings, because you doe both feede thither and keepe here such Subiects, supposing that your Maiestie doth feede vpon humane flesh and blood.

Of the fourth reason. The Spaniards having authority to command, or particular interest in the *Indies*, cannot by reason of their great countenance be abstinent from afflicting, troubling, disquieting, vexing, or oppressing the *Indians*, taking away their goods, lands, wives, or children, and vying among them many other kinds of iniquity, for the which they can have no redress, fardition, or warfare: at your Maiesties chief Iustice, because the Spaniards do make their trade: yea sometimes they kill them, lest they should complain. They do likewise abuse the name of their Gods, thinking them to be better than ours, as whom they Iustitiously have, and use likewise contrary to their owne they reape there to be many commodities; and there is nothing that troubleth them so much as the *Christianity*.

Out of these fifth realms.

We can show to you Maedie, that the *Spaniards* have within eight and thirty or forty yeeres laine of iust account, about twelue millions of your Subjects: I will not say how mightily this world of people mighte haue multiplied. This Countrey being the fertilest, where for cattell, or mankinde, that is in the world: the loybe being for the mozt part, more temperate and fauourable to humane generation. All these innumerable persons, and all these *Spaniards* laine, to the end to bestirr (tway, gouerne, and command) ouer the reit: as when in vniuersall weilde, the lande laine them, then cleane vnto the reit, they iustly haue withstood them, in drawing Gold and Siluer, yoking them together like beausts, to make them carrie their burdiens.

What plague of pestilence, or mortalitie could there have fallen from heaven that had bene able to consume or make waite above 300. leagues of flat Country, replenished with people, and would not have left either traveller or inhabitant?

would not have left either drabster or indolence, have blamified the *Indies* with the Cure of the flesh reason.
 The *Spaniards* cruelly for their temporal commodity, have blamified the *Indies* with the greatest infamy, that any man euen among the most horrible and villanous persons in the world, could be charged withall, and whereby they have fought to take them out of the degree of man-kind: namely that they were all polluted with the abominable line against nature: which is a wretched and false flander. For in all the great *Isles*, *Hippanola*, *Saint Iohn*, *Cuba*, and *Lamaina*: also in the little *Isles* of *Lucayes*, which were inhabited with an infinite number of people, the same was never thought upon: in some other part there is a voice of a few: for whole *Isles* take themselves all this while to be to be condemned. We may say much of the eating of mans flesh, which likewise those places that I have named are free of; although that in other places it is so: it indeede. They be also charged with their Idolatrie. The *Spaniards* have purposely also effectually hindered the teaching of the Law of God and Iesus Christ: with all other vertues among the *Indians*; and driven away the Religious persons out of Townes and Fortrelles, least they should see and disclofe their tyrannies: yea, they haue by their will example, infected and corrupted the *Indies*, teaching them many odious beuilauntous and vices, which before they knew not, as blaspheming the name of Iesus Christ, practising of vsurie, lying, and many other abominations wholly eniugnant to their nature,

20 The *Spaniards* doe sucke from the *Indians* the whole substance of their bodies, because they have nothing else in their houses. They make them spit blood : They exhibit them to all dangers : They lay upon them sundry and intollerable traualles : and more then all this, They load them with torments, beatings, and sorrowings : To be brieft, they spoile and consume a thousand manner of waves.

And manner of wayes, *the Spaniards* doe indure in fruing and pleasing the *Spaniards*, there is yett a learned *Spaniard* much manner, to keepe them in awe appointed in every Towne and place, and is learned *Ethiopia* of *Calicut*: who hath authority to lay his clawes upon Towne and place, and to make them labour, and doe what the Lord Commander or chiefe chaffe will. So as ifm heli there were no other torment, yett were this incomparable. This hangman whippeth them, he leadeth them with furies, he beaileth them with falding greafe, he afflicteth them with continuall torment and trauels, hee forceth and defloweth their daughters and wives, dishonouring and abusing them: he deuorath their Hens, which are their greaitest treasure, not because themselves doe eat them, but that of them they offer presents and seruice to their greaiter: Lord and chiefe tyrant: he vexeth them with innumerable other tormentes and griefes: and leaft they should complain of so many iniuries and miseries, this tyrant putteth them in feare, saying is that he will accuse them, and say that hee sees them commit Idolatry. They therefore theye please and are contente about twenty difordinate and vnreasonable demands for their paye, to haue those Lords and Masters of the Maner, to be their Masters, and to haue them that hath them in commendam, and the *Ethiopia* of the Maner, to be their Maner, and to be their Masters, and to be their Masters, and to be their Masters, and to be their Masters, I left place, which *Ethiopia* is to them more grieuous to beare then a quintall of lead, a moneg which we may also in truth adde the *Machabees* and *Mores*, that doe ferue the Commander and Master, for they all doe moleit on selfe, and rob the poore people.

It is greatly to be feared, *that God will lay Spain* desolate, even for those horrible sinnes that this Nation hath committed in the *West Indies*; and that the world doth fear and confesse that already it hathenough over our heads, whereas God doth afflict and chastise that he is highly offended in those parts through the great destruction and waite of those Nations, in that of so great treasures have bin transported out of the *Indies* into *Spain* (the like quantitie of Gold and Silver, neither king *Salomon*, neither any other worldly Prince ever had, saw, or heard of) there is none left, besides that of that was here before the *Indies* were discovered, there is now none to be found, no creature a while. Hereof it cometh that *Indians* are thirde dearer then they were, the poore that have want doe suffer greater miseries: and your *Majestie* cannot dischargeth matters of great importance.

So long as *Lovers* bare away and ruled, that was nine years; there was no more care of teaching or bringing the *Indians* to civilization neither was there any more labor employed, or once thought of to that purpose, then if they had been Treas, Stones, Dogs, or Cats. He waited great townes and fortrelles, he gaue to one *Sperandus* hundred *Indies*, to another fiftie, to another more or lesse, as every man was liking or fauour, and as it pleased him to grant. He gaue children, and old men, women with child, and in childbed, men of countenance and commons, the naturall Lords of the Townes and Countries, he parted them among those to whom hee wished most wealth and commolitie, vying in his Letters of command this Speech followeth: *I you wish a*
60 *you are given from me, I will give you the same, I will give you the same, I will give you the same.* As in all great and small, yong and old, that could stand on their feete, men, women with child, or in childbed, one or other, troubled and wrought for long as they had any breath in their bodies. He gaue leaue to take away married men, and to make them draw Gold, tennes, twenty, thirtie, tortie, or eightie leagues, or farther. The women remained in farme housses and granges, in

great labours. So that the man and wife should not see one another in eight or ten moneths or a whole year. And at their meeting they were so worn with labour and hunger, that they had no minde of colabration, whereby their generation ceased, and their poore children perished, because the mothers through hunger and trauaile had no milke wherewith to nourish them: This was a cause that in the Ile of *Cuba*, one of vs being there, there perished in the space of three moneths for hunger 7000. children, some deperate women strangled and killed their owne children, others finding themselves with child, did eate certaine herbes thereby to loose their fruit, so that the men died in the Mines, the women perished in the farme houses, their whole generation in a short space decayed, and all the Countrey lay desolate. The said Gouverneur, to the end without relate to keepe them in continuall labour, fill gaue them away, and yet besides their great labors he suffered them rigorously, and very auerely to be misused. For the *Spaniards* that had them in command, appointed certaine hangmen ouer them, some in the Mines, whom they termed *Mineros*, others in the Farmes, that were called *Escaueros*: vnnaturall and pitifull persons that beate them with staves and cords, boxing them, pricking them with needles, and still calling them dogges: neither did they euer shew any signe of humanity or clemencie, but all their dealings did consist of extreme feueritie, riot, and bitterness.

The Gouverneur had also in the *Spanish* Townes and Ports, certaine of the most honorable and principall persons about him, whom he called *Vititors*, vnto whom also besides their other ordinary portions that he had giuen them, he gaue in respect of their offices one hundred *Indians* to serue them. These in the Townes were the greatest executioners, as being more cruell then the rest. before whom *Athamascals del camos* brought all such as had bin taken in this case. The accuser, he that had them in command, was present, and accused them, saying: *This Indian, or these Indians are dogs, and will doe no service, but doe daily run to the Mountaines, there to become Iuyers and vagabonds:* and therefore required that they might be punished. Then the *Vititor* with his owne hands bound them to a Pale, and taking a pitched cord, in the Gallies called an Ele, which is as it were an iron rod, gaue them so many stripes, and beate them so cruely, that the blood running downe diuers parts of their bodies, they were left for dead, God is witnesse of the cruelties committed among those lambs.

Throughout the year they neuer knew holiday, neither might be suffered from labour little or much. Besides that during all this toyle, they neuer had sufficient food, no not of *Capabi*. Some there were that through nigardinesse wanting meate to giue them, would send them two or three dayes abroad into the fields and Mountaines, to feede where they might farrishe themselves with such fruite as hang on the trees, and then vpon the force of that which they brought in their guts, would force them to labour two or three dayes more without giuing them any more food to eate. The Gouverneur commanded they should be paid their day wages and expences for any labour or seruice that they should doe to the *Spaniards*, and their wages was three *Linkes* euery two dayes, which in the year amounted to halfe a *Castellus*. Thus grew they into sickness through long and grieuous trauailes, and that was soone caught among them. When the *Spaniards* perceiued the sickness increase, so that there was no profit or seruice to be looked for at their hands, then would they send them home to their houses, giuing them to spend in some thirty, forty, or eighty leagues trauaile, some halfe dozen of *Radils* or *Refortes*, that is a kinde of newe roote, and a little *Capabi*, wherewith the poore men traiailed not farre before they should desperately dye, some went two or three leagues, some ten or twenty, so desirous to get to their owne home, there to finish their hellish life that they suffered, that they euen fell downe dead by the wayes: so as many times we found some dead, others at deaths doore, others growning and pitifully to their powers pronouncing this word, *hunger, hunger*. Then the Gouverneur seeing that the *Spaniard* had in this wise flaine halfe or two third parts of these *Indians*, whom hee had giuen them in command, he came a fresh to draw new lots, and make a new distribution of *Indians*: still supplying the number of his first gift, and this did hee almost euery year.

Pedarias entred into the firme land, as a Wolfe that had long bene starued doth into a flocke of quiet and innocent Sheepe and Lambs: and as Gods wrath and scourge, committing infinite slughters, robberies, oppressions and cruelties, together with those *Spaniards* whom hee had leuied, and laid waste to many Townes and Villages, which before had bin replenished with peoples, as it were Ant hills, as the like was neuer scene, heard of, or written by any that in our daies haue dealt in Histories. He robbed his Maiestie & Subjects with those whom he tooke with him, and the harme that hee did amounted to aboute foure, yea six Millions of Gold: hee laid aboute foure leagues of land desart, namely from *Darien*, where hee first arriued, vnto the Prouince of *Nicaraga*, one of the fruitfullist, richest and best inhabited lands in the world. From this cursed wayle sprang the first pestilence of giuing the *Indians* in command, which afterward hath infected all those *Indies* where any *Spaniards* doe inhabit, and by w^m all these Nations are consumed: so that from him & his commands haue proceeded the certaine waste and delolation that your Maiestie haue tubained in these great lands and dominions, since the yeare 1504.

When we shall say that the *Spaniards* haue wasted your Maiesties, and laid you desolate seuen Kingdomes

Kingdomes bigger then *Spaine*, you must conceiue that we haue sente them wonderfully peopled, and now there is no body left, because the *Spaniards* haue flaine all the naturall inhabitants by means aforesaid, and that of the Townes and Houses there remaineth onely the bare wals: euen as if *Spaine* were all dispeopled, and that all the people being dead, there remaine onely the wals of Cities, Townes and Castles.

Your Maiestie haue not out of all the *Indies* one marcy of certaine perpetual and set rent, but the whole reuenues are as leaves and thaw gathered vpon the earth, which being once gathered vp doe grow no more: euen so is all the rent that your Maiestie hath in the *Indies*, vaine and as small continuance as a blatt of winde, and that proceedeth onely of the *Spaniards* haue had the *Indians* in their power; and as they doe daily slay and rofte the inhabitants, so must it necessarily ensue that your Maiesties rights and rents doe wast and diminish.

The Kingdome of *Spaine* is in great danger to be loit, robbed, oppressed and made desolate by forraigne Nations, namely by the *Turkes* and *Moorcs*, because that God who is the most iust, true, and soeraigne King ouer all the world, is wroth for the great finnes and offences that the *Spaniards* haue committed throughout the *Indies*. But had chosen *Spaine* as his minister and instrument, to illumine and bring them to his knowledge, and as it had bin for a worldly recompence, besides the eternall reward, had granted her lo great naturall riches, and discovered for her such and so great fruitfull and pleasant lands, &c.

In as much as our life is short, I doe take God to witness with all the *Hierarchies* and thrones of Angels, all the Saints of the heavenly court, and all the men in the world; yes, euen those that shall hereafter be borne, of the certificate that here I doe exhibite: also of this discharge of my conscience, namely that if his Maiestie graunte to the *Spaniards* the aforesaid duellish and tyrannous partition, notwithstanding whatsoeuer lawes or statutes shall be deuised, yet will the *Indies* in short space be laid desart and dispeopled, euen as the Ile of *Hispaniola* is at this present, which otherwhile would be most fruitfull and fertile; together with other the Iles & lands about 2000 leagues about, besides *Hispaniola* it selfe and other lands both farre and neere. And for those finnes, as the holy Scripture doth very well informe, God will horribly chastise, and peraduenture wholly subuert and roote out all *Spaine*. Anno 1542.

30 The summe of the disputation betwene Fryer BARTHOLOMEW de las CASAS or CASAVS, and Doctor SEPULVEDA.

DOCTOR Sepulveda, the Emperours chronographer, hauing information, and being perswaded by certaine of those *Spaniards*, who were most guiltie in the slaughters and waikes committed among the *Indian* people, wrote a Booke in Latine, in forme of a Dialogue very eloquent, and furnished with all flowers, and precepts of Rhetoricke, as indeede the man is very learned and excellent in the said tongue: which Booke consulted vpon two principall cautions; the one, That the *Spaniards* warres against the *Indians*, were as concerning the cause and right that moued them thereto, very iust: also, that generally the like warre may and ought to be continued. His other conclusion, that the *Indians* are bound to submit themselves to the *Spaniards*, government, as the foolish to the wise: if they will not yeelde, then that the *Spaniards* may (as he affirmeth) warre vpon them. These are the two causes of the losse and destruction of lo infinite numbers of people: also that about 2000 leagues of the maine land, are by sundry new kindes of *Spanish* cruelties and inhumane dealings bin left desolate in the Ilands: namely by *Conquests* and *Commands* as hee now nameth those which were wont to be called *Partitions*.

The said Doctor Sepulveda coloureth his Treatise, vnder the pretence of publishing the title which the Kings of *Castile* and *Leon* doe challenge in the government and vniuersall soueraignie of this *Indian* world: so seeking to cloake that doctrine which hee endeuoreth to disperse and scatter as well in these lands, as allo through the Kingdomes of the *Indians*. This Booke hee exhibited to the royall Councell of the *Indies*, very earnestly and importunately lying vpon them for licence to print it, which they sundry times denied him in respect of the offence, dangers, and manifest detriment, that it seemed to bring to the Common-wealth.

The Doctor seeing that here he could not publish his Booke, for that the Councell of the *Indies* would not suffer it, hee dealt so farre with his friends that followed the Emperours Court, that they got him a Patent, whereby his Maiestie directed him to the royall Councell of *Castile*, who knew nothing of the *Indian* affaires: vpon the comming of these Letters the Court and so Cou. fell being at *Aranda* in *Duero*, the yeare 1547. Fryer Bartholomeus de las Casas or Casavus, Bishop of the royall towne of *Chiapa*, by hap arriued there, comming from the *Indians*, and hauing intelligence of Doctor Sepulveda his drites and desires, had notice also of the contents of his whole Booke: but vnderstanding that the Authors pernicious blindness, as also the irreconcilable losses that might ensue vpon the printing of this Booke, with might and maine without it, discouering

Our of the 13. reasons

Another small
River.

A better tem-
perature.
15 leagues.

Inland fire to
be planted.

A great Lake.
The head of
Sagunay 106.
leagues off.

A great course
of water.

Great Lake
described and
River of the
Iroquois. Chap. 7.
The Lake of
Agouéne.
15 leagues.

A great River.
Another small
River.

Two leagues.
30. small lands.

Wal nuts of
two sorts.
Source of Vines.
Good Count-
tains.

The River of
the Iroquois.
Their manner
of fortification
with stakes.

an halfe, on the South side neere vnto a River, whereon Canowes might goe. All this Coast on the North side is very good, one may pacelike there, yet with the Lead in the hand, to avoid certain points. All this Coast which we ranged is mouing Sand; but after you be entered a little into the Woods, the soile is good. The Enday following we departed from this Ile, coasting full the North side hard by the shoare, which is low and full of good Trees, and in great numbers as farre as the three Rivers, where it beginneth to haue another temperature of the season, somewhat differing from that of Saint Croix: because the Trees are there more forward then in any place that hitherto I had fene. From the three Rivers to Saint Croix are fiftene leagues. In this River are sixe Ilands, three of which are very small, and the others some foue or fix hundred paces long, very pleasant and fertile, for the little quantitie of ground that they containe. There is one Iland in the middle of the said River, which looketh directly vpon the passage of the River of Canada, and commandeth the other Ilands which lye further from the shoare, aswell on the one side as on the other, of foue or five hundred paces: it riseth on the South side, and felleth somewhat on the North side. This in my iudgement would be a very fit place to inhabit; and might bee quickly fortified: for the situation is strong of it selfe, and neere vnto a great Lake, which is about foue leagues distant, which is almost ioyned to the River of Sagunay, by the shore: this is about foue leagues distant, which is almost an hundred leagues Northward, and passe many *Saults*, port of the *Sauages*, which trauell almost an hundred leagues Northward, and passe many *Saults*, port of the *Sauages*, which traue some foue or sixe leagues, and enter into a Lake, whence the said River of Sagunay receiue the best part of his Spring, and the said *Sauages* come from the said Lake to *Tadoussac*.

Moreover, the planting of *The three Rivers* would be a benefit for the liberty of certaine Nations, which dare not comelate way for feare of the said *Iroquois* their enemies, which border vpon all the said River of Canada. But this place being inhabited, we might make the *Iroquois* and the other *Sauages* friends, or at least write vnder the fauour of the said Plantation, the said *Sauages* might pacelike without feare or danger: because the said place of *The three Rivers* is a passage. All the soyle which I saw on the North shore is sandy. We went vpon above a league into the said River, and could passe no further, by reason of the great current of water. We took a Boate to search vp further, but we went not past a league, but we met a very Strait full of water, of foue twelve paces, which caused vs that we could not passe no further. All the ground which I saw on the banks of the said River rieth more and more, and is full of Firre-trees and Cypress Trees, and hath very few other Trees.

ON the Saturday following, we departed from *The three Rivers*, and anchored at a Lake, which is foue leagues distant. All this Country from *The three Rivers* to the entrance of the said Lake is low ground, with the water on the North side; and on the South side it is somewhat higher. The said Country is exceeding good, and the most pleasant that hitherto we had fene: the Woods are very thicke, so that a man may trauell easily through them. The next day being the nine and twentieth of June, we entered into the Lake, which is some fiftene leagues in length, and some foue or eight leagues broad: At the entrance thereof on the South side within a league there is a River which is very great, and entereth into the Country some sixe or eight leagues, and continuing along the same Coast, there is another little River, which pierceth about two leagues into the Land, and cometh out of another small Lake, which may containe some three or foue leagues. On the North side where the Land lieth very high, a man may see some twentie leagues off; but by little and little the Mountaynes beginne to fall toward the West, as it were into a flat Country.

The *Sauages* say, that the greatest part of these Mountaynes are bad soyle. The said Lake hath some three fathoms water whereas we passed, which was almost in the middle: the length lieth East and West, and the breadth from North to the South. I thinke it hath good fish in it, such kinds as we haue in our owne Country. We passed it the very same day, and anchored about two leagues within the great River which goeth vp to the *Sault*: In the mouth whereof are thirte small Ilands, as farre as I could discern; some of them are of two leagues, others a league and an halfe, & some lesse, which are full of Walnut-trees, which are not much different from ours; and I thinke their Walnuts are good when they bee ripe: I saw many of them vnder the Trees, which were of two sorts, the one small, and the others as long as a Mans Thumb, but they were rotten. There are also store of Vines vpon the banks of the said Ilands. But when the waters beagret, the most part of them is couered with water. And this Country is yet better then any other which I had fene before.

The last day of June we departed from thence, and passed by the mouth of the River of the *Iroquois*; where the *Sauages* which came to make warre against them, were lodged and fortified. Their Fortresse was made with malle of posts lye very close one to another, and the other, which ioyned on the one side on the bank of the great River of Canada, and the other on the bank of the River of the *Iroquois*; and their Boats were ranged in the one by the other neere the shoare, that they might lye away with speed, if by chance they should be disturbed by the *Iroquois*. For their Fort is couered with the bark of Oakes, and serueth them for nothing

thing else, but to haue time to embarke themselves. We went vp the River of the *Iroquois* some foue or sixe leagues, and could passe no farther with our Pinnasse, by reason of the great course of water which defendeth, and also because we cannot goe on Land, and draw the Pinnasse for the multitude of Trees which are vpon the banks.

Seeing we could not passe any further, we tooke our Skiffe, to see whether the current were more gentle, but going vp some two leagues, it was yet stronger, and we could goe no higher. Being able to doe no more we returned to our Pinnasse. All this River is some three hundred or foue hundred paces broad, and very wholsome. Wee saw foue Ilands in it, distant one from the other a quarter or halfe a league, or a league at the most: one of which is a league long, which is the neerest to the mouth, and the others are very small. All these Countries are couered with Trees and low Lands, like those which I had fene before; but here are more Firres and Cypress-trees then in other places. Neuthele, the soile is good, although it bee somewhat sandy. This River runneth in a manner South-west. The *Sauages* say, that some fiftene leagues from the place where we were vp the River, there is a *Sault* which falleth downe from a very steepe place, where they carry their Canowes to passe the same some quarter of a league, and come into a Lake; at the mouth whereof, are three Ilands, and being within the same they meete with more Iles: This Lake may containe some fortie or fiftie leagues in length, and some foue and twentie leagues in breadth, into which many Rivers fall, to the number of ten; which carrie Canowes very farre vp. When they are come to the end of this Lake, there is another fall, and they enter againe into another Lake, which is as great as the former, at the head whereof the *Iroquois* are lodged. They say moreover, that there is a River, which runneth vnto the Coast of Florida, whether it is from the said Lake some hundred, or an hundred and fortie leagues. All the Country of the *Iroquois* is somewhat Mountainous, yet notwithstanding exceeding good, temperate, without much Winter, which is very short there.

AFTER our departure from the River of the *Iroquois*, we anchored three leagues beyond the same, on the North side. All this Country is a lowe Land, replenished with all sorts of trees, which I haue spoken of before. The first day of July we coasted the North side, where the land is very thicke, and more thicke then we had fene in any place before, and all good Land for tillage. I went in a Canoe to the South shore; where I saw a number of Iles, which haue many fruitfull trees, as Vines, Wal-nuts, Hazel-nuts, and a kinde of fruit like Chest-nuts, Cherries, Oakes, Alpes, Hoppes, Albes, Beech, Cypresses, very few Pines and Firre-trees. There are also other trees which I knew not, which are very pleasant. We found there store of Straw-berries, Rasp-berries, Goose-berries red, Greene, and blue, with many small fruits, which growe there among great abundance of grasse. There are also many wilde beasts, as *Orignas*, Stagges, Does, Buckes, Beares, Porkepickes, Conies, Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Muske-rats, and certaine other kindes of beasts which I doe not knowe, which are good to eat, and whereof the *Sauages* liue. We passed by an Ile, which is very pleasant, and containeth some foue leagues in length, and halfe a league in breadth. I saw toward the South two high Mountaynes, which the first of some twentie leagues within the Land. The *Sauages* told mee, that here beginne the hills of the foreland River of the *Iroquois*. The Wednesday following we departed from this place, and sailed some foue or five leagues. Wee saw many Ilands: the Land is there very lowe, and the Iles are couered with trees, as those of the River of the *Iroquois* were.

The day following, being the third of July, we ranne certaine leagues, and passed likewise by many other Ilands, which are excellent good and pleasant, through the great store of Meadows which are thereabout, as well on the shoare of the maine Land, as of the other Ilands: and all the Woods are of very small growth, in comparison of those which we had passed. At length we came this very day to the entrance of the *Sault* or Fall of the great River of Canada, with fauourable wind; and we met with an Ile, which is almost in the middle of the said entrance, which is a quarter of a league long, and passed on the South side of the said Ile, where there was not past three, foure or five foot water, and sometimes a fathome or two, and straight on the sudden we found againe not past three or foure foot. There are many Rockes, and small Ilands, whereon there is no wood, and they are euen with the water. From the beginning of the said Ile, which is in the middle of the said entrance, the water beginneth to sunne with a great force. Although we had the wind very good, yet we could not with all our might make any great way: neuthele, we passed the said Ile, which is at the entrance of the *Sault* or Fall. When we perceived that we could goe no further, we came to an anchor on the North shore our againt a small Iland, which abounded for the most part with those kinde of fruits which I haue spoken of before. Without all delay we made ready our skiffe, which wee had made of purple to passe the said *Sault*: wherinto the *Vis Monsieur de Post* and my selfe entered, with certaine *Sauages*, which wee had brought with vs to these vs the way. Departing from our Pinnasse, we were karfe gone three hundred paces, but we were forced to come out, and caule certain Mariners to goe into the water to free our Skiffe. The Canos of the *Sauages* sailed easily. Wee met with an infinite number of small Rockes, which were euen with the water, on which we touched oftentimes.

Five Ilands.

This River runneth all South-west. A Lake some fortie or fiftie leagues long in the Country of the *Iroquois*. The good-will and their winter of the Country of the *Iroquois*.

Their arrival at the *Sault* or Fall of the River of Canada, where the description thereof is to be seen. Fruitfull Trees of many sorts.

* *Orignas* are beavers said to be like oxen, perhaps Buffets, *L'Archer*, that *Orignas* are *Elans*. Will befalls. A pleasant Ile. Many Ilands.

July 3. Many more Ilands.

The entrance of the *Sault* or Fall. A Nile.

A greater current of water.

Monfron du Pont was shown the *Chemin* place, such the *Sault*.

There

The River
where the
fall the whales
Our arrival at
Tadoufac the 3^d
of August.

point of a rocke to enter in, where one Ship only can passe at a time. A little higher there is a River, which runneth a little way into the land. This is the place where the *Basky* kill the Whales; to say the truth, the hauen is starke naught. Wee came from thence to the forsaide hauen of *Tadoufac*, the third day of August. All these Countreies before mentioned are low toward the shoare, and within the land very high. They are neither so pleasant nor fruitful as those on the South, although they be lower. And this for a certaintie is all which I have seene of this Northern coast.

Of the *Arme-
chais* Saunages
and of their
monstrous
shape. The dis-
cussant *Man-
fieur de Pre-
nert* of Saint Malo,
touching the
discourse of the South
Coast. ch. 11.
The Ceremo-
nies which they
use before they
goe to the
warres.

At our coming to *Tadoufac*, we found the *Saunages* which wee met in the River of the *Arme-
chais*, who met with three Canoes of the *Iroquois* in the first Lake, which fought against
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tenne others of the Mountayners; and they brought the heads of the *Iroquois* to *Tadoufac*,
and there was but one Mountayner wounded in the arme with the shot of an Arrow, who dreaming
of something, all the other tenne must needs to content him, thinking also that his wound there-
by would mend if this *Saunage* die, his Parents will revenge his death, either upon their Nation
or upon others, or at least will the Captaines multigie Presents to the Parents of the dead, to
content them; otherwise as I have said, they would be reuenged: which is a great fault among
them. Before the said Mountayners fet forth to the Warre, they assembled all, with their richest
apparell of Furses, Beavers, and other Skins adorned with *Pater-nosters* and Chaines of divers
colours, and assembled in a great publicke place, where there was before them a *Sagamo* whose
name was *Bogemot*, which led them to the Warre, and they marched one behind another, with
their Bowes and Arrowes, Males and Targets, wherewith they furnish themselves to fight; and
they went leaping one after another, in making many gestures of their bodies, they made many
turnings like a Snail: afterward they began to dance after their accustomed manner, as I have
said before: then they made their Feast, and after they had ended it, the women stripped them-
selves starke naked, being decked with their fursell Cordons, and went into their Canoes thus
naked and there danced, and then they went into the water, and strooke at one another with
their Oares, and beate water one upon another: yet they did no hurt, for they warred the
blowes which they strooke one at the other. After they had ended all these Ceremonies, they
retired themselves into their Cabines, and the *Saunages* went to warre against the *Iroquois*.

The depar-
ture from Ta-
doufac.
Armechais
deformed Sa-
nages.

The sixth day of August we departed from *Tadoufac*, and the eighteenth of the said month we
arrived at the *Ile Perse*, where we found *Monsieur Prenert* of Saint Malo, which came from
the Myne, where he had beene with much trouble, for the feare which the *Saunages* had to meet
with their enemies, which are the *Armechais*, which are *Saunages* very monstrous, for the
shape that they have. For their head is little, and their body short, their armes small like a bone,
and their thigh like; their legges great and long, which are all of one proportion, and when they
sit upon their heeles, their knees are higher by half a foot then their head, which is a strange
thing, and they seeme to be out of the course of Nature. Nevertheless, they are very valiant and
resolute, and are planted in the best Countreies of all the South Coast: And the *Sonieries* do greatly
fear them. But by the incouragement which the said *Monsieur de Prenert* gave them, hee
brought them to the said Myne, to which the *Saunages* guided him. It is a very high Mountaine,
rising somewhat above the Sea, which glittereth very much against the Sunne, and there is great
store of Verde-grease issuing out of the said Myne of Copper. He saith, that at the foot of the
said Mountaine, at a low water there were many morsels of Copper, as was otherwise declared
vnto vs, which fall downe from the top of the Mountaine, passing three or foure leagues fur-
ther toward the South, there is another Myne, and a small River which runneth a little way vp
into the Land, running toward the South, where there is a Mountaine, which is of a blacke pin-
ting, wherewith the *Saunages* paint themselves: Some fixe leagues beyond the second Myne, to-
ward the Sea, about a league from the South Coast, there is an Ile, wherein is found another kind
of Metall, which is like a dark browne: if you cut it, it is white, which they used in old time
for their Arrowes and Knives, and did beate it with stones. Which maketh me beleue that it is
not Tinne, nor Lead, being so hard as it is; and having shewed them siluer, they said that the
Myne of that Ile was like vnto it, which they found in the earth, about a foot or two deepe. The
said *Monsieur Prenert* gave the *Saunages* Wedges and Cizels, and other things necessarie to draw
out the said Myne; which they have promised to do, and to bring the same the next year,
and I give it the said *Monsieur Prenert*. They say also that within fower hundred or one hundred
and twentie leagues there are other Mynes, but that they dare not goe thither vntill they have
Frenchmen with them to make warre upon their enemies, which have the said Mynes in their
possession. The said place where the Myne is, standeth in 44. degrees and some few minutes,
neere the South Coast within fower or fixe leagues: it is a kind of Bay, which is certaine leagues
broad at the mouth thereof, and somewhat more in length, where are three Rivers, which fall
into the great Bay neere vnto the Ile of Saint Iohn, which is thirtie or foue and thirtie leagues
long, and is fixe leagues distant from the South shoare. There is also another little River, which
falleth almost in the mid way of that wherby *Monsieur Prenert* returned, and there are at it
were two kind of Lakes in the said River. Furthermore, there is yet another small River which
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The *Sonieries*.

The Relation
of the Copper
Myne on the
South Coast.

Another Mine

Blacke pin-
ting.
An Ile wherein
another kind
of Metall is
found, which
is white being
cut.

Other Myne.
The descrip-
tion of the
place where
the said Myne
is.

goeth toward the Mountaine of the painting. All these Rivers fall into the said Bay on the
South-east part, neere about the said Ile which the *Saunages* lay there is this white Metall. On
the North side of the said Bay are the Mynes of Copper, where there is a good Hauen for ships,
and a small Land at the mouth of the Hauen the ground is Oze and Sand, where a man may run
his ship on shoare. From the said Myne to the beginning of the mouth of the said Rivers is some
fixtie or eightie leagues by Land. But by the Sea Coast, according to my judgement, from the
passage of the Ile of Saint Lawrence and the *Firme Land*, it cannot be past fiftie or sixtie leagues
to the said Myne. All this Countrey is exceeding faire and flat, wherein are all sorts of trees,
which wee law as wee went to the first Saule vp the great River of *Canada*, very small store of
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Fire-trees and Cyprissis. And this of a truth is as much as I learned and heard of the said *Mon-
fieur Prenert*.

A good Hauen
at the Copper
Mynes.

Before we departed from *Tadoufac*, to returne into France, one of the *Sagamos* of the Moun-
tainers named *Bachourat*, gave his Sonne to *Monsieur du Pont* to carrie him into France,
and he was much recommended vnto him by the Great *Sagamo Anadabijou*, praying him to vile
him well, and to let him see that, which the other two *Saunages* had seene which we had brought
backe againe. We prayed them to give vs a woman of the *Iroquois*, whom they would have ca-
rent: in whom they gave vnto vs, and we brought her home with the forsaide *Saunage*. *Monsieur
de Prenert* in like manner brought home foure *Saunages*, one man which is of the South Coast, one
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woman and two children of the *Canadians*.

Their returne.
Chap. 13.

The foure and twentieth of August, we departed from *Gachepé*, the ship of the said *Mon-
fieur Prenert* and ours. The second of September, we counted that wee were as farre as Cape
Rasp. The fifth day of the said month we entred vpon the Banks, whereto they vnto to fish. The
sixteenth, we were come into the Sounding, which may be some fittie leagues distant from the
Vlyant. The twentieth of the said month we arrived in *New Hauen* by the grace of God to all
our contentments, with a continuall fauourable wind.

Cape Rasp.
The Banks.
The sounding
Vlyant.

CHAP. VII.

The Patent of the French King to Monsieur de MONTS for the inha-
biting of the Countreies of La Cadia Canada, and other
places in New France.

Entry by the grace of God King of France and Nauarre. To our deare and well beloued
the Lord of MONTS, one of the ordinarie Gentlemen of our Chamber, greeting. As our
greatest care and labour is, and hath alwayes beene, since our coming to this Crowne,
maintaine and conserue it in the ancient dignitie, greatnesse and splendour thereof, to ex-
tend and amplifie, as much as lawfully may be done, the bounds and limits of the same.
We being, of a long time, informed of the situation and condition of the Lands and Ter-
ritories of La Cadia, moued about all things, with a singular zeale, and demost constant resolution,
which we haue taken, with the helpe and assistance of God, Author, Distributor, and Protector of all
Kingdomes and Estates, to cause the people, which doe inhabit the Countrey, men (as this present time)
Barbarous, Atheists, without Faith or Religion, to be converted to Christianity, and to the Beliefe
and Profession of our Faith and Religion: and to draw them from the ignorance and vnbeliefe whereto they
are. Having also of a long time knowne by the Relation of the Sea Captaines, and Pilots, Merchants and
others, who of long time haue haunted, frequented and trafficked with the people that are found in the
said places, how fruitfull, commodious and profitable may be vnto vs, to our Estates and Subiects, the
Dwelling, Possession, and Habitation of those Countreies, for the great and apparent profit which may be
drawn by the greater frequentation and habitude which may be had with the people that are found
there, and the Trafficke and Commerce which may be, by that meanes safely treated and negotiated. We
then, for the causes fully trusting on your great wisdoms, and in the knowledge and experience that you
haue of the qualitie, situation and situation of the said Countrey of La Cadia: for diuers and sundry Na-
uigations, Voyages, and frequentations that you haue made into those parts, and others seere and border-
ing vpon it: Aftering our selves that thus our resolution and intention, being committed vnto you, you
will attentively, diligently, and no less courageously and valorously execute and bring to such perfection
as we desire: Have expressly appointed and established you, and by these Presents, signed with our owne
hands, doe commit, ordaine, make, constitute and establish you, our Lieutenant General, for to represent
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our person in the Countreies, Territories, Coasts and Co-fines of La Cadia. To begin from the 40. de-
gree vnto the 46. And in the same distance, or part of it, as farre as may be done, to establish, extend
and make to be knowne our Name, Might and Authority. And vnder the same to subiect, submit and
bring to subiection all the people of the said Land and the Borderers thereof: And by the meanes thereof,
and all lawfull wayes, to call, make, instruct, prouoke and incite them to the knowledge of God, and to the
light

T. 1111

Confederacy

bee A

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CHAP. 7. *Presents given by Monsi. de Poutrincourt : Boats of trees hollowed.* 1633

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Учучу

The agilité of
the *Am. robin-*
chum.

The agilité of
the *Am. robin-*
chum.

or eight Islands where ships may be sheltered from windes: and there is a Bay of about fiftene leagues depth, and fixe or seven leagues broad. The said place being distant from *Port Royal* about one hundred and nintie leagues. For victuals, wee wanted for no fish, for in halfe an houres fishing wee might take Cod enough for to feed vs a fortnight, and of the fairest and fattest that euer I saw, being of the colour of Carpes; which I haue neuer knowne nor nored, but in this part of the said *Cap de Sables*; which after we had passed; the tide (which is swift in this place) brought vs in short time as farre as to the *Port De La Hen*, thinking that wee were no further then the *Port de Monion*. There we tarried two dayes, and in the very same Port we saw the Codsbait at the Hooke. We found there store of red Gooseberies, and a *Maraschite* of Copper Myne: we also made there some trucking with the Saueages for skines.

From thence forward we had wind at will, and during that time it happened once, that being vpon the hatches, I cried out to our Pilot *Monfieur de Champlaine*, that we were ready to strike, thinking I had seen the bottome of the Sea; but I was decieued by the Rain-bow which did appeare with all his colours in the water, procured by the shadow, that our Boare-spright sayle did make ouer the same, being opposite to the Sunne, which assembling his beames, within the hollownes of the same sayle, as it doth within the Cloudes, those beames were forced to make a reuerberation in the water, and so shew forth this wonder. In the end we arrived within foure leagues of *Campseau*, at a Port, where a good old man of Saint *Iohn de Lus*, called *Captaine Sanalet*, receiued vs with all the kinde of the World. And for as much as this Port (which is little, but very faire) hath no name, I haue qualified it in my Geographical Mappe, with the name of *Sanalet*. This good honest man told vs that the same Voyage was the two and fortieth Voyage that he had made into those parts, and neuertheless the *New-found-land-men* doe make but one in a yeere. He was maruellously pleased with his fishing; and told vs moreover that hee tooke euery day fittie Crowns worth of fish, and that his Voyage would bee worth one thousand pounds. He payed wages to fixtene men, and his villall was of eightie tuns, which could carrie 100000. dry fishes.

We were foure dayes there, by reason of the contrary wind. Then came we to *Campseau*, where we tarried for the other Barke, which came two dayes after vs. And as for *Monfieur de Pontreincourt*, as soone as hee saw that the Corne might be reaped, he pulled vp some Rie, root and all, for to shew here the beautie, goodnesse, and vnmearsurable height of the same. Hee also made gleanes of the other sorts of Seeds, as Wheat, Barley, Oates, Hempe, and others for the same purpose. Delighting my selfe in this exercise, God hath blessed my poore labour, and I haue had in my Garden as faire Wheate as any can be in *France*, whereof the said *Monfieur de Pontreincourt* gaue vnto mee a glean, when hee came co the said Port of *Campseau*. Hee was ready to depart from *Port Royal*, when *Membertauin* his company arryued, victorious ouer the *Armoichiquois*. At the instant request of the said *Membertauin* he tarried yet one day. But it was pitious to see at his departing, those poore people weepe, who had beene alwayes kept in hope that some of ours shuld alwayes tarrie with them. In the end promyse was made vnto them, that the yeere following householdes and families should bee sent thither, wholly to inhabit their Land, and teach them Trades for to make them liue as wee doe, which promise did somewhat comfort them. There was left remayning ten Hogs-heads of Meale, which were giuen to them, with the Corne that we had sowed, and the possession of the Manour if they would vse it, which they haue not done. For they cannot be constant in one place, and liue as they doe.

The eleuenth of August the said *Monfieur de Pontreincourt* departed, with eight in his company, from the said Port *Royal*, in a shallop to come to *Campseau*: A thing maruellously dangerous to crosse so many Bayes and Seas in so small a vessell, laden with nine persons, with victuals necessary for the Voyage, and reasonable great quantitie of other stuffe. Being arryued at the Port of *Captaine Sanalet*, he receiued them all as kindly as it was possible for him: And from thence they came to vs, to the said Port of *Campseau*, where we tarried yet eight dayes. The third day of September, we weighed Anchors, and with much adoe came wee from among the Rocks, that be about the said *Campseau*. Which our Mariners did with two hallops that did carrie their Anchors very farre into the Sea, for to vphold our ship, to the end she should not strike against the Rocks. Finally, being at Sea, one of the said shallops was let goe, and the other was taken into the *lonas*, which besides our lading, did carrie 100000. of fish, as well drie as Greene. We had reasonable good wind vntill we came nere to the Lands of *Europe*: But we were not out-cloyed with good cheere, because that they who came to fetch vs, presuming we were dead did cramme themselves with our refreshing commodities. Our Workemen dranke no more Wine, after we had left *Port Royal*: And we had but small portion thereof, because that which did ouer-abound with vs was drunke merrily in the company of them that brought vs newes from *France*. The fixe and twentieth of September wee had light of the *Sorlingues*, which bee at the Lan is end of *Cornwall* in *England*, and the eight and twentieth thinking to come to Saint *Maloes*.

Being at *Paris*, the said *Monfieur de Pontreincourt* presented to the King with the fruits of the Land from whence hee came, and especially the Corne, Wheate, Rie, Barley and Oates, as being the

the most precious thing that may be brought from what Countrey soeuer. The said *Monfieur de Pontreincourt* had bred tenne Ourards, taken from the shell, which hee thought to bring all into *France*, but fixe of them were lost, and the other fixe hee gaue to the King, who delighted much in them; and they are at *Fontaine Belleau*. Vpon the faire throw of the fruites of the said Countrey, the King did confirme to *Monfieur de Monts* the priuledge for the Trade of Beuers with the Saueages, to the end to giue him meanes to establish his Colonies in *New France*. And by this occasion hee sent thither in March last. Families, there to beginne Christian and *French* Commonwealths, which God vouchsafe to blefse and increase.

The said ships being returned, we haue had report by *Monfieur de Champlaine*, and others, of the state of the Countrey which we had left, and of the wonderfull beautie of the Corne that hee laid *Monfieur de Pontreincourt* had sowed before his departure, together of the graine that hee fallen in the Gardens, which haue so increased that it is an incredible thing. *Monfieur de Champlaine* had ther fix or seven barrels of the Corne that we had sowed: and had yet one left, which hee reserved for the *Frenchmen*, whom hee looked for, who arriuing hee saluted with three Musket shotts and Bonfires. When it was laid to his charge that hee had eaten our Pigeons, which wee left there, hee fell a weeping, and embracing him that told it him, said, that it was the *Marchans*, that is to say, the great Birds which are Eagles, which did eat many of them, while wee were there. Moreover, all great and small, did inquire how we did, naming euery one by his owne name, which is a witness of great loue.

From *Port Royal*, the said *Champlaine* went as farre as *Chonakouet*, the beginning of the *Armoichiquois* Land, where hee pacified that Nation with the *Etechemins*, which was not done without solemnitie. For as hee had begun to speake of it, the *Captaine*, who is now intitled of *Olmechin*, named *Astikou*, a graue man and of a goodly presence, how lauge soeuer hee be, demanded that some one of the said *Etechemins* should be intitled to him, and that hee would treat with him. *Oagmon*, *Sagamon* of the Ruer *Saint Croix*, was appointed for that purpose, and hee would not trust them, but vnder the assurance of the *Frenchmen*, hee went thither. Some Prefets were made to *Astikou*, who, vpon the speech of peace, began to exhort his people and to shew them the causes that ought to induce them to hearken vnto it. Whereunto they consented, making an exclamation at euery Article that hee propounded to them. Some fixe yeeres agoe *Monfieur de Monts* had likewise pacified those Nations, and had declared vnto them, that hee would be euenemie to the first of them that should begin the Warre, and would pursue him. But after his returne into *France*, they could not containe themselves in peace. And the *Armoichiquois* did kill a *Souriquois* Saueage, called *Pawmie*, who went to them for to trucke Merchandize, which hee tooke at the Store-house of the said *Monfieur de Monts*. The Warrehouse mentioned happened by reason of this said murder, vnder the conduct of *Sagamon Membertauin*: the said Warre was made in the very same place, where I now make mention, that *Monfieur de Champlaine* did treat the peace this yeere. *Monfieur Champlaine* is in another place, to wit, in the great Ruer of *Canada*, nere the place where *Captaine James Quartier* did winter, where hee hath fortified him selfe, hauing brought thither householdes, with Cattle and diuers sorts of fruit-trees. There is store of Vines, and excellent Hempe, in the same place where he is, which the earth bringeth forth of itselfe. Hee is not a man to be idle, and we expect shortly newes of the whole *Discouerie* of this great and vncomparable Ruer, and of the Countreys which it waltherh on both sides, by the diligence of the said *Champlaine*.

As for *Monfieur de Pontreincourt*, his desire is immutable, in this resolution to inhabit and adorne his Province, to bring thither his family, and all sorts of Trades necessary for the life of man. Which, with Gods helpe hee will continue to effect all this present yeere 1609. And as long as hee hath vigour and strength, will prosecute the same, to liue there vnder the Kings obedience.

The Author hath written another large Booke of the Rites of the Saueages of those parts, which I haue omitted, partly because *Champlaine* in the former Chapter hath giuen vs large instructions of the same, and because in our *Virginian*, and *New England*, and *New-found-land*, our men will relate the like; and because I feele to bee short, howeuer my Subject canserbe me to bee voluminous.

A Battell.

1611.

St.

A faire Coun-
treys.

Beuers burnt.

Hort.

Mergulous
in suffry.

Fores & down.

Houtts with
stones.

Strong bowes.

Hore for the
passage to
China.Some great
River running
Westward into
the Westerne
Sea.The Northern
Sea.1610.
A tedious Na-
uigation.

A conspiracy.

Their arrival
at Port Royal.Buildings and
beautifullie
preferred.Pilgrage of the
ground.The first Chri-
stianizing made
in New France.Sagamos dicit
a
France, Ruiter,
or Canarian.The King was
th in this
which in
know.

of his offer, and went together with some other *Frenchmen* more, along the same faire River: the Sauges still hunting for prouision for the kitchen. And they trauailed so farre, that after hauing passed the Falls, they croiled some Lakes, and in the space of eighty leagues, came to that other Lake, which we haue said to be of an hundred leagues in length: where (as the said *Champlain* hath recited vnto me) they were presently let vpon by the Sauges of the Country, and it was behoouefull vnto them, to stand in good order, & well to defend themselves, after the said *Champlain* had recused a blow on the chere boue, whereof he is not yet fully healed. Since, he made a confederacy with other Nations of those parts, farther distant from the mouth of the Lake, who promised him, that the next year following (which is this year 1611.) they would conduct him with all allowance, as far as the farthest end of the said Lake. He, for his part, promised them safe, and shewed them as well as he could, the greatness of our King, and of his Kingdomes, and to make them certainer thereof, heooke with him a yong man, sonne of a Captaine of those parts, called *Sauignon* a man of a good haire, strong, vigorous, and of great courage, whom he hath brought into France to make report, vpon his returne, of that which he hath seenne. This Country (by the report of the said *Champlain*) is one of the fairest Countries of the world, much filled, abounding with chafe Deere, and Fish, Vines, Hemp, good Roots, Walnut-trees, Chestnut-trees, Plumtrees, and others.

There are store of Beuers along this Lake, but the Inhabitantes doe burne them, as here wee burne Hogges: and so by that means, that haire and wooll, which we goe so farre of, and with so many perils to seeke for, is lost. There are Bealls great and small, differing from ours, and Horses, as the said *Sauignon* hath shewed vs, by the neighing. But I dare not giue for current that which *Mosieur de Monts* hath recited vnto me, that these Nations haue tame Beares, which they teach, to carry them vpon trees for want of ladders. They haue Fords, such as they of *Virginia* haue, which are great indolours weth trees, ioyned together in forme like a Pale, and within those inclosures are houses made, two or three fittes high. The lower and higher parts doe serue for the men when they must defend themselves from the assaults of their enemies. For in the lower parts there are big Bowes, for the bending of which, the strength of six men is required; and they haue Arrowes, that knocke downe men. About, they haue murdering holes, or battlements, from whence to sling or cast stones, and also to shoot with Bowes, when they will hit their enemies a farre off. In the middle rooms are the women, which taile not in doing so that helpe which their sexe may afford. And in this middle story, they lay vp their Corne and other prouisions.

Champlain prometh vs neuer to giue ouer vntill he haue pierced as farre as to the Western Sea, or that of the North, to open the way of *China*: in vaine by so many thought for. As for the Western Sea, I beleuee that at the farther end of the greatest Lake, which is very far beyond that whereof we spake of in this Chapter, there will be found some great River, which will fall into the same, or issue from it (as dooth that of *Canada*) and neuer into the said Western Sea. And as for the Northern Sea, there is hope to come neere to it by the River of *Saguenay*, there being but small distance from the head of the said River, to the said Sea.

It is now fit to speake of *Mosieur de Poutrincourt*, a Gentle-man of long time resolute in these actions, who hauing made his preparation at *Diepe*, set sail the 15. of February 1610. with a number of honest men, and Artificers. This Nauigation hath bin very tedious and trouble-some; for from the beginning they were driuen within sight of the *Acores*, and from thence, almost continually beaten with contrary winds, by the space of two monthes: during which time, his little people doe commonly occupie their spirits in euill humors, by secret practices, surft conspiring against their Captaine, whom notwithstanding, the said *Poutrincourt*, according to his accustomed clemency, did pardon.

Hauing made a reuiue of that coast, he came into Port Royal, where he brought much consolation to the Sauges of that place. As for the buildings; they were found all while, except the couering, and eury parcell of houshold stuffe, in the same place where they were left.

The first care that the said *Mosieur de Poutrincourt* had, was for the tillage of the ground, and to dispose it to receiue the feede of corne, for theyare following; which being finished, hee would not neglect that which belonged to the spiritality, and whereunto the chiefest aim of his trauailes did tend, which was, to procure the saluation of those poore sauge and barbarous people. After necessary instruction giuen, they were baptized vpon Saint John Baptist his day, the foure and twentieth of Iune, 1610. to the number of one and twenty persons; to eury one of which was giuen the name of some great or notable person of these parts.

1. *Memberton* great Sagamo, being about an hundred yeares of age, was baptized by Sir *Iesse Fleche* Priest, and named by *Mosieur de Poutrincourt*, *Henry*, after the Kings name. 2. *Atlanawac*, third Sonne of the said *Henry Memberton*, was by the said *Poutrincourt*, named *Paul*, after the name of *Paul*. 3. The wife of the said *Henry*, was named by the said *Poutrincourt*, after the *Q. r. e. s. a. n. a. m. e.* that is, *Maria*. 4. *Monbousic*, alias *Indit*, after some to *Memberton*, being about sixty yeares old, was also baptized, and by *Mosieur de Poutrincourt*, named *Leuer*, after the name of my L. r. the *Daulphyn*, &c.

M. m. 1611.

Memberton, chief Sagamo of these Countries, moued with a religious zeale (but without knowledge) faith, that he will denounce open wars against all them that will refuse to become Christians.

Shortly after these spirituall regenerations, *Mosieur de Poutrincourt* his son was sent backe into France to take a new charge: In doing whereof, he certified the Queene, what had bin done in those Christianities; whereby he receiued a marueilous contentment. But this one thing is to be noted, that though the Nauigation were tedious in going, yet in the returne it was very short, for being come to the filling bank, which is fittle leagues on this side *New-found-Land*, he was brought in a fortnight into France, in which time they commonly make their returne. Vpon that 10 Banke they heare the newes of our good Kings death, whose soule setteth with God, and whose posterity we pray God to bleis.

The Author reports another Voyage 1611. by the Lord of Saint Iust; but I haue haste to the English Plantation for whose sake these are published: there being no great matter of history of this part therein. As for the Articles of a Societe concluded, and the names of those which entred therein, till we haue greater effect thereof, I shall not trouble you with the recital thereof.

CHAP. IX.

The first plantation of English Colonies in Virginia briefly mentioned.

Sir *Walter Raleigh*, a man more famous then happy, had obtained of Queene Elizabeth, of glorious memory, a Patent for discovering and peopling of vnknowne parts, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince, dated March 25. A. Reg. 26. The 27. of April 1584. he set forth two Barkes vnder the command of *Admiral Philip Amadas*, and *Mosieur Arthur Barlow*, which arrived on that part of *America*, which that Virgin Queene called *Virginia*, and thereof in her Maiesties name tooke possession July 29. and hauing taken view and liking of the Country, and had conference and trade with the Sauges, obseruing about foureteene fowerie smelling timber trees, and many other commodities; they returned with two of the Sauges, *Wanchoke* and *Manteo*, and arrived in England in September.

April 9. 1585. Sir *Richard Greeneuile* was sent by Sir *Walter Raleigh* with a flecte of seuen saile, which landed in the Ile of Saint John Port Ricco, May 12. and there fortified themselves, and built a Pinnace. The *Spaniards* promised to furnish them with victuals, but did not, whereupon they tooke two Frigates. In *Hispaniola* they had friendly greetings and trade, Iune 26. they anchored at *Wacoque*, where by the valkillfulness of *Fernando* the Master, their Admirall trooke on ground and sunke.

40 In the 25. of Iuly, the Generall returned for England, and tooke a Spanish Ship of three hundred tuns richly laden by the way, boarding her with a Boate made of the boards of Cheth, which as soone as hee had boarded her fell in under and sunke at the Ships side. In the Countrey was a Colonie, left vnder the government of *Mosieur Ralph Lane*, viz. *Mosieur Philip Amadas*, *Mosieur Harriot*, *Mosieur Alton*, *Mosieur Edward Stafford*, *Mosieur Pridew*, *Captaine Vaughan*, and about a hundred others. *Mosieur Lane* was from his own Fort in *Virginia*, that if *Virginia* had Kine and Horse in reasonable proportion, no Countrey in *Christendome* were comparable to it. They discoursed from *Romack* to the *Chesapeake*, about one hundred and thirty miles, to *Champan* North-West is farre. The Sauges conspired against the English, the principall was *Pemissagan*, who lost his head in the quarrell, in the beginning of Iune 1586. and Sir *Francis Drake* coming thither from the lacke of diuers Spanish Townes, to visite the Colony, on the nineteenth, tooke the Colony with him in his victorious flecte, and brought them into Eng. d.

The same yeere had Sir *Walter Raleigh* prepared a ship of a hundred tun, fraught with provision for the Colonie, which setting forth late, arrived at *Harroacke* immediately after the departure of the Colonie, which hauing fought in vaine, she returned with her provisions for England. About a fortnight after her departure, Sir *Richard Greeneuile*, Generall of *Virginia*, accompanied with three Ships arrived there, and neither hearing of the Ship, nor of the Colonie which hee had left there the yeare before; after long and vaine search, he left fifteen men to hold possession of the Countrey, in the Ile of *Romack*, furnished for two yeares, and returned, by the way making spoyle on the Townes of the *Acores*, and theretaking diuers Spanish. *Mosieur Thomas Harriot* wrote a large History of the Men, Beasts, Fishes, Fowles, Plants, and Commodities of *Virginia*, subscribed also by *Mosieur Ralph Lane*, except in *Mosieur Harriot* his third Tome.

In the yeare 1587. Sir *Walter Raleigh*, continuing his purpose of Plantation, sent another Colonie of one hundred and fiftie persons, vnder the government of *Mosieur John White*; to him he appointed twelue Assiliants, vnto whom he gaue a Charter, and incorporated them by the name of

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of

Bay of Chesapeake.

Englishborne

of Governor and Assistants of the Citie of Raleigh in Virginia. These arrived on July 22. at Hatteraske: where they went on shore to seeke the fifteen men left there the yeare before, with intent after to plant at the Port. By *Chesapeake*, according to Sir Walter Raleigh his direction, there to make their leave and Returne. By *Chesapeake* they learned how the Saugages had secretly assailed the fifteen English, and slaine some, the other being forced to flee, it was not knowne without. *Manteo* was Christianized, and by Sir Walter Raleigh's direction, made Lord of *Banock*. With *Dare* the Governours daughter was delivred of a daughter, which was baptised by the name of *Virginia*.

The Company were very important with the Governour, to returne for England, to supply their detrick; to which, with much unwillingnesse he yielded, Aug. 27. and Octob. 16. arrived in Ireland, and after in England.

Sir a Voyage.

At the 19. the said Master *John White* put to Sea with Ships, and two Pinnaques, with purpose for Virginia, where they anchored at *Hatteraske* in 36. 20. Aug. 15. They found some of the goods (such as the Saugages could not make use of) and tokens as if they were at *Croatan*; but the winds violence permitted no further search, and they returned to the *Azores*; and after to England, arriving at *Plimmouth*, Octob. 24.

Master BARTHOLOMEVV GOSNOLDS Letter to his Father, touching his first Voyage to Virginia, 1602.

Most dutie remembered, &c. Sir, I was in good hope that my occasions would have allowed me some liberty, as to have come unto you before this time; whereas I would have written more at large concerning the Countrey from whence we lately came, then I did: but well remembering what I have already written (though I am assured that there is nothing fit to dispute disagreeing with the truth) I thought it fittest not to go about to adde any thing in writing, but rather to leave the report of the rest till I come myself, which now I hope shall be shortly, and so soon as with convenientie I may. In the mean time, notwithstanding whereon you seeme not to be satisfied by that which I have already written, concerning some official matters, I have here briefly (and as well as I can) added these few lines for your further satisfaction: and first as touching that place where we were most resident, it is in the Latitude of 41. degrees, and on the third part; which albeit it be so much to the Southward, yet it is more cold then those parts of Europe, which are situated under the same parallel: but one thing is worth the noting, that notwithstanding the place is not so much subject to cold as England is, yet did we finde the Spring to be later there, then it is with us here, by almost a moneth: this whether it hapned accidentally this last Spring to be so, or whether it be so of course, I am not very certaine; the latter seeme most likely, whereof also there may be given some sufficient reason, which now I omit: as for the *Acornes* we saw gathered on beares; they were of the last yeare, but doubtlesse their Summer continues longer then ours. We cannot gather by any thing we could observe in the people, or by any triall we had thereof our selves; but that it is as healthfull a Climate as any can be. The Inhabitants there, as I wrote before, being of tall stature, comely proportion, strong, active, and some of good yeares, and as it should seeme very healthfull; as sufficient proofs of the healthfulness of the place. First, for our selves (thanks be to God) we had not a man sick two daies together in all our Voyage; whereas others that went out with us, or about that time on other Voyages (especially such as went upon reprisall) were most of them afflicted with sickness, whereof they lost some of their men, and brought home a many sick, returning most notwithstanding long before us. But *Verrazano*, and others (as I take it, you may read in the Booke of Discoveries) did more particularly intreate of the Age of the people in that coast. The Sallafra which we brought he had upon his face, was sufficient to cloy England) and further, for that we had resolved upon our returne, and taken view of our situation, we judged it then needfull to expectation; which afterward we had more certaine proof of: for when we came to an anchor before Portmouth, which was some fower daies after we made the land, we had not one Cake of Bread, nor any drinke, but a little Vinegar, left: & for lacke of other reason, we returned no otherwise laden then you have heard. And thus much I hope shall suffice: till I can my self come to give you further notice, which though it be not so soon as I could have wished, yet I hope it shall be in convenient time. In the mean time I am giving you pardon for which the urgent occasion of my stay will please, I humbly take my leave. 7. Septemb. 1602.

Your dutifull Sonne,

BARTH. GOSNOLD.

CHAP. XI.

The Relation of CAPTAINE GOSNOLDS Voyage to the North part of Virginia, begunne the sixe and twentieth of March, Anno 42. ELIZABETHÆ REGINÆ 1602. and delivred by GABRIEL ARCHER, a Gentleman in the said Voyage.



He said CAPTAINE did set saile from *Famouth*, the day and yeere above written accompanied with thirtie two persons, whereof eight Mariners and Sailors, twelve purposing vpon the Discouery to retume with the ship for England, the rest remayne there for population. The fourteenth of April following, we had sight of Saint Maries an Iland of the *Affrica*.

The three and twentieth of the same, being two hundred leagues Westwards from the said Iland in the latitude of 37. degrees. The water in the mytie Ocean appeared yellow, the space of two leagues North and South, where founding with thirtie fadome Line, we found no ground, and taking vp some of the said water in a bucket, it altered not either in colour or taste from the Sea Azure.

The seuenth of May following, we first saw many Birds in bigneffe of Cliffe Pidgeons, and after diuers other as Petreels, Cootes, Hagbuts, Pengwines, Murres, Gannets, Cormorants, Gulls, with many else in our English Tongue of no name. The eight of the same the water changed to a yellowish greene, where as fuentie fadome we had ground. The ninth, we had two and twentieth fadome in faire landie ground, hauing vpon our Lead many glittering Stones, somewhat beaute, which might promise some Minerrall matter in the bottome, we held our selues by computation, well nere the latitude of 43. degrees.

The tenth we fondred in 27. 30. 37. 43. fadome, and then came to 108. some thought it to be the founding of the Westmost end of Saint Johns Iland, vpon this banke we saw fowls of fish in great numbers. The twelfth we hoyled out halfe of our shallop, and founding had then eightie fadome without any current perceived by *William Srate* the Master, one hundred leagues Westward from Saint Maries till we came to the fore-ford foundings continually passed flitting by vs Se-oare, which seemed to haue their moueable course towards the North-east, as matters to for some subtle inuention on worke, for comprehending the true cause thereof. The thirteenth, we founde founded in fuentie fadome, and obserued great beds of weedes, much woode and diuers things else floating by vs, when as we had smelling of the shore, such as from the Southerne Cape and *Andalusia* in Spain.

The fourteenth, about six in the morning we desired Land that lay North, &c. the Northery part we called the North Land, which to another Rocke vpon the same lyinge twelve leagues West, that we called *Saugage Rocke*, because the Saugages first shewed themselves there; five leagues towards the said Rocke is an Point of woode ground, the Trees thereof very high and straight, from the Rocke East North-east. From the said Rocke, came towards vs a barge of shallop with faine and Oares, hauing eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to be Christian distressed. But approaching vs nere, we perceived them to be Saugages. Their coming within call hailed vs, and we answered. Then after signes of peace, and a long speech by one of them made, they came boldly aboard vs being all naked, fauing about their shoulders certaine loose Deere-skinnes, and nere their waistes Scale-skinnes tyed fast like to Irish Dimmie Trousers. One that seemed to be their Commander wore a Wattecoat of blacke worke, a paire of Breeches, cloth Stockings, Shoes, Hat, and Band, one or two more had also a few things made by some Christians, their with a piece of Chalk defined the Coast thereabouts, and could name *Placentia* of the New-found-land, they spake diuers Christian words, and seemed to vnderstand much more then we, for want of Language could comprehend. These people are in colour stand much more then we, for want of Language could comprehend. These people are in colour stand much more then we, for want of Language could comprehend. These people are in colour stand much more then we, for want of Language could comprehend.

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The fifteenth day we had againe sight of the Land, which made a head being as we thought an Iland, by reason of a large found that appeared Westward betweene it and the Mayne, for coming to the West end thereof, we did perceiue a large opening, we called it *Shole-hope*: Nere this Cape we came to Anchor in fiftene fadome, where we tooke great store of Cod-fish, for which we altered the name, and called it *Cape Cod*. Here we saw fowls of Herrings, Mackrell, and other small fish in great abundance. This is a low landie shore, but without danger, also were

Ocean seeming yellow,

Sea-oare, Smell of the shore.

Saugage Rocke.

Saugages.

Their behauiour.

Shole-hope.

Cape Cod.

X x x x x x 3

came to Anchor againe in sixteene fadome, faire by the Land in the latitude of 42. degrees. This Cape is well nere a mile broad, and lieth North-westerly East. The Captaine went here ashore and found the ground to be full of Pease, Strawberries, Hurberries, &c. as then vnrise, the sand also by the shoare somewhat deepe, the fire-wood there by vs taken in was of Cypresse, Birch, Wich-hazell and Beech. A young *Indian* came here to the Captaine, armed with his Bow and Arrows, and had certaine plates of Copper langing at his Eares, hee shewed a willingness to helpe vs in our occasions.

The sixteenth, we trended the Coast Southewly, which was all champaigne and full of grasse; but the lands somewhat wooddie. Twelue leagues from *Cape Cod*, we lefcried a point, with some breache a good distance off, and keeping our luffe to doublet; we came on the fudden into shoale water, yet well quitted our felues thereof. This breache we called *Tuckers Tern*, vpon his xpressell feare. The point we named *Point Care*, hauing passed it we bore vp againe with the Land, and in the night came with it anchoring in eight tadome, the ground good: The next mornning, appeared many breaches round about vs, so as we continued that day without remouue.

The eighteenth, being faire we sent forth the Boat, to sound ouer a Breach, that in our course lay of another Point, by vs called *Gilberts Point*; who returned vs foure, fise, fixe and seuen fadome ower. Also a Discouery of diuers lands which after proued to bee Hills and Hummocks, distinct within the Land. This day there came vnto the ships diuers Canoes the *Indians* appareled as afore said, with Tobacco and Pipes itted with Copper, Skins, artificiall things and other trifles to barter, one had hanging about his necke a plate of rich Copper in length a foot, in breadth halfe a foot for a breast-plate, the Eares of all the rest had Pendants of Copper. Also one of them had his face ouer painted, and his head stutke with feathers in manner of a Turkey Cocks traine: These are more timorous then those of the *Sauage Rocks*, yet very theuifh.

The nineteenth, we passed ouer the breach of *Gilberts Point* in foure or fise fadome, and anchored a league or somewhat more beyond it; betweene the laite two Points are two leagues, the interim, along shoale water, the latitude here is 41. degrees two third parts.

The twentieth, by the ships side we there killed *Pengwins*, and saw many sculs of fish. The Coast from *Gilberts Point* to the supposed lles lieth East and by South. Here also we discouered two Inlets which might promise fresh water, inwardly whereof we percieued much smoke, as though some population had there bene: This Coast is very full of people, for that as we trended the same Sauges still runne along the shoare, as men much admiring at vs.

The one and twentieth, we went coasting from *Gilberts Point* to the supposed lles, in tenne, nine, eight, seuen, and fixe fadome close aboard the shoare, and that depth lieth a league off. A little from the supposed lles appeared vnto vs an opening, with which we flood iudging it to bee the end of that which Captaine *Gosnoll* descrieth from *Cape Cod*, and as hee thought to extend some thirtie or more miles in length, and finding there but three tadome a league off, we omitted to make further discouerie of the same, calling it *Shoale hope*.

From this opening the Mayne lieth South-west, which coasting along we saw a disinhabited land which shortly afterwards appeared vnto vs: we bore with it, and named it *Marthaes Vineyard*, from *Shoale hope* it is eight leagues in circuit, the land is fise miles, and hath 41. degrees and one quarter of latitude: the place most pleasant; for the two and twentieth, we went ashore, and found it full of Wood, Vines, Gooseberries, Hurberries, Raspies, Eglington, &c. Here we had Cranes, Heernes, Shoulders Gesele, and diuers other Birds which there at that time vpon the Cliffs being sandie with some Rockie stones, did breed and had young. In this place we saw Deere, here we rode in eight fadome nere the shoare, where we tooke great store of Cod, as before at *Cape Cod*, but much better.

The three and twentieth we weyed, and towards night came to Anchor at the North-west part of this land, where the next morning off red vnto vs fast running thirteene Sauges appeared as afore said, and armed with Bowes and Arrows without any feare. They brought Tobacco, Deer skins and some foddish fish. These offered themselves vnto vsin great familiaritie, who seemed to be well conditioned. They came more rich in Copper then any before. This land is found, and hath no danger about it.

The foure and twentieth, we set saile and doubled the Cape of another land next vnto it, which we called *Douers Cliffe*, and then came into a faire Sound, where we rode all night, the next morning we sent off our Boate to discouer another Cape, that lay betwene vs and the Mayne, from which were a ledge of Rocks a mile into the Sea, but all about water, and without danger, we went about them, and came to Anchor in eight fadome, a quarter of a mile from the shoare, in one of the flatest Sounds that euer I was in. This called we *Gosnolls Hope*; the North banke whereof is the Mayne, which lieth East and West. This land Captaine *Gosnoll* called *Elizabeths Ile*, where we determined our abode: the distance betwene euey of these Islands is, viz. from *Marthaes Vineyard* to *Douers Cliffe*, halfe a league ouer the Sound, thence to *Elizabeths Ile* one league distant. From *Elizabeths Ile* vnto the Mayne is foure leagues. On the North side nere adioyning vnto the land *Elizabeths*, is an Islet in compass halfe a mile full

of Cedars, by me called *Hills Hop*, to the Northward, of which in the mouth of an opening on the Mayne appeareth another the like, that I called *Haps Hill*, for that I hope much hap may be expected from it.

The fise and twentieth, it was that we came from *Gosnolls Hope*. The fixe and twentieth, we trimmed and fitted vp our Shallop. The seuen and twentieth, there came vnto vs an *Indian* and two women the one we supposed to be his Wife, the other his Daughter, both cleane and strait bodied, with countenance sweet and pleasant. To these the *Indian* gaue heedfull attendance for that they shewed them in much familiaritie with our men, although they would not admit of any immodest touch.

The eight and twentieth we entred counsell about our abode and plantation, which was concluded to be in the West part of *Elizabeths Island*. The North-east thereof running from our ken. The South and North standeth in an equal Parallel. This land in the West side admitteth some Inceekes, or sandie Coes, so girded, as the water in some places of each side meeteth, to which the *Indians* from the Mayne doe oftentimes resort for fishing of Crabs. There is eight fadome very nere the shoare, and the latitude here is 41. degrees 10. minutes, the readiest Sound to Sound in the West part is not passing a mile at moit, altogether vnpeopled and uninhabited. It is ouer-grown with Wood and Rubbish, viz. Oakes, Alders, Beech, Walnuts, Weech-halle, Sassafrage, and Cedars, with diuers other of vnkowne names. The Rockes are wild Peaze, young Sassafrage, Cherrie trees, Vines, Eglington, Goose-berry bulbes, Hawthorne, Honifuckles, with others of like qualitie. The herbs and Roots are Strawberries, Raspies, Ground Nuts, Alexander, Surin, Tanike, &c. without count. Touching the fertilitye of the soyle by our owne experience made, we found it to be excellent for sowing some *Englysh* pulse it sprouted out in one fortnight almost halfe a foot. In this land is a stage or Pond of fresh water, in circuit two miles, on the one side not distant from the Sea thirtie yards, in the Centre whereof is a Rockie Islet, containing nere an Acre of ground full of wood, on which we beganne our Fort and place of abode, disposing it selfe to fit for the same. These *Indians* call Gold *Wassador*, whichargeth there is thereof in the Country.

The nine and twentieth, we laboured in getting of Sassafrage, rubbishing our Irle Fort or Islet, new keeling our Shallop; and making a Punt or Flat bottomed Boate to palle to and fro our Fort ouer the fresh water, the powder of Sassafrage in twelue houres cured one of our Company that had taken a great Surtet by eating the bellies of Dog-fish, a very delicious meate.

The thirtieth, Captaine *Gosnoll* with diuers of his company went vpon pleasure in the Shallop towards *Hills Hop* to view it, and the Sandie Coe, and returning brought with him a Canoe that foure *Indians* had there left being fled away for feare of our *Englysh* which we brought into *England*.

The one and thirtieth, Captaine *Gosnoll* desirous to see the Maine, because of the distance, leese sayle ouer; where coming to anchor, went ashore with certaine of his companie, and immediately there presented vnto him men women and children, who with all curious kinde of entertainment him, giuing him certaine skines of wilde beasts, which may be rich Furres; Tobacco, 40 Co. Turtles, Hemes, artificiall Strings coloured, Chaines, and such like things as at the instant they had about them. These are a faire conditioned people: On all the Sea coast along we found Mustell shells that in colour did represent Mother-of-pearle, but not hauing meanes to dredge, could not apprehend further knowledge thereof. This Maine is the goodliest Continent that euer we saw, promising more by farre then we any way did expect: for it is replenished with faire fields, and in them fragrant Flowers, also Medowes, and hedged in with flately Groves, being furnished also with pleasant Brookes, and beautified with two maine Riues that (as we iudge) may haply become good Harbours, and conduct vs to the hopes men so greedily doe thirst after. In the mouth of one of these Inlets or Riues lieth that little Ile before mentioned, called *Haps Hill*, from which vnto the Westmost end of the Maine, appearing where the other Inlet is, is account some fise leagues, and the Coast betwene bendeth like a Bow, and lieth East 50 and by North. Beyond these two Inlets we might perceiue the Mayne to beare vp South-west, and more Southerly. Thus with this taste of Discouery, we now contented our felues, and the same day made returne vnto our Fort, time not permitting more sparing delay.

The first of Iune, we employed our felues in getting Sassafrage, and the building of our Fort. The second, third and fourth, we wrought hard to make readie our house for the preuention to bee had ashore to sustaine vs till our ships returne. This day from the Mayne came to our ships diuers Canoes, with their Lord or chiefe Commander, for that they made little stay only pointing to the Sunne, as in signe that the next day hee would come and visit vs, which hee did accordingly.

60 The fift, we continued our labour, when there came vnto vs ashore from the Mayne fiftie Sauges, four and lustie men with their Bowes and Arrows, amongst them there seemed to be one of authoritie, because the rest made an inclining respect vnto him. The ship was at their coming a league off, and Captaine *Gosnoll* aboard, and so likewise Captaine *Gilbert*, who almost neuer went ashore, the company with me only eight persons. These *Indians* in halfe manner

Tuckers Tern
Point CareGilberts Point
Diuers Islands

Sauges

Pengwinn

Marthaes Vineyard

Douers Cliffe
Sound

Gosnolls Hope

Elizabeths Ile

Elizabeths Ile
in a distance
to minute
sections

Forting

Goodly
Country

came towards vs, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle betweene the Sea and a fresh water. I moued my selfe towards him seven or eight steps, and clapt my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my Musket with a threatening countenance, thereby to signifie vnto them, either a choice of Peace or Warre, whereupon they vng me with mine owne signes of Peace, I steps forth and embraced him, his company then all late downe in manner like Grey-hounds vnder their heeles, with whom my company fell a bartersing. By this time Captaine Gysford had come with twelue men more from aboard, and to shew the Saige *Seigneur* that he was our Captaine, we reueined him in a guard, which he passing thorough, faluted the *Seigneur* with ceremonies of our salutations, whereat he nothing moued or altered himselfe, Our Captaine gaue him a draw Hat and a paire of Knives, the Hat awhile hee wore, but the Knives he beheld with great marrelling, being very bright and sharpe, this our courtesie made them all in loue with vs.

The sixt being raine, we spent idly aboard. The seuenth, the *Seigneur* came againe with all his troupe as before, and continued with vs the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noone, they ate with vs and did eate of our Bacaleure and Mustard, dranke of our Beere, but the Mustard nipping them in their noses they could not indure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of Dinner the *Sauages* had holene a Target where-with acquainting the *Seigneur*, with feare and great trembling they reformed it againe, thinking perhaps we would haue beene reuenged for it, but seeing our familiarity to continue, they fell a-fresh to roasting of Crabs, Red Herrings, which were exceeding great, ground Nuts, &c. as before. Our Dinner ended, the *Seigneur* hit tooke leave and departed, next all the rest fauing four that stayed and went into the Wood to helpe vs digge Sassafrage, whom we desired to goe aboard vs, which they refused and so departed.

The eighth we diuided the victuals, viz. the ships store for England, and that of the Planters, which by Captaine *Gibberts* allowance could be but sixe weekes for sixe months, whereby there fell out a controuersie, the rather, for that some feared secretly to understand of a purpose Captaine *Gibberts* had not to returne with supplie of the issue, those goods should make by him to be carried home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the mindes of some wrangling and ill disposed persons that ouerthrew the stay there at that time, which vpon consultation thereof had, about five dayes after was fully refused all for England againe. There came in this interim aboard vnto vs, that stayed all night, an *Indian*, whom we vied kindly, and the next day sent ashore hee shewed himselfe the most lober of all the rest, we held him sent as a Spie. In the morning hee flied away our Pot-hooks, thinking he had not done any ill therein: being ashore wee bid him strike fire, which with an Emerald stone (such as the *Glaiuers* vse, to cut Glasse) he did. I take it to be the very same that in *Latine* is called *Smiris*, for thinking therewith vpon Touch-wood that of purpose hee had, by means of a mynerall stone vied therein, sparkles proceeded and forth with kindled with making of fire. The ninth, we continued working on our Store-houise for as yet remayned in vs a desired resolution of making fire. The tenth, Captaine *Gysford* fell downe with the ship to the little Ile of *Cedars*, called *Heli hope*, to take in Cedar wood, leaving mee and nine more in the Fort, onely with three meales meate, vpon promise to returne the next day.

The eleuenth, he came not, neither day, whereupon I commanded foure of my company to seeke out for Crabbes, Lobsters, Turtles, &c. for supplying vs till the ships returne, which was gone cleane out of sight, and had the winde chopt vt at South-west, with much difficulty would they haue bene able in short time to make vnder there. These foure Purveyers, whom I counseilled to keepe together for their better fauour diuided themselves, two going one wayes and two another, in search as aforesaid. One of these petie companies was allured by foure *Indians*, who with Arrows did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other a lilly and milke fellow, leapt in and cut their Bow-strings whereupon they fled. Being late in the evening, they were druen to lie all night in the Woods, not knowing the way home thorow the thicke rubbish, as also the weather somewhat stormie. The want of these forrowed vs much, as not able to coniecture any thing of them vnlesse very emill.

The twelfth, thole two came vnto vs againe, wherat our ioy was encreased, yet the want of our Captaine, that promised to returne, as aforesaid, stooke vs in a dumps terror, for that he performed not the same in the space of almost three dayes. In the meane wee sustained our salues with Alexander and Sorrell portage, Ground-nuts and Tobacco, which gaue nature a reasonable content. Wee heard at last, our Captaine to leure vnto vs, which made such mullike as sweeter neuer came vnto poorer men.

The thirteenth, beganne some of our companie that before vowed to flay, to make request: whereupon the planters dimishing all, was giuen ouer. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth we spent in getting Sassafrage and fire-wood of Cedar, leaving Houat and Little Fort: ten men in nineteene dayes sufficient made to harbour twenty persons at least with their necessary provision.

The seuenteenth, we set sayle, doubling the Rockes of *Elizabeths* land, and passing by *Dowr* Cliffe,

Cliffe, came to anchor at *Marthaes* Vineyard being five leagues distant from our Fort, where we went ashore, and had young Cranes, Heronbowes, and Geese, which now were growne to pretie biggnes.

The eighteenth, we set sayle and bore for England, cutting off our Shalop, that was well able to lande five and twenty men, or more, a Boate very necessary for the like occasions. The winde bore raighe most commonly vpon this coast in the Summer time, Welterly. In our homeward course wee obserued the forelaide fleeting weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe.

The three and twentieth of Iuly we came to anchor before *Exmouth*.

CHAP. XI.

Notes of the same Voyage taken out of a Tractate written by JAMES ROSEIER to Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and of MACES Voyage to Virginia.

Elizabeths land is full of high timbered Oakes, their leaues thrice so broad as ours; Cedars, straight and tall; Beech, Elm, Holme, Wal, wal: trees in abundance, the fruit as bigge as ours, as appeared by thole we found vnder the trees, which had been all the yere overgathred. Maple, nut trees, Cherry trees, the leafe, berke and hysse, not differing from ours in England, but the stalks beareth the blossomes or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of Grapes, forsoe or siffe in a bunch; Sassafrage trees great plenty all the land ouer, a tree of high price and profit: also diuers other fruit-trees, some of them with frange berkes, of an Orange colour, in feeling soft and smooth like Yelmes: in the thicket parts of these Woods, you may see a furlong or more round about.

On the North-west side of this land, nere to the Sea-side, is a standing Lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compass, in the midst whereof stands a woody ground, an acre in quantitie, or not above: this Lake is full of small Tortois, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowles before rebeased, which breed, some lone on the banks, and others on some trees about this Lake in great abundance, whose young ones of all sorts wee took and ate at our pleasure: but all these fowles are much bigger than ours in England. Also, in every land, and almost every part of every land, are great store of Ground-nuts forsoe together on a string, some of them as bigge as Hennees egges; they growe not two inches vnder ground: the which Nuts wee found to bee as good as Potatoes. Also, diuers sorts of fish, as Scalops, Musfells, Cockles, Lobsters, Crabs, Oysters, and Wilkes, exceeding good and very great. But not to cloy you with particular rehearfall of such things as God and Nature hath bestowed in these places, in comparjion whereof, the most fertile parts of all England is (if it may) but barren; we went on our Light-buoy from the Maine, right against this land, some two miles off, where coming ashore, wee found a while like men washed at the beaute and delicacy of this sweet fyle: for besides diuers cleere Lakes of fresh water (whereof wee saw no end) Medowes of very sweet fyle, and full of greene grasse; even the moist woody places (I speake onely of such as I saw) doe growe (so distant and apart, one tree from another, vpon greene grasse ground, somewhat higher than the Plains, as if Nature would shew her selfe above her power, artificiall. Hard by, wee espied some Indians, and comming vp to them, at first they expressed some feare; but being emboldened by our courteous vjage, and some trifles which wee gaue them, they followed vs to a necke of Land, which wee imagined had bene severed from the *Maine*; but finding it otherwise, wee perceivede a broad Harbour or River: mouth, which came vp into the *Maine*: and because the day was farre spent, wee were forced to returne to the land from whence we came, leaving the Discovery of this Harbour, for a time of better lesure.

Of the goodnesse of which Harbour, as also of many others thereabouts, there is small doubt, considering that all the lands, as also the *Maine* (where we were) is all Rockie Ground and broken Land.

Now the next day, wee determined to fortifie our selves in a little plot of ground in the middell of the Lake above mentioned, where wee built an house, and covered it with sedge, which grew about this Lake in great abundance; in building whereof, wee spent three weekes and more: but the second day after our comming from the *Maine*, wee espied eleven Canoes or Boats, with fifty Indians in them, comming towards us from this part of the *Maine*, where wee two dayes before landed: and being loath they should discover our fortification, wee went out into the Sea side to meete them: and comming somewhat nere them, they all late downe vpon the fower, willing alread to vs (as wee rightly guessed) to doe the like, a little distance from them: hauing fate a while in this order, Captaine Gysford would need to geue them time, to see what countenance they would make: but as fone as I came vp vnto them, one of them, to whom I had giuen a Knife two dayes before in the *Maine*, knew mee (whom I also very well remembered) and smiling vpon me, spake somewhat vnto their Lord or Captaine, which sate in the middell of them, who presently rose up and took a large Beaver skinned from one that stood about him, and gaue

Returns

Oakes, Cedars
Beech, Elm,
Hollie, Walnut
trees, Cherry
trees, Sassafrage
trees, Diuers other
trees.

A Lake three
miles about.
Small Tortois
Abundance of
fowles, much
bigger than
ours in Eng-
land.
Ground-nuts,
shellfish.

The exceeding
beauty of the
maine Land.
Great Lakes.
Large Medowes
Seven Indians.

A broad River.

A good Harbour.

The English
House.
11. Canoes
with 50 Indians
in them.

Their Captaine

came towards vs, so as we thought fit to make a stand at an angle betweene the Sea and a fresh water, I moued my selfe towards him seuen or eight steps, and clapt my hands first on the sides of mine head, then on my breast, and after presented my Musketeer with a threatening countenance, thereby to signifie vnto them, either a choice of Peace or Warre, whereupon hee vying mee with mine owne signes of Peace, I stept forth and embraced him, his company then all faced vnto in manner like Grey-hounds vpon their heels, with whom from my company fell a bawling. By this time Capitaine Goyfard was come with twelue men more from aboard, and to shew the *Seigneur* that he was our Capitaine, we receiued him in a guard, which he passing thorow, saluted the *Seigneur* with ceremonies of our salutations, whereto hee nothing moued or altered himselfe, Our Capitaine gaue him a draw hat and a paire of Knives, the Hat awhile hee wore, but the Knives he beheld with great maruelling, being very bright and sharpe, to this our courtesie made them all in loue with vs.

The next being raine, we spent idly aboard. The seuenth, the *Seigneur* came againe with all his troupe as before, and continued with vs the most part of the day, we going to dinner about noone, they fate with vs and did eate of our Baccalaure and Mustard, dranke of our Beere, but the Mustard nipping them in their noses they could not indure: it was a sport to behold their faces made being bitten therewith. In time of Dinner the *Sauages* had stolne a Target wherewith acquainting the *Seigneur*, with feate and great trembling they restored it againe, thinking perhaps we would haue bene reuenged for it, but seeing our familiaritie to continue, they fell a fresh to roasting of Crabs, Red Herrings, which were exceeding great, ground Nuts, &c. as before. Our Dinner ended, the *Seigneur* first tooke leaue and departed, next all the rest fauing force that stayed and went into the Wood to helpe vs digge: Sassafrage, whom we defined to goe aboard vs, which they refused and departed.

The eighth we diuided the victuals, *one*, the ships store for England, and that of the Planters, which by Capitaine Goyfard allowance could be but six weekes for five monthes, wherewith they fell out a controuersie, the rather, for that some seemed secretly to understand of a purpose Capitaine Goyfard had not to returne with supplie of the issue, thos goods should make by him to be carred home. Besides, there wanted not ambitious conceits in the mindes of some wrangling and ill disposed persons that ouerthrew the stay there at that time, which vpon consultation therof had, about five dayes after was fully refused all for England againe. There came in this interim aboard vnto vs, that stayed all night, an *Indian*, whom we vied kindly, and the next day sent ashore hee shewed himselfe the most sober of all the rest, we held him sent as a Spie. In the morning hee filched away our Pot-hooks, thinking he had not done any ill therein; being ashore we bid him strike fire, which with an Emerald stone (such as the Glafiers vse, to cut Glasse) he did. I take it to be the very same that in *Latine* is called *Smiris*, for striking therewith vpon Touch-wood that of purpose hee had, by means of a mynerall stone vied therein, sparkles proceeded and forth with kindled with making of flame. The ninth, we continued working on our Store-house for as yet remayned in vs a desired resolution of making faye. The tenth, Capitaine Goyfard fell downe with the ship to the little Ilet of Cedars, called *Hitz happe*, to take in Cedar wood, leaving mee and nine more in the Fort, only with three meales meat, vpon promise to returne the next day.

The eleventh, he came not, neither sent, whereupon I commanded foure of my companie to seeke out for Crabbes, Lobsters, Turtles, &c. for supplying vs till the ships returne, which was gone cleane out of sight, and had the windie choppe at South-west, with much difficulty would thee haue bene able in thos time to haue made returne. These foure Purveyers, whom I counseilled to keepe together for their better safety diuided themselves, two going one wayes and two another, in search as aforesaid. One of these petie companie was assailed by foure *Savage* assault *Indians*, who with Arrowes did shoot and hurt one of the two in his side, the other a lilly and nimble fellow, leapt in and cut their Bow-strings whereupon they fled. Being late in the evening, they were driuen to lie all night in the Woods, not knowing the way home thorow the thicke rubbish, as also the weather somewhat stormie. The want of thesorrowed vs much, as not able to coniecture any thing of them vnlesse very enim.

The twelfth, thole two came vnto vs againe, whereto our ioy was encreased, yet the want of our Capitaine, that promised to returne, as aforesaid, strooke vs in a dampish terror, for that hee performed not the same in the space of almost three dayes. In the meane we sustayned our selues with Alexander and Sorrell portage, Ground-nuts and Tobacco, which gaue nature a reasonable content. We heard at last, our Capitaine to leaue vnto vs, which made such musike as sweeter neuer came vnto poore men.

The thirteenth, beganne some of our companie that before vowed to flay, to make recoulet: wherupon the planters diminishing all was giuen out. The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth we spent in getting Sassafrage and fire-wood of Cedar, leaving Houli and little Fort by ten men in nineteene dayes sufficient made to harbour twenty persons at least with their necessary provision.

The seuenteenth, we set sayle, doubling the Rocks of Elizabeths Iland, and passing by Dour Cliffe,

Cliffe, came to anchor at *Marthaes* Vineyard being five leagues distant from our Fort, where we went ashore, and had young Cranes, Hernebowes, and Geefe, which now were growne to pretie bignesse.

The eighteenth, we set sayle and bore for England, cutting off our Shalop, that was well able to land fish and twenty men, or more, a Boate very necessary for the like occasions. The winds doo raigne most commonly vpon this coast in the Summer time, Wetherly. In our home-ward course we observed the foreland flecting weeds to continue till we came within two hundred leagues of Europe.

The three and twentieth of Iuly we came to anchor before *Exmouth*.

CHAP. XI.

Notes of the same Voyage taken out of a Tractate written by JAMES ROSSIER to Sir WALTER RALEIGH, and of MACES Voyage to Virginia.

Elizabeths Iland is full of high timbered Oakes, their leaues thrice so broad as ours; Cedars, straight and tall; Beech, Elm, Willow, Walnut trees in abundance, the first as bigge as ours, as appeared by those we found under the trees, which had been all the yere vnto us: *Walnut* trees, *Cherry* trees, the *loffe*, *barke* and *huyss* not differing from ours in England, but the *Salke* beareth the blossomes or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of Grapes, forte or fiftie in a bunch; *Sassafrage* trees great plenty all the Iland over, a tree of high price and profit: also diuers other fruit-trees, some of them with frange barkes, of an Orange colour, in feeling soft and smooth like *Yelmes*: in the thickest parts of the Woods, you may see a furlong or more round about.

On the North-west side of this Iland, nere to the Sea-side, is a standing Lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compass, in the midst wherof stands a woody ground, an acre in quantitie, or not above: this Lake is full of small Tortoises, and exceedingly frequented with all sorts of fowles before rehearsed, which breed, some lowe on the banks, and others on some trees about this Lake in great abundance, whose young ones of all sorts wee took and eate at our pleasure: but all these fowles are much bigger than ours in England. Also, in every Iland, and almost every part of every Iland, are great store of Ground-nuts forte together on a string, some of them as bigge as Henne's eggs; they growe not two inches vnder ground: the which Nuts wee found to bee as good as Potatoes. Also, diuers sorts of fish, as *Scalops*, *Musfells*, *Cockles*, *Lobsters*, *Crabs*, *Oysters*, and *Wikes*, exceeding good and very great. But not to cloy you with particular rehearse of such things as God and Nature hath bestowed on these places, in comparison wherof, the most fertile parts of all England is (of it selfe) but barren; we went in our Light-boatman from this Iland to the *Maine*, right against the *Maine*, some two miles off, where coming ashore, wee found a whole lake where wee found the best and delicacy of this sweet faye, for besides the cleare Lakes of fresh water (whereof wee saw few and) *Medowes* very large, and full of greene grasse, we saw the most woody places (I speake onely of such as I saw) doe growe so delight and sweet, wee were from another ground, somewhat higher than the *grasse*, as if *Genius* would thus bestow his power, artificiall. Head by, wee espied seven *Indians*, and comming up to them, at first they expressed some feare, but being emboldened by our courteous usage, and some trifles which we gaue them, they followed vs to a necke of Land, which wee imagined had bene severed from the *Maine*, but finding it otherwise, wee proceeded a broad Harbour or River mouth, which came up into the *Maine*: and because the day was farre spent, we were forced to returne to the Iland from whence we came, leaving the Discovery of this Harbour, for a time of better leisure.

So the goodness of which Harbour, as also of many others thereabouts, there is small doubt, considering that all the Ilands, as also the *Maine* (where we were) are all Rockie Grounds and broken Land.

Now the next day, wee determined to fortifie our selves in a little plot of ground in the middell of the Lake above mentioned, where wee built an house, and covered it with sedge, which grew about this Lake in great abundance: in building wherof, wee spent three weekes and more: but the second day after our coming from the *Maine*, wee espied eleven *Canoes* or Boats, with fifty *Indians* in them, comming toward vs from this part of the *Maine*, where wee two dayes before landed: and being loath they should discover our fortification, wee went out into the Sea side to meete them: and comming somewhat nere, they all came downe vpon the flowers, calling aloud to vs (as wee rightly guessed) to doe the like, a little distance from them: having, late, a while in this order, (Captaine Goyfard) would need to goe vnto them to see what countenance they would make: but as I came as I came up to them, one of them, to whom I had giuen a Knife two dayes before in the *Maine*, knew mee (whom I also very well remembred) and smiling vpon mee, spake somewhat vnto their Lord or Capitaine, which sate in the middell of them, who presently rose up and took a large Beaver skinne from one that stood about him, and gaue

Returne:

Oaken, Cedars
Beech, Elm,
Hollie, Walnut
trees, Cherry
trees,
Sassafrage trees,
Diuers other
trees.

A Lake three
miles about,
Small Tortoises
Abundance of
fowles, much
bigger than
ours in Eng-
land.
Ground-nuts,
Shellfish.

The exceeding
beauty of the
maine Land.
Great Lakes.
Large Medowes
Seven Indians.

A broad River.

A good Harbour.

The English
House.
11. Canoes
with soldiers
in them.

Their Capitaine

it vnto me, which I required for that time the best I could: but I, pointing towards Captaine Golsnold, made signes vnto him, that hee was our Captaine, and desirous to see his friend, and enter league with him, which (as I perceived) was understood, and made signes of: whereupon Captaine Golsnold, with the rest of his companie, being twenty in all, came vnto them: and after many signes of gratulations (Captaine Golsnold presenting their Lord with certaine rapiers which they wondered at, and highly esteemed) became very great friends, and sent for meat aboard our Shalop, and gave them such meates as we had then ready dished, whereof they mislike nothing but our Mustard, whereat they made many a frowne face. While wee were thus merry, one of them had conceived a Target of ours into one of their Canoes, which wee suffered, only to see whether they were in subjection to this Lord, to whom we made signes (by shewing him another of the same likeness, and pointing to the Canoe) what one of his companie had done: who suddenly expressed some fear, and speaking angrily to one about him (as we perceived by his countenance) caused it presently to be brought backe againe. So the rest of the day we spent in trading with them for Fures, which are Beavers, Luzernes, Martens, Otters, Wilde-cat skinnies, very large and deepe Furres, blacke Foxes, Conie skinnies, of the colour of our Hares, but somewhat lesse, Deere skinnies very large, Seale skinnies, and other beasts skinnies, to vs unknowne.

They haue also great store of Copper, some very red, and some of a paler colour; none of them but haue Chaines, Ear-rings, or Collars of this metall: they beate some of their Arrows herewith much like our broad Arrow heads, very workmanly made. Their Chaines are many hollow pieces cemented together, each piece of the bignesse of one of our reeds, a finger in length, ten or twelue of them together on a string, which they wear about their neckes: their Collars they wear about their bodies like Bandeliers a handfull broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter, foure hundred pieces in a Collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these, they haue large drinking Cupps made like Shells, and other thins plates of Copper, made much like our Boare-speare blades, all which they set little esteeme, as they offered their fairest Collars and Chaines for a Knife, or such like trifles, but we seemed little to regard it; yet I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this metall, and made signes to one of them with whom I was very familiar, who taking a piece of copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground, and withall pointed to the Maine from whence they came. They strike fire in this manner; every one carrieth about him in a Pouch of towed Leather, a Minerall stone (which I take to be their Copper) and with a flat Emerie stone (whereunto Glasse cutt glasse, and Cutlers glasse blades) tied fast to the end of a little stick, gently bee striken vpon the Minerall stone, and within a stroke or 30 two, a sparke falleth vpon a piece of Tow-wood (much like our Spunge in England) and with the least sparke he maketh a fire presently. Wee had also of their Flaxe, whereunto they make many fringes and cords, but it is not so bright of colour as ours in England: I am perswaded they haue store growing vpon the Maine, at also Mines, and many other rich commodities, which we, wanting both time and meanes could not possibly discover.

Thus they continued with vs three dayes, euery night retiring themselves to the furthest part of our land, two or three miles from our Port: but the fourth day they returned to the Maine, pointing five or six times to the Swine, and once to the Maine, which we understood, that within five or six dayes they would come from the Maine to vs againe: but being in their Canoes a little from the shoore, they made huge cries and shouts of joy vnto vs: and wee with our Trumpet and Cornet, and calling vpon our caps into the aire, made them the best farewell we could: yet fixe or seuen of them remained with vs bebinde, bearing vs companie euery day in the Woods, and helped vs to cuse and carrie our Sassafras, and some of them lay aboard our ship.

These people as they are exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, exceeding all others that we haue seene; so for shape of body and lovely fauour, I thinke they exceed all the people of America; of stature much higher than wee; of complexion or colour, much like a darke Olive; their eye-browes and haire blacke, which they wear long, tied vpon bebinde in knots, whereon they prick feathers of fowles, in fashion of a Crowne: some of them are blacke thins bearded; they make beards of the haire of beastes: and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our Saylers, for his great view on his face, because it was of a red colour, they imagined to be none of his owne. They are quick of eye, and steadfast in their looks, fearelesse of others harmes, as intending none themselves: some of the crew, and steadfast in fishing, which the very name of Saugaes (not weighing their ignorance in good or euill) may easily excuse: their garments are of Deere skinnies, and some of them wear Furres round and close about their neckes. They pronounce our Language with great facilitie; for one of them one day sitting by mee, vpon occasion I spake smiling to him these words: How now, firthe, are you lo fawcy with my Tobacco? which words (without any further repetition) he suddenly spake I spake and distinctly, as if he had beene a long Scholer in the Language. Many other such triall wee had.

Their apparell, which are here needlesse to repeat. Their women (such as wee saw) which were but three in all, were but lowe of stature, their eye-browes, haire, apparell, and manner of wearing, like to the men, fat, and very well-fauoured, and much delighted in our companie; the men are very dutifull towards them. And truly, the wholesomnesse and temperature of this Climate, doth not onely argue this people to be answerable to this description, but also of a perfect constitution of body, active strong, healthie.

Their women, which are here needlesse to repeat. The goodnesse of the Climate, and very witty, as the sundry toys of theirs cunningly wrought, may easily witness. For the agreeing of this Climate with vs (I speake of my selfe, and so I may iustly doe for the rest of

our companie) that we found our health and strength all the while we remained there, so to renew and encrease, as notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet not one of our companie (God be thanked) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sickness, but were much fatter, and in better health then when we went out of England: but after our Barke had taken in so much Sassafras, Cedar, Fures, Skinnies, and other commodities, as were thought convenient; some of our companie that had promised Captaine Golsnold to stay, having nothing but a sauing voyage in their minde, made our companie of Inhabitants (which was small enough before) much smaller: so as Captaine Golsnold seeing his whole strength to consist but of twalve men, and that they meanelly provided, determined to returne for England, leaving this land (which he called Elizabeths land) with many true ioyfull eyes, as were before desirous to see it. So the eighteenth of Iune, being Friday, we weighed, and with sweetest faire wind and weather came to anchor the thre and twelue of Iuly, being also Friday (in all, bare five weekes) before Exmouth.

Your Lordships to command.
JOHN BREYTON.

A briefe Note of such commodities as we saw in the Countrie, notwithstanding our small time of stay.

There are Sassafras trees, the roots whereof at three shillings the pound are three hundred thirty fix pence pound the tunne. Cedars tall and straight, in great abundance; Cyprus trees, Oakes, Wal-nut trees great store, Elmes, Beech, Hollie, Halle-nut trees, Cherrie trees, Cotton trees, and other fruit-trees to vs unknowne. The finder of our Sassafras in these parts, was one Maltster Robert Meriton.

Fowles, Eagles, Herons, Hawkes, Cranes, Bitters, Mallards, Teales, Geese, Pengwins, Ospreis and Hawkes, Crowses, Rauens, Mewes, Doves, Sea-pies, Black-birds with carnation wings. Beasts, Deere in great store, very great and large; Beares, Luzernes, blacke Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Wilde-cats very large and great, Dogs like Foxes, blacke and sharpe noed; Conies.

Fruits, Plants, and Herbes. Tabacco, excellent sweet and strong: Vines more plenty than in France, Ground-nuts, good meate and also medicinable; Strawberries, Rasp-berries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberries, Pease growing naturally, Flaxe, Iris Florentina, whereof Apothecaries make sweet balls; Sorrell, and many other herbes wherewith they made Sallets.

Fishes, Whales, Tortoises, both on Land and Sea; Seales Cods, Mackerell, Breames, Herrings, Thornbacke, Hakes, Rock-fish, Dog-fish, Lobsters, Crabbes, Mussels, Wilkes, Cockles, Scallops, Oylters.

Snakes foure foot in length, and fixe inches about, which the Indians eate for dainty meate, the skinnies whereof they vie for girdles.

Colours to die with, red, white, and blacke.

Metalls, and Stones. Copper in great abundance, Emerie stones, for Glasers and Cutlers, Alabastrer very white, Stones glittering and shining like Minerall itones; Stones of a blue metalline colour, which we take to be Steele ore; Stones of all sorts for buildings; Clay, red and white, which may proue good Terra Sigillata.

A briefe Note of the sending another Barque this present yeere 1602. by Sir WALTER RALEIGH, for the searching out of his Colonie in Virginia.

Samuel Mace of Weimouth, a very sufficient Mariner, an honest sober man, who had bene at Virginia twice before, was employed thither by Sir Walter Raleigh, to finde those people which were left there in the yeere 1587. To whose succour he hath sent fise seuerall times as his owne charges. The parties by him let forth, performed nothing; some of them following their owne profit elsewhere; others returning with frivolous allegations. At this last time, to auoide all excuse, hee bought a Barke, and hired all the companie for wages by the moneth: who departing from Weimouth in March laist, 1602. fell tortie leagues to the South-wetward of Hatarake, in 34. degrees or thereabout; and hauing there spent a moneth, when they came along the coast to seeke the people, they did it not, pretending that the extremity of weather, and losse of some principall ground-tackle, forced and feared them from searching the Port of Hatarake, to which they were sent. From that place where they abode, they brought Sassafras, Radix Chine, or the China Root, Benjamin, Cassia lignea and a kind of a tree more strong than any Spice as yett unknowne, with diuers other commodities, which hereafter in a larger discourse may come to light.

CHAP. XII.

A Voyage set out from the Citie of Brissoll at the charge of the chiefeft Merchants and inhabitants of the said Citie with a small Ship and a Barke for the discoverye of the North part of Virginia, in the yeere 1603. under the command of me MARTIN PRINCE.



Upon many probable and reasonable inducements, vied vnto sundry of the chiefeft Merchants of *Brissoll*, by *Matter Richard Hakluyt*, Prebendary of *Saint Dunstons* the Cathedral Church of the said Citie, after diuers meetings and due consultation they resolved to set forth a Voyage for the farther Discouerie of the North part of *Virginia*. And first they lent the said *Matter Hakluyt* accompanied with one *Matter John Angel*, and *Matter Robert Salter* (which had bene in the said Discouerie the yeere before with *Captaine Bartholomew Gosnold*) to obtaine permission of *Sir Walter Raleigh* (which had a most ample Patent of all those parts from *Queene Elizabeth*) to entermedle and deale in that action. Lease being obtained of him vnder his hand and Seale, they speedily prepared a small ship called the *Speed-well* in burthen about fiftie tunnes, manning the same with some thirtie men and Boyes, wherein went for *Matter* and chiefe Command in the Voyage one *Martin Prince*, a man very sufficient for his place, and *Edmund Jones* his Mate, and *Robert Salterne* above mentioned, as their chiefe Agent, with a Barke called the *Discoverer*, of six and twentie tunnes or thereabout, wherein went for *Matter William Browne*, and *Samuell Kurland* his Mate, both good and skillfull Mariners, being thirteene men and a Boy in all in that Barke. The aforesaid ship and Barke were plentifully victualled for eight monethes, and furnished with light Merchandizes thought fit to trade with the people of the Countrey, as Hats of diuers colours, greene, blue and yellow, apparell of coarse Kerlie and Canvasse readie made, Stockings and Shoes, Sawes, Pick-axes, Spades and Shouels, Axes, Hatchets, Hookes, Knives, Sizzers, Hammers, Nails, Chisells, Fish-hookes, Bels, Beades, Bugles, Looking-glasse, Thimbles, Pinnes, Needles, Thread, and such like. They set saile from *Kingsrode* the twentieth day of March.

We set saile from *Milford Haven* (where the winds had stayed vs a fortnight, in which space we heard of *Queene Elizabeths* death) the tenth of April 1603. In our course we passed by the Iles of the *Azores*, had first sight of the *Pike*, and afterward of the Ilands of *Verne* and *Floures*, and after we had runne some fise hundred leagues, we fell with a multitude of small Ilands on the North Coast of *Virginia*, in the latitude of 43. degrees, the of Iune, which Ilands we found very pleasant to behold, adorned with goodly grasse and sundry sorts of Trees, as Cedars, Spruce, Pines, and Firre-trees. Heree we found an excellent fishing for Cod, which are better than choice of *New-fould-land*, and withall we law good and Rockie ground fit to drie them vpon: also we see no reason to the contrary, but that Salt may be in these parts, a matter of no small importance. We layd to the South-west end of thise Ilands, and there rode with our ships vnder one of the greatest. One of them we named *Foxe land*, because we found those kind of beafts thereon. So paulling through the rest with our Boates to the mayne Land, which lieth for a good space North-east and South-west, we found very litle riding among them, in fixe, fye, eight, ten and twelue fathomes. At length comming to the Mayne in the latitude of 43. degrees and an halfe, we ranged the same to the South-west. In which course we found foure Ioudees and an halfe, whereof was barred at the mouth, but hauing passed ouer the barre, we arriue vp into fise miles, and for a certaine space found very good dep. h. and comming our gaine, as we failed South-westward, we lighted vpon two other Ioudees, which vpon our search we found to piece not: farre into the Land, the fourth and most Westerly was the best, which vs rowed vp ten or twelue miles.

In all these places we found no people, but signes of fires where they had bene. Howbeit we beheld very goodly Groves and Woods replenished with tall Oks, Beeches, Pine-trees, Firre-trees, Hazels, Wich-halses and Maples. We law here also sundry sorts of Beasts, as Stags, Deeres, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Lufrenes, and Dogges with sharpe noies. But meeting with *Salternes*, we left these places with all the forsaide Ilands, haping our course for *Sauage Rocke*, discovered the yeere before by *Captaine Gosnold*, where going vpon the Mayne we found people, with whom we had no long conuersation, because here also we could find no *Salifras*. Departing hence webare into that great Gulfe which *Captaine Gosnold* ouer-thort the yeere before, coasting and finding people on the North side thereof. Not yet satisfied in our expectation, we sailed ouer, and came to an Anchor on the South side in the latitude of 41. degrees and olde minutes: where we went on Land in a certaine Bay, which we called *Whitson Bay*, by the name of the Worthfull *Matter Iohn Whitson* then Maior of the Citie of *Brissoll*, and one of the chiefe Aduenturers, and finding a pleasant Hill thereunto adioyning, we called it *Mount Aldersith*, for

for *Matter Robert Aldersith* take a chiefe furtherer of the Voyage, as well with his Purse as with his trauell. Here we had sufficient quantitie of *Salifras*.

At our going on shore, vpon view of the people and fight of the place, wee thought it conuenient to make a small baricado to keepe diligent watch and ward in, for the aduertizement and succour of our men, while they should worke in the Woods. During our abode on shore, the people of the Countrey came to our men sometimes ten, twentie, ffortie or three-score, and at some time one hundred and twentie at once. We vied them kindly, and gaue them diuers sorts of our meaneft Merchandize. They did eat Peafe and Beanes with our men. Their owne victualls were most of fish.

We had a youth in our company that could play vpon a Gitterne, in whose homely Musick they tooke great delight, and would gaue him many things, as Tobacco, Tobacco-pipes, Snakes skinned of sixe foot long, which they vied for Girdles, Fawnes skinned, and such like, and danced twentie in a Ring, and the Gitterne in the middelt of them, vying many Sauges gestures, fingling *la, la, la, la, la, la*: him that first brake the ring, the rest would knocke and cry out vpon. Some few of them had places of Braile a foot long, and halfe a foote broad before their breasts. Their weapons are Bowes of fure or fixe foot long of Wich-hall, painted blacke and yellow, the stringes of three twitts of sinewes, bigger then our Bow-stringes. Their Arrowes are of a yard and an handfull long not made of Reeds, out of a fine light wood very smooth and round with three long and deepe blacke feathers of some Eagle, Vulture, or Kite, as closely fastened with some binding matter, as any Fletcher of ours can glue them on. Their Quijers are full a yard long, made of long dried Rulhes wrought about two handfulls broad aboue, and one handfull beneath with prettie workes and compartments, Diamant wile of red and other colours.

We carried with vs from *Brissoll* two excellent Maltuies, of whom the *Indians* were more afraid, then of twentie of our men. One of these Maltuies would carrie a halfe Pike in his mouth. And one *Matter Thomas Bridges* a Gentleman of our company accompanied only with one of these Dogs, and passed fixte miles alone in the Countrey hauing lost his fellows, and returned safely. And when we would be rid of the Sauges company we would let loose the Maltuies, and fuddenly with out-cryes they would flie away. These people in colour are inclined to a fwar, tawny, or Chelknot colour, not by nature but accidentally, and doe weare their haire braided in foure parts, and trussed vp about their heads with a small knot behind: in which haire they thicke many feathers and toys for brauerie and pleasure. They couer their quities only with a piece of leather drawne betwixt their twitts and fastened to their Girdles behind and before: whereunto they hang their bags of Tobacco. They seeme to be somewhat ialous of their women, for we saw not past two of them, who weare Aprons of Leather skins before them downe to the knees, and a Beares skine like an *Irish* Mantle ouer one shoulder. The men are of stature somewhat taller then our ordinary people, strong, swift, well proportioned, and giuen to treachery, as in the end we perceived.

Their Boats, whereof we brought one to *Brissoll*, were in proportion like a Wherrie of the Riuier of *Thames*, seuentene foot long and foure foot broad, made of the Barke of a Birch-tree, farre exceeding in bignesse those of *England*: it was fowed together with strong and tough Oziers or twigs, and the leames covered ouer with Rozen or Turpentine litle inferior in sweetnesse to Frankincense, as we made triall by burning a litle thereof on the coales at sundry times after our comming home: it was also open like a Wherrie, and sharpe at both ends, fauing that the beake was a litle bending roundly vpward. And though it carried nine men handling vpright, yet it weighed not at the most about fixtie pounds in weight, a thing almost incredible in regard of the largenesse and capacite thereof. Their Oars were flat as the end like an Ouen peele, made of Ash or Maple very light and strong, about two yards long, wherewith they row very swiftly: Passing vp a Riuier we law certaine Cottages together, abandoned by the Sauges, and not fure off we beheld their Gardens and one among the rest of an Acre of ground, and in the same was sowne Tobacco, Pompions, Cowcumbers and such like, and some of the people had Maiz or *Indian* Wheate among them. In the fields we found wild Peafe, Strawberries very faire and bigge, Goolle-berries, Rapices, Hurts, and other wild fruits.

Hauing spent three Weekes vpon the Coast before we came to this place where we meant to stay & take in our lading, according to our instructions giuen in charge before our setting forth, we pared and digged vp the Earth with shouels, and towed Wheate, Barley, Oates, Peafe, and sundry sorts of Garden Seeds, which for the time of our abode there, being about feuen Weekes, although they were late sowne, came vp very well, giuing certaine testimonie of the goodnesse of the Climate and of the Soyle. And it seemeth that Oade, Hempe, Flaxe, Rape-seed and such like which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in diuers places here we found gralle aboute knee deepe.

As for Trees the Countrey yieldeth *Salifras* a plant of souereigne vertue for the French Poxe, and as some of late haue learnedly written good against the Plague and many other Maluities: Vines, Cedars, Oks, Alnes, Beeches, Birch trees, Cherrie trees, bearing fruit whereof we did eat, Hales, Wich-halses, the best wood of all other to make Sope-alnes withall, Walnut-trees, Yyyyyy, Maples,

The people vied them.

The Sauges take great delight in musick.

Dances.

Weapons.

The great vices of Maltuies.

Ornaments.

The fashion of their Boats.

Excellent sweete Rozen and Turpentine.

Their Gardens Corne and plants.

Maples, holy to make Bird-lime with, and a kinde of tree bearing a fruit like a ſmall red Pear-plum with a crowne or knop on the top (a plant whereof carefully wrapped vp in earth, Maſter Robert Salterus brought to Briſtoll.) We found alſo low trees bearing faire Cherries. There were likewiſe a white kind of Plums which were not growne to their perfect ripeſene. With diuers other ſorts of trees to vs vnknowne.

The Beaſts here are Stags, fallow Deere in abundance, Beares, Wolves, Foxes, Luſternes, and (ſome ſay) Tygres, Porcupines, and Dogges with ſharpe and long noſes, with many other ſorts of wild beaſts, whole Cales and Furres being hereafter purchaſed by exchange may yeeld no ſmall gaine to vs. Since we are certainly informed, the *Frenchmen* brought from *Canada* the value of thirty thouſand Crownes in the yeere 1604. almoſt in Beares and Otters ſkinnes only. The moſt viſuall Fowles are Eagles, Vultures, Hawkes, Cranes, Herons, Crows, Gulls, and great ſore of other Ruer and Sea-fowles. And as the Land is full of Gods good bleſſings, ſo is the Sea, which plentifully with great abundance of excellent fiſh, as Codds ſufficiente to lade many ſhips, which plentifully with great abundance of excellent fiſh, as Codds ſufficiente to lade many ſhips, we found vpon the Coaſt in the month of Iune, Seales to make Oile withall, Mulletts, Turbutts, Mackerels, Herrings, Crabs, Lobſtans, Creuſes, and Muſcles with ragged Pearles in them.

Barke ſent home

Danger of the Sauga.

By the end of Iuly we had laded our ſmall Barke called the *Diſcouerer*, with as much *Sallafras* as we thought ſufficient, and ſent her home into *England* before, to giue ſome ſpediee contentment to the Aduenturers: who arrived ſafely in *Kingsroad* about a fortnight before vs. After their departure we ſo beſiddered our ſelves, that our ſhippe alſo had gotten in her lading, during which time there fell out this accident. On a day about noone tide while our men which vied to cut downe *Sallafras* in the Woods were aſleepe, as they vied to doe for two houres in the heat of the day, there came downe about ſeuentee ſore Sauges armed with their Bowes and Arrows, and encircled our Houſe or Barricado, wherein were ſoure of our men along with their Muſkets to keepe Centinell, whom they fought to haue come downe into them, which they venterly reſuſed, and ſtood vpon their guard. Our Maſter likewiſe being very carefull and circumpet, hauing not paſt two with him in the ſhippe put the fame in the beſt defence he could, left they ſhould haue inuaded the ſame, and cauled a piece of great Ordnance to bee ſhot off, to giue terrour to the *Indians*, and warning to our men which were aſleepe in the Woods: at the noyſe of which Peere they were a little awaked, and beganne a little to call for *Foole* and *Gallant*, their great and fearefull Muſtius, and full quietly laid themſelues downe againe, but being to quickned vp eſpionages againe with a ſecond ſhor they rowied vp themſelues, betooke them to their weapons and with their Muſtius great *Foole* with an halfe Pike in his mouth drew downe their ſhip: whom when the *Indians* beheld aſtate off, with the Muſtius which they moſt feared, in diſſembling manner they turned all to a ſelf and ſpoort, and departed away in friendly manner: yet not long after, euen the day before our departure, they ſet fire on the Woods where wee wrought, which wee did behold to burne for a mile ſpace, and the very ſame day that wee weighed Anchor, they came downe to the ſhore in greater number, to wit, very neere two hundred by our estimation, and ſome of them came in their Boates to our ſhip, and would haue had vs come in againe: but we ſent them backe, and would none of their entertainment.

About the eighth or ninth of Auguſt, wee left this excellent Hauen at the entrance whereof 40 we found twentie fathomes water, and rode at our caſe in teuen fathomes being Land-locked, the Hauen winding in compaſſe like the ſhell of a Snaille, and it is in latitude of one and forty degrees and five and ſixty minutes.

This by the way is not to be forgotten, that our Captaine fell ſo much to the Northward becauſe he would find high grounds, where commonly the beſt Hauens are: which alſo fell out to his expectation. We alſo obſerued that we could find no *Sallafras* but in ſandie ground. In our returne we brought our ſelves into the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees about the *Southern* certaine caules, and within five weekes ſpace came from our Port of *Virginia*, into the *Southern* kinges of *England*, but there being long diſcouered with Eaſterly winds, we came at length into the *Kingsroad*, the ſecond of October 1603. The Diſcouerer was out five monthes and an halfe. The *Speedwell* was out ſix monthes vpon the Voyage.

A Relation of the Voyage made to Virginia, in the Elizabeth of London, a Barke of ſiſtie tonnes by Captaine BATHOLEMEW GILBERT, in the yeere 1603. Written by Maſter THOMAS CANNER a Gentleman of Bernards Inne his companion in the ſame Voyage.

Vpon Wedneſday in Eaſter weeke, the ſeuenteenth of April after, I had taken my leaue of ſome few of my louing and deere friends in *Bernards Inne*, I rode toward *Southampton*, there to beſpeake Buſket and ſome other prouiſion for our Barke, wherein Maſter Bartholomew Gilbert went as Captaine, which had bene in *Virginia* the yeere before with Captaine Bartholomew Gilbert.

After our buſineſſe was diſpatched here, wee came into *Plimmouth*, from whence wee put forth the tenth of May. And the fix and twentieth of the ſame, we were in the latitude of 32. degrees, hoping to haue had fight of the Ile of *Madara*, whereto we miſſed, in which courſe we met with two or three *Engliſh* men of warre.

The fixth of Iune, we were in the latitude of 27. degrees, and haled ouer toward the Ilands, of the *West Indies*, and the fifteenth of this month toward night wee lay Land. Maſter Gilbert and the Maſter *Henrie Smit* dwelling within the Iron Gate of the Towre of *London*, tooke it to be the *Bermudas*: being very neere the ſhore they found many times and had no ground, at the laſt they found good ground in fourteene or fifteene fathomes. There wee caſt Anchor. In the morning we weighed, and founded ſtill as we trended by the ſhore: but after wee were paſt a Cables length from our Road, we had no Land againe in forty or fifty fathomes: we kept ſtil by the ſhore not yet being certaine what land it was. The ſixteenth in the morning, we ſpied the people coming from the ſhore, who when they came neere, cried out for barter or trade: when they came cloſe aboard, they made ſignes and cried out to ſee our colours, which we preſently put forth in the maine top, and told them we were *Engliſhes*, *Amigos*, and *Hermanos*, that is, *Engliſhmen*, their friends and brothers. Aſſoone as they vnderſtood we were *Engliſhmen*, they were bolder to come neere: we threw them a Rope, and one came aboard vs: wee traded with them for ſome Tobacco, Pine-apples, Plantanes, Pompons and ſuch things as they had: wee gaue them Bugles, Knives, Whitties, and ſuch toys. Here wee kept cloſe by the ſhore. When this 30 Canoa had traded with vs, and vndered all they had and drunke of our Beere, being kindly viſited they departed: and then preſently after diuers Canoaes came, we traded and viſited them as the firſt. One of them told vs that land was *Santa Lucia*. We beſtowd all that forenoone ſhaking in the wind (for we had no ground to Anchor) neere the ſhore to trade with them. Then wee let our courſe for *Saint Vincent*, but finding a current againſt vs and the wind very ſcant, we doubted we ſhould not fetch it, and that it we did, peradventure we might bee put to the leeward of *Dominica*, and ſo conſequently of *Menis* or *Negues*; for which land we were ſpecially bound for to cut *Lignum vite*, in the ſame. Therefore Maſter Gilbert thought good to let *Saint Vincent* alone, although in it is the beſt Tobacco of all the Ilands, yet in the end hee put roomer for *Dominica*, 30 Canoa came aboard, as at *Santa Lucia*, being ſent with two men belike to diſcouer vs, and to ſee what entertainment they ſhould haue, we viſited them kindly and ſo diſmiſſed them. There came many full of men, with diuers of their commodities.

They trade at Santa Lucia.

Domenica.

The nineteenth in the morning being Sunday, we anchored in a good Road at *Menis*, and after went on ſhore to ſeeke *Lignum vite*, Maſter Gilbert, with the Maſter and diuers of the company laught ſcare into the Woods, but found none but one little Tree, and here and there where one had bin cut: ſo we were in doubt to find enough here to load our ſhip, a ſiſt plague vnto vs for prophaneing the Sabbath in traulling about our worldly buſineſſe, when there was no neceſſitie. This day in the Evening ſome went out with the Boate vnto the ſhore, and brought on board a Tortoyſe ſo big that foure men could not get her into the Boate but tied her ſelf by Great Tortoyſe. leggs vnto the Boat, and ſo towed her to the ſhip, when they had her by the ſhip, it was no caſie matter to get her on board.

The next day we went on ſhore againe to ſearch another part of the wood for *Lignum vite*. 39 and then God be thanked we found enough. This day at night we opened our Tortoyſe, which had in her about 500. Egges, excellent ſweet meate, and ſo is all the whole fiſh. Vpon Tueſday in the morning we went all on ſhore ſaiuing the Carpenter and *Thomas*, and Maſter Gilbert man to fell wood, and this day we felled good ſore. All the reſt of this month and three dayes more we continued here euery day labouring ſore, fiſt in ſawing downe the great trees, and ſawing them againe into logs, portable out of the thicke wood to the Sea-ſhore, ſo in the Boates, and ſo to the ſhip: where *M. Gilbert* his paines proſited double as well in example as in worke, for hee 39 was neuer idle, but either ſearching out more trees, or fetching drinke for the Labourers, or doing one thing or other: ſo that in this iuſt fortnight when wee ſtayed here, wee had gotten on board ſome twenty tonnes. Within a few dayes after the Tortoyſe was eaten God ſent vs another. One of the fiſhes were ſufficient meate for twenty men for three or foure dayes: it could bee preſerued, but in that Climate no ſaiuing can preſerue it about two dayes, hardly ſo long. Now the wood growing thicke, and hardly to be found on this land, he thought it beſt to ſtay no longer here, but to goe for *Virginia*, to ſearch for better ſore. And ſo vpon Sunday the third of Iuly in the afternoon we weighed Anchor, and ſailed North-weſt and by North, and that night paſſed by *Saint Chriſtopher*, and another little land. Monday the fourth in the morning we had fight of 60 the land, we went into the Woods to ſearch for *Lignum vite*, but found none but one tree, which he cut and went on board, we fought alſo for freſh water, but found none: At Evening went on ſhore into the bottome of the Bay to dray the Net; and there we gat good ſore of fine freſh fiſh, and much more, enough to haue laden our Boate we ſhould haue gotten; if euery draught we lad had in the Net a Tortoyſe, which ſill brak through and ſo carried away the fiſh with them: it one draught among the reſt we had two in the Net, a yong one and an old one: in the Net held the young one.

S. Chriſtopher.

Abundance of Tortoyſes.

The distance
looks.

Wee weighed and went through betwene the two Ilands into the mayne Ocean, toward our long desired Countrey *Virginia*, distant three hundred and fiftie leagues from vs. Wee layed North North-west.

The Westerlie
winds begin.

The founte, we ran still North-west and North and by West. The eight, wee kept the same course. The ninth, wee kept still the same course. The wind began to veer some thing to the Southward, which had bene constant still, from the Ilands of the *Canaries*, vnto the Ilands of the *West Indies*. And now began the wind to draw towards the West, and then is it as constant there. The reason I deferre to longer consideration. The current setteth out of the Gulfe of *Mexico*, and from the mayne shore.

Poore Ilands.

Sunday the tenth, wee kept still the same course, and had now but a small gale almost becalmed. The eleuenth, we continued the same course with the same small gale we went North. Tuesday the twelfth wee kept the same course, if any at all, for, for the most part we were becalmed.

Ground in fa-
thomes.

Wednesday the thirteenth, the calme continued, the Sunne being extremely hot in the calme. Thursday the fourteenth, the calme continued as hot as before. These dayes we eyed our *New Land*, till called *Poore Iohn*, which proued ill done. For after it was sayed, it rotted the sooner, being burnt in the same. On Friday the fifteenth, God sent vs a reasonable gale. The sixteenth and seventeenth, the calme came againe. Munday, we had a good gale, and went North and by West, and North North-west. The nineteenth, twentieth, and one and twentieth, we had an excellent gale, and ranne North North-west. Then we cast out the Lead and looked our for land, very farre no ground nor low land, and therefore we much doubted that the current had let vs so very farre to the leeward of the place which wee were bound for, being the *Chepian Bay*; but that could not be knowne till it pleased God to bring vs to land. In the afternoon about fixe of the clocke we cast out the Lead againe, and had ground in thirte fathomes, whereof we were glad and thanked God, knowing we could not be farre from land.

Saturday the three and twentieth in the morning, about eight of the clocke wee saw land in the height of 40. degrees and odder minutes, very fine low land, appearing farre off to be full of tall Trees, and a fine sandie shoare, but a great figne: we saw no Harbour, and therefore coasted along to seeke one to the Northward, the wind being at West.

An Headland.

Sunday the foure and twentieth, the wind being about the North-east we beat hard to fetch an Head-land, where we thought we saw an Harbour: but when we came vp with it, we perceived it was none, and all our labour lost. And therefore the wind being now more full in our teeth at the North-east, we considered it were better to put roome, so that if the wind should stand, then we should fetch the Bay of *Chepian*, which Master *Gilbert* to much thirsted after, to seeke out the people for Sir *Walter Raleigh* left neere those parts in the yeere 1587. if not, perhaps we might find some Road or Harbour in the way to take in some fresh water: for now wee had none aboard.

The mouth of
the Chespien
Bay.

On Munday the five and twentieth of Iuly at night wee came neere the mouth of the Bay: but the wind blew so fore, and the Sea was so high, that the Master durst not put in that night into the Sea: and so continued next day.

They departed
Eastward from
the mouth of
the Chespien
Bay.
A fiew of en-
trance of a Ri-
uer.

On Wednesday the seuen and twentieth, at night the wind came faire againe, and wee bare againe for it all night, and the wind presently turned againe. Thursday the eight and twentieth, considering our extremitie for water and wood, victuals and beere likewise consuming very fast, we could no longer beate for it, and therefore ran rooumer, determining for this time to seeke it no more.

Captaine Gil-
bert and Iour-
nall of the
Indians.

Friday the nine and twentieth, being not farre from the shoare, which appeared vnto vs exceeding pleasant and full of goodly Trees, and with some fiew of the entrance of a River, our Captaine *Bartholomew Gilbert* accompanied with Master *Thomas Canner* a Gentleman of *Berwick*, *Richard Harbin* the Masters Mate, *Henry Kenion* our Chirurgion, and one *Derrick* a *Dutchman*, went on shore in the Boate from the ship which lay about a mile from the land, and with their weapons marched vp into the Countrey, leaving two youths to keepe the Boate: so shortly after the *Indians* let vpon them, and one or two of them fell downe wounded in fight. For some of our young men that kept the Boate, which had much a doe to save themselves and it. For some of the *Indians* roming downe to them, would haue haled it on shore, which notwithstanding they and with heauie hearts gat vnto the ship with the losse of their Captain and foure of their principall men. Thus being but eleuen men and Boyes in all in the ship, though our wine of water and wood were great, yet wee durst not adventure the losse of any more of our small company in this place; therefore our Master *Henry Sme*ooke his course home for *England* by the Ies of the *Acores*, and fell first with the Pike, and afterward entering into our Chanell, had fift fight of *Portland*, and thence came vp the River of *Thomas vnto Ratcliffe*, about the end of September 1603, finding the Citie most grievously infected with a terrible plague.

CHAP. XIII.

Extraits of a Virginian Voyage made An. 1605. by Captaine GEORGE WAYMOUTH, in the Arch-angell. Set forth by the Right Honourable HENRY Earle of South-hampton, and the Lord THOMAS ARUNDEL, written by JAMES ROSIER.

10



Pon Easter day, the last of March, the winde comming at North North-east: a-bout fise of the clocke after noone, wee weighed anchor and put to Sea from the Dunes, [in the Name of God] being very well victualled, and furnished with Munition and all necessaries; our whole companie being nine and twenty persons, of whom I dare boldly say, few Voyages haue bene mained forth with better Sea-men generally, in respect of our small number.

March.
Easter day wee
put to Sea.

Munday the thirteenth of May, about eleuen of the clocke in the fore-noone, our Captaine iudging we were nor farre from Land, founded; and we had soft eze in an hundred and sixty fathome: at foure of the clocke after noone wee founded againe, and had the like eze in an hundred fathome.

Sounding wee
found ground.

From ten a clocke that night till three a clocke in the morning, our Captain rooke in all Sayles and lay at hull, being desirous to fall with the Land in the day time, because it was an vknowne Coast, which it pleased God in his mercy to grant vs, otherwise surely we had runne our Shippe vpon the hidden Rocks, and perished all: for when we let fise or fixe leagues, our Captaine vpon a fathome: and by eight a clocke, haue not made above fise or fixe leagues, and had but fise fathome: much maruelling because we saw no Land, he sent one to the top, who desired a whit-till sandy Cliffe, which bare West North-west about fise leagues off: but coming neerer with-
till sandy Cliffe, which bare West North-west about fise leagues off: but coming neerer with-
till sandy Cliffe, which bare West North-west about fise leagues off: but coming neerer with-

May 14. Land
descried.

30 Voyage, together with our luses: for he bare vp the Ship as neere as he could after the Boate, vntill Master *Sam* his Mate being in the Boate, weifed and called to him to wind about and stand off, for in this breach he had very shoall water, two fathome vpon Rocks, and sometime they fupposed they saw the Rocks within three or foure foot, whereon the Sea made a very high strong breach, which we might discern (from the top) to rulse along as wee layed by it, fixe or seuen leagues to the Southward: and we saw no end thereof. Wherefore we were constrained to put backe againe from the Land; and founding (the weather being faire) we found our felues enclosed with continuall Shoalds and Rocks, in a most vncertaine ground; as by iudgement of our Captaine and whole companie, they had neuer knowne the like: from fise and fixe fathome, at the next cast of the Lead wee should haue fise and sixteen fathome all had

A dangerous
place of rocks
and shoalds.

40 Rocks our many which (by the vnspokeable goodnesse and mercy of God towards vs) were paid. For if we had bare in with it but the day before (which was exceeding tempestuous) or in the night, we could by no meanes haue escaped the danger. But God so blessed vs, that we had weather and winde as faire as poore men could wish, in this distresse, whereby we both perit-ly listened every breath, and with the winde were able to turne, where wee saw most hope of safe passage. Thus we parted from the Land, which wee had not so much before desired: and at the first sight reioyced: as now wee all ioyfully praised God, that it had pleased Him so miraculously to deliuer vs from so imminent danger of death before our eyes. Our Captaine found himselfe in the latitude of 41. degrees and an halfe. Here we found great store of fish, and saw many Whales, as we had done two or three dayes before.

Latitude 41.
degrees and
an halfe.

We stood off that night and all the next day, being Wednesday: but the winde still continuing for many dayes betwene the points of South South-west and West South-west, so as we could not by any possible meanes make any way to the Southward in regard of our great want of water and Wood (which was now spent) wee much desired Land, and therefore sought for it, where the winde would befit suffer vs to refresh our felues.

Sea-charts
false.

Thursday the sixteenth day of May, we stood directly in with the Land: and we much maruelled that we desired it not: wherein wee found our Sea Chares very false laying out the Land where none was, for though we bare in directly with it according to them: yet in almost fiftie leagues running we found none.

Friday the seventeenth of May, about fise a clocke at night, wee desired Land, which bare 60 from vs North North-east: but because it blew a great gale of winde, the Sea very high and neere night, not fit to come vpon an vknowne coast, our Captaine stood off till two of the clocke in the morning being Saturday and Whitsun Eue: then standing with it againe, wee desired it by eight a clocke in morning, bearing North-east from vs. It appeared a meane high Land, as we after found it, being but an Island of no great compasse: but I hope the most fortunate
Yyyyyy 3 that

willingly with that one fare and labour two dayes; but the Tide not suffering vs to make any longer stay (because we were to come backe with the ebbe) and our Captaine better knowing what was fit, then we; and better what in our labour were able to endure, being very loath to make any desperate hazard, where so little needesse required, thoughte it best to make returne, because whether we had discouered, was sufficient to conceiue that the Riuer ranne very faire into the Land: for we passed sixe or seven miles altogether fresh water (whereof we all dranke) forced vp by the flowing of the Salt, which after a great while ebbe where we left it, by breedth and depth of Channell was likely to runne by effluuion of our whole companye an vnkowne way further. And as our Captaine verily thought (although hee then concealed it) might possibly make a passage into (or very nigh) the South Sea; which hee neither had communion nor lot time now to search, but hath left that till his next returne: if it shall to please God to dispose of him and vs.

Friday the fourteenth of June early, by foure a clocke in the morning with the Tide, our two Boats, and a little helpe of the winde, we warped our shippes downe to the Riuer's mouth: and there came to an anchor about about cleuen a clocke. Afterward our Captaine in the Pinasse, searched the founding all about the mouth and coming into the Riuer, for his certaine instruction of a perfect description.

The next day being Saturday, we weighed anchor, and with a brier from the Land, we layed vp to our watering place, and there stopped, went ashore, and filled all our empty caskes with fresh water.

Our Captaine vpon the Rocks in the middelt of the Harbour made his certaine obseruation by the Sunne, of the height, latitude, and variation exactly vpon all his Instruments: 1. A. Relabe. 2. Semiphere. 3. Ring-instrument. 4. Croffe staffe. 5. And an excellent Compass, made for the variation. The latitude he found to be 43. degrees 20. minutes, North. The variation, 11. degrees 15. minutes, *viz.* one point of the Compass Wellward. And it is so much in England at *Lime-house* by *London*, Eastward. The temperature afforded to vs no less speciall alteration from our disposition in England: somewhat hotter vp into the Maire, because it lieth open to the South, but scarce yielding a sensible difference to any of vs. The Maire lo wholloms, if I suppose, not any of vs found our felues at any time more healthfull, more able to labour, nor with better stomachs to such good fare, as we partly brought, and partly found.

Sunday the sixteenth of June, the winde being faire, and because we had let out of England vpon a Sunday, desired the Islands vpon a Sunday, and (as we doubted not) by Gods appointment, happily fallen into our Harbour vpon a Sunday: so now beseeching him with like propertie to blisse our returne into England: and from thence (with his good-will and pleasure) to hasten and fortunate our next arriual here. We set sayle and quit the Land vpon a Sunday.

Tuesday the eighteenth day of Iune, being not runne about foue and thirty leagues from Land, and our Captaine for his certaine knowledge how to fall with the Coast, hauing founded euery watch, and from fifty fathom had come in good deeping to fuenty, and to an hundred. This day, the weather being faire, after a foure a clocke watch, when he thought not to haue found ground, before founding in about a hundred fathom, we had ground in foure and twenty fathom. Wherefore our Sayles being downe, one of our men presently cast out a hooke, and before hee iudged it at ground was fished and haled vp an exceeding great and well fed Cod: then there were cast out three or foure hookes more, the fish was lo plentifull and so great as when our Captaine would haue fet sayle, we desired him to suffer them to take fish a while, because we were so delighted to see them catch fish so great, lo fast as the hooke came downe, some playing with fo the hooke they tooke by the backe. And one of the Mates, with two hookes at a Lead, at five draughts together haled vp ten fishes all were generally very great, some were meafured. This caused our Captaine not to maruell at the shoaling: for hee perceived it was a fish-banke, which (for our farewell from the Land) it pleased God in the continuance of his blessings to giue vs knowledge of.

Sunday the fourteenth of Iuly about fix a clocke at night we were come into founding in our Channell: but for want of sight of the Sunne and Starre, to make a true obseruation: and with contrary windes we were constrained to beate vp and downe till Tuesday the sixteenth of Iuly, when by five a clocke in the morning we made *Syby*: from whence hindered with calmes and small windes. Vpon Thursday the eighteenth of Iuly about foure a clocke we came to anchor safely in *Dartmouth*, which Hauen haply (with Gods assistance) wee made the last and first Harbour in England, as the *Termis* of our Voyage.

A briefe Note of what profits we founde the Countrey yield: in the small time of our stay there.

Trees. Oake, of an excellent graine, straight, and great timber; Elme, Beech, Birch, very tall and, great of whole Barque they make their Canoes; Nut-halle, Halls, Alder, Cherry tree,

Alh, M. ple, Ewe, Spruce, Atp, Fir in great abundance; many other fruit trees which we know not. *Fowles.* Eagles, Heronflawes, Cranes, Ducks great; Geese, Swans, Penguins, Shauk, Crow, Raven, Kite, Soga, Mewes, Dours, Turtles, birds of sundry colours; and many other fowles vnkown. *Beasts.* Deere red and fallow, Beare, Wolfe, Beaver, Otter, Hare, Conie, Matterns, Sables, Hogs, Porkeipines, Polcats, Cats, wild great; Dogs some like Foxes, some like our other beastes. *Fishes.* Iguine vnto vs with hornes and broad eares; which we take to be Olkes or Lothes. *The Sauages* Iguine vnto vs with hornes and broad eares; which we take to be Olkes or Lothes. *Fishes.* Whales, Porpoise, Seales, Cod, very great; Haddocke, great; Herring, Plaice, Thorn-backe, Rock-fish, Lobster, great; Crabbe, Mussels, Cockles, Wilks, Conner-fish, Lumpe-fish, Whiting; the *Sauages* Iguine vnto vs that they haue Tortoise very great. *Plants.* *Fruta.* Tobacco, excellent, sweet and strong; Vine, wilde; Strawberries, Raspberries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberries, Corant trees, in abundance; Roke bushes; Peafe, which the *Sauages* Iguine to be very great in the Maire; Ground-nuts; Angelica, a most foueraigne herbe; and as herbe that ipracadeith like Camomell, and smelleth like sweet Marjoram, great plenty. Good Dies, which appeare by their painting, which they carrie with them in bladders.

Words which I learned of the Sauages, in their Language.

Sunne or Moone, *Kesut*. Cold-fish, *Tukore*. A fish with hornes, *Manedo*. Lobster, *Shogabb*. Rock-fish, *Shogatoe*. Cockle-fish, *Hejucke*. Muskeell, *Shooracke*. Conner-fish, *Tattaucke*. Crabbe, *Wiffa*. *Pa*. Porpoise, *Malscopuick*. Plaice, *Anego*. Tortoise, *Romanecke*. Peale, *Uicomono*. Tobacco, *Temack*. A leafe, *Mebeere*. A weed, *Callicerush*. A Firre tree, *Setecok*. A Stone, *Nahicurr*. A Bowe, *Shaner*. An Arrow, *Toboad*. Barke of a tree, *Mallaguer*. Water, *Shamogom*. Sand, *Chesomok*. Crowe, *Cagagose*. Haire, *Messer* or *Moris*. A beard, *Nicunur*. A Beare, *Roglos*. Beaver, *Panah*. Otter, *Nymemano*. Rat, *Sauake*. Polcat, *Pocamka*. Cat, *Pulnuck*. Fallow Deere, *Corina*. Hogg, *Madofo*. Red Deere, *Moofurr*. They tell vs of other beastes, which they call, *Tajiguar*, *Pijho*, *Narfim*. Teeth, *Idider*. A hand and finger, *Breecke*. A Naile of the hand, *Chilpa*. A legges, *Codd*. A foot, *Malliste*. Plum-tree, *Epfegon*. Strawberry, *Pijho*. Gooseberry, *Shogabb*. Cherry tree, *Epfegonemok*. Corant tree, *Alchemena*. Raliberric, *Kickem*. A pippe, *Chenor*. Fire, *Squida*. The maine Land, *Bemiquanucke*. Sea, *Shoubie*. Father, *Mado*. Sonne, *Tofa*. Wane of the Sea, *Tobogge*. Pitch and Tallow, *Poco*. Wilde Rife, *Mumuck*. Birch, *Pajuguar*. Sword, *Edagomacke*. Mountaine, *Macbowcke*. Winde, *Puckhauken*. Bloud, *Pagagom*. Red, *Woroman*. Blacke Paint, *Cogello*. A Dogge, *Rhiffo*. A Ship or Boat, *Quider*. An Otter, *Watoogowar*. A Garpeo Fly, *Chushup*. Bread, *Panne*. Raine, *Sogoran*. A note, *Peech-ten*. An Axe or Hatchet, *Tombogon*. A Knife, *Quolagom*. Oake, *Akileffe*. White Bone, whereof they waitehookes, *Quich*. An Eye, *Shesjuck*. Eyld, *Memon*. Forehead, *Scotaguan*. An Ear, *Fau-nake*. The Chinne, *Quach*. An Eye, *Shesjuck*. Eyld, *Memon*. Forehead, *Scotaguan*. An Ear, *Fau-nake*. A fish-hooke, *Makercon*. A Rainbow, *Shimogon*.

The Names of their chiefe Gouvernours, whom they call *Sagomoh*. 1. *Balabee*. 2. *Abaruck*. *gushe*. 3. *Bahahedo*, one of them we haue. 4. *Abokerfusick*. 5. *Shurukuit*. 6. *Palueno*. 7. *Mentachmet*. 8. *Agemoluck*. 9. *Mawermet*. 10. *Cabanacoon*. 11. *Amilquar*. 12. *Mualacromocete*. These dwell vpon the Maire, and weare an ornament of white bone vpon their heads; and

Chaines, and Bracelets, and Girdles, and haue then skinnne garments laced with them.

The Names of our Virginians. *Bahahedo*, Brother to the *Balabee*. *Amoret*, his Brother.

Satocomah. *Maneduck*. *Seikaworwse*. Thus haue I giuen thee the proceedings of Virginia and New England's Discouerie: for the originall beginning of the Discouerie, Sir Sebastian Cabot was the first Discouerer both of it and the rest of the Continent of America. The first Plantation was made Southward by the charges of Sir Walter Raleigh: as before is shewed. The next yere New Patents were obtained of vs Maieste for a double Plantation in these parts. I trouble not the Reader with the whole Patent, both because it hath bin flamed diuersified alteration, addition and subtraction, and because I more minde things there done, than here: for which cause I haue also omitted the Articles and subscription two dayes after dated, signed, and sealed, with the Prime Seale for the government of the said Plantation, of both which I haue the Copies by mee; I only here give thee the beginning of the first Patent, April 10. 1606.

CHAP. XIII.

The description of the Islands of Açores, or the Flemish Islands, taken out of Linchoten, with certaine occurrences, and English atts.

He Isles of Açores, or the Flemish Islands are seuen, that is, *Terceira*, *Saint Mary*, *Saint George*, *Gratia*, *Pico*, and *Faial*. There are yet two Islands called *Flores* rise in the *Corua*, which are not contained vnder the name of Açores: but yet at this day are vnder the government of the same Islands, lo that they are in all, accounted nine Islands. They are called Açores, that is to say, Sparhawkes or Hawkes, because that in their first discouery, they found many Sparhawkes, in them, whereof they hold the name, although at this day there is not any there to be found. They are also called

Saint George.

From *Tercera* West North-west, eight or nine miles, lyeth the Island of *Saint George*. It is about twelve miles long, but not above six at the furthest in breadth, and is woody and full of hills: it hath no speciall traffique, but only some Wood, and yet very little of it. The inhabitants live mostly by Cattell and tilling of the Land, and bring much victuals to fill in *Tercera*: it hath likewise many Cedar trees, and other kinds of wood, that from thence are brought vnto *Tercera*, and sold vnto the Ioyner, which for that occasion dwell onely in *Tercera*.

Fajael.

From *Saint George* West South-west, seven miles, lyeth the Island called *Fajael*, which is fifteen or eighteen miles in compass: it is one of the best Islands next vnto *Tercera*, and *Saint Michael*: it aboundeth in all sorts of victuals, both flesh and fish, so that from this Island the most part of victuals and necessities cometh by whole Caruels vnto *Tercera*: it hath likewise much Wood, so that many *English* Ships doe traffique thither. The principall road and place is the Towne called *Uta doria*: there the Ships likewise doe lye in the open Sea vnder the Land, as they doe before all the other Islands: by this Towne there lyeth a forreile, but of small importance: and because the inhabitants of themselves doe offer to defend the Island against all enemies, the Soldiers discharged from thence, which before that time lay in the Fort, complaining that they were not able to maintain nor lodge them. The same time that the Earle of *Cumberland* was in the Island of *Gratiosa*, he came likewise to *Fajael*, where at the first time that he came, they began to resist him, but by reason of some contrarie among them, they let him land where he rased the Cattle to the ground, and sunke all their Ordnance in the Sea, taking with him certaine Caruels and Ships that lay in the road, with provision of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to Sea. Whereupon the King caused the principall adores therein to be punished, and sent a company of Soldiers thither againe, which went out of *Tercera*, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great force, making the Fortresse vpagane, the better to defend the Island, trusting no more in the *Portugalli*. In that Island are the most part of the *Netherlanders* off-spring, yet they vnderstand the *Portugall* language, by reason they haue bene so long consourant among them, and those that vnderstand the *Dutch* tongue are all dead: they are greatly affected to the *Netherlanders* and strangers.

Fajael taken
by Earle of
Cumberland.

From *Fajael* Southeast three miles, and from *Saint George* South-west foure miles, and from *Tercera* South-west and by West twelve miles, lyeth the Island called *Pico*, which is more then fifteen miles in length. It is so named of a high Mountaine that standeth therein called *Pico*, which is so high, that some thinke it is higher then the *Pico* of *Canaaria*. When it is cleare weather, it may as perfectly be seene in *Tercera*, as it were not halfe a mile from thence, and yet lyeth about twenty five miles from it: for it is at the furthest end of the Island towards *Fajael*. The top of it is seene cleare and bright, but the nether part is covered with clouds, and with the *Floris*, whereby the Island is much spoken of. It is very fruitful of all kinds of victuals, like *Floris*, and hath great store of wood, as Cedar, and all other kinds, and also the costly wood *Teca*, *Fajael*, and hath great store of wood, as Cedar, and from thence, by reason of the abundance of wood, they serue the other Islands with wood. It is also inhabited as the rest are, their chiefe traffique being Cattle & Iubandry. It hath much Wine, & the best in all those Islands, and it hath the fairest & pleasantest Oranges that are throughout all *Portugall*: so that they are brought into *Tercera* for a present, as being there very much esteemed, and in my judgement they are the best that euer I tasted in any place. *Angra*, in the Island of *Tercera* is the chiefe Towne and Ruler ouer all the *Floris* Islands.

Pico.

High Hill.

From *Fajael* Westward to the Island named *Floris* are seventy miles: it is about seven miles compass, it is also inhabited by *Portugalli*, & hath no speciall merchandise, but onely some wood, it is full of Cattle, and other necessary provisions, and lyeth open to all the world, & to whosoever will come thither, as well *English* as others: for that the inhabitants haue not the power to resist them. A mile from thence Northward, lyeth a little Island of two or three miles in compass called *De Coruo*. The inhabitants are of the same people that dwell in *Floris*. Between these two Islands and round about them, the *Englishmen* doe commonly stay, to watch the Ships that come out of the West: for those are the first Islands, that the Ships looke out for and desire when they faile vnto *Tercera*, whereby the inhabitants do but little prosper, because they are at the pleasure & commandment of all that they come vnto them, and take their goods from them, as oftentimes it happeneth. Yet for all their power, not to looke both lands and goods, they must content themselves, and faile with every voyage.

Plesant O-
ranges.C. 98.
Floris.

Coruo.

The Ile of *Tercera* lyeth vnder thirty nine degrees, in the same height that *Lisbone* lyeth: and is distant from *Lisbone* lying right East and West two hundred and fifty *Spanish* miles.

Of certaine notable and memorable accidents that happened during my continuance in *Tercera*: in which are related many *English* fleeces, Sea-fights and Prizes.

C. 99.

The second of October Anno 1589, at the Towne of *Villa das Praya*, in the Island of *Tercera*, two men being in a field hard without the towne were killed with lightning. The ninth of the

the same month there arrived in *Tercera* 14. Ships, that came from the *Spanish* Indies, laden with Cochenille, Hales, Gold, Silver, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were fifty in company, when they departed out of the Island of *Huana*, whereof, in their coming out of the Channell, eleven sunk in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered & separated one from the other. The next day there came another Ship of the same company, that failed close vnder the Land, so to get into the Road, where he met with an *English* Ship, that had not about three cast Peeces, & the *Spaniard* twelve. They fought a long time together, which weebling in the Island might stand; & behold: whereupon the Governour of *Tercera* sent two Boats of Musketeers and helpe the Ship: but before they could come at her, the *English* Ship had hoer her vnder water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea, with all her hailes vp, and not any thing fesse of her about the water. The *Englishmen* with their Boate laued the Captaine and about thirty others with him, but not one penny worth of the goods, & yet in the Ship there was of the least the value of 20000. Ducats in Gold, Silver, and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned, which might be about 50. persons, among the which were some French and women, which the *Englishmen* would not faue. Those that they had laued they sent on land, & then they failed away. The 27. of the same month, the said 14. Ships having refreshed themselves in the Island, departed from *Tercera* towards *Smil*, and coming vpon the coast of *Spain*, they were taken by the *English* Ships, that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which elcaped away, & the rest were wholly carried into *England*.

About the same time the Earle of *Cumberland*, with one of the *Queenes* Ships, and five or six more, kept about those Islands and came oftentimes so close vnder the Island, and to the Road of *Angra*, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboard, and knew such as walked on the Hatchers: they of the Island not once shooting at them, although they might easily haue done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the Towne and Fort. In these places he continued for the space of two Moneths, and failed round about the Islands, and landed in *Gratiosa* and *Fajael*, as in the description of those Islands I haue already declared. Here he tookes Dutch Ships and Caruels, which he sent into *England*: so that those of the Island durst not once put forth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Earle of *Cumberland* departed from thence, there arrived in the said Island had bene in the Island of *Fajael*, and was departed from thence, there arrived in the said Island had bene in the Island of *Fajael*, six *Indian* Ships, whose General was one *Iuan Dyrus*: and there they discharged in the Island fortie Millions of Gold and Silver. And hauing with all speed refreshed their Ships, fearing the coming of the *Englishmen*, they failed, and arrived safely in *Saint Lucae*, not meeting with the enemy, to the great good lucke of the *Spaniards*, and hard fortune of the *Englishmen*: for that within lesse then two daies, after the Gold and Silver was laden againe into the *Spanish* Ships, the Earle of *Cumberland* failed againe by that Island: so that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the *Spaniards* themselves confessed.

In the month of November, there arrived in *Tercera* two great Ships, which were the Admirall and Vice-admirall of the Fleete laden with Silver, who with stormy weather were separated from the Fleete, and had bene in great torment and distresse, and ready to sinke: for they were forced to vse all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to haue met with the *Englishmen* to whom they would willingly haue giuen their Silver, and all that euer they brought with them, onely to faue their liues. And although the Earle of *Cumberland* lay full about those Islands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labor they got into the Road before *Angra*, where with all speed they vnloaded, & discharged about 5. Millions of Silver, all in peces of 8. and 10. pound great: so that the whole Bay lay covered with plates & Chefts of Silver, full of Ryals of eight, most wonderful to behold: each Million being ten hundred thousand Ducats, besides Pearles, Gold, and other riches, which were not registred. The Admirall & chiefe commander of those Ships and Fleete called *Aluaro Flores de Siquennes* was sick of the Neapolitan distace, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he dyed in *Synthe*. He brought with him the Kings broad Scale and full authority to be General & chiefe commander vpon the Seas, and of all Fleets or Ships, and of all places & Islands, or Lands wherefoer he came: whereupon the Governour of *Tercera* did him great honor, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiving the weaknes of their Ships, and the danger of the *Englishmen*, that they would lend the Ships empty with Soldiers to conuey them, either to *Smil* or *Lisbone*, where they could first arrive, with aduice vnto his Majesty of all that had past, and that he would giue order to fetch the Silver, with good and safe condoy. Whereupon the said *Aluaro Flores* staied there, vnder colour of keeping the Silver, but specially because of his distace, and for that they were afraid of the *Englishmen*. This *Aluaro Flores* had alone for his owne part about fifty thousand Ducats in Pearles, which he shewed vnto vs, and sought to sell them, or barter them with vs for Spices, or bills of exchange. The said two Ships left *Angra* with three or foure hundred men, as well Soldiers as others, that came with them, and not one man faued. The Vice-admirall cut downe her Mast, and ranne the Ship on ground out of *India*, and being at Sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sunke in the Sea, hardly *Sentual*, where it burst in peces, some of the men fawling themselves by swimming: that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

40. Millions, if
the number be
true.

Five Millions.

In the same month, there came two great ships out of the *Spanish Indies*, and being within halfe a mile of the Road of *Terceira*, they met with an *English* shippe, that after they had fought long together,ooke them both. About leuen or eight mouthes before, there had beene an *English* ship in *Terceira*, that vnder the name of a *Frenchman* came to traffique in the Iland, there to lade wood and being discouered was both ship and goods confiscated to the Kings vice and the men kept prisoners: y^e yet went they vp and downe the streets to get their liuings, by labouring like slaues, being in deed as late in that Iland, as if they had bene in prison. But in the endynow a Sailer sayd the Sailerers went downe behind the Hills called *Brifill*: where they found a Fyndel-boat, wherinto they got, and rowed into the Sea to the Earle of *Cumberland* ship, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Iland, and anon with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of *Agra*, had by two small Ilands, which they about a Bais took from the Iland, and are full of Cows, Buckes, and Sheepe, belonging to the Inhabitantes of the Iland of *Terceira*. These Sayles knewe it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their Boats, and the Anchor that day, they fetched as many Goats and Sheepe as they had neede for which those of the Towne and of the Iland well saw and beheld, yet durst not once goe forth, so there remayned no more on Land but the Maister, and the Merchant, of the said *English* ship. This Maister had a Brother in Law dwelling in *England*, who hauing newes of his brothers imprisonment in *Terceira*, got licence of the Queene of *England*, to set forth a ship, therewith to see if he could recouer his lodes of the *Spaniards*, by takinge time of them, and so to redeme his brother, that lay prisoner in *Terceira*, and he it was, thatooke the two *Spanish* ships before the Towne. The Maister of the ship aforesaid, standing on the shore by me, and looking vpon them, for as my was my great acquaintance, the ships being taken, that were worth three hundred thousand Duckets, he sent all the men on Land sauing only two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboard, thereby to ransom his brother: and sent the Pilot, one of the *Indians* ships that were taken, with a Letter to the Maister of the ship, which he wrote thus: I haue taken your brother, and I haue taken the two Gentlemen on Land: now if you will, he would faine take you home, but he cannot do it, because the Gouernour would not doe it, faying that the Gentlemen might make that liute to the King of *Spain* himselfe. This *Spanish* Pilot wrold to supper with vs, and the *Englishmen* likewise, where he shewed vs the manner of their fight, much commending the order and manner of the *Englishmen* fighting, as also for their courteous yving of him: but in the end the *English* Pilot likewile tole away in a *French* ship, without paying any ransom as yet.

In the first month of January 1590, there arrived one ship alone in *Torreca*, that came from the *Spanish Indies*, and brought news, that there was a fleet of a hundred ships which put out from the Firme Land of the *Spanish Indies*, and by a storme were driven vpon the Coast called *Florida*, where they were allcatt away, the hauing only escaped, wherein there were great riches, and many men loft, as it may well be thought I fo that they made out of the Coast of *Florida* and twentie ships, as it may well be thought I fo that they made out of *Nova Spaigna*, *Santa Domingo*, *San Pedro*, *San Pablo*, *San Juan*, *Bragia*, *Guano*, &c. In theyere 1589, to layle out *Spain* in *Pernambuco*, there were not above fourtене or fiftene of them arrived there in safetie all the rest being either drowned, brot, or taken.

In the first Month of *Iouary*, there arrivd in *Terceira* fifteen or sixtene ships that came from
Spainia, which were most *Flie-bootes* of the low Countries, and some *Brittish* that were arrested
 in *Spainie*: there came full of *Souldiers*, and well appointed with munition, to lade the flur that
 lay in *Terceira*, and to fetch *Almeida de Flores*, by the Kings commandment into *Spainie*. And be-
 cause that it ned the yeere there is always flur more than thofe flands, therefore they durst
 not enter into the Road of *Terceira*, for that as then it blew fo great a florme, that some of their
 ships that had anchored, were forced to cut downe their Masts, and were in danger to be loft:
 and among the rest a ship of *Bilgay* ranne against the Land, and was stricken in pieces, but all the
 men saved themselves. The other ships were forced to keepe the Sea, and to separate themselves
 from the other, where winde and weather would drive them, till all the fourth of *Marche*, when
 for that in all that time they could not have the flur and the land, they sent their anchor, whereby they in-
 duced some with small *Englishe* ship of about fourtie tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great
 winde could not beare all her sailes: so they set vpon her, and tooke her, and with the *Englishe*
 fligge, in their Admiralls they came as proudly into the Haven, as if they had conquered
 all the Realme of *England*: but as the Admirall that bare the *Englishe* flagge vpon her stern, was
 entering into the Road, there came by chance two *Englishe* ships by the Road, that paid her to well
 for her paines, that they were forced to cry *Unwelcome*, and without all doubt had taken her,
 if she had beene but a mile further in the Sea: but because the got vnder the Fortrelle, which al-
 lo began to shoot at the *Englishe* men, they were forced to leaue her, and to put further into the Sea,
 hauing flaine nine or fixte of the *Spaniards*. The *Englishe* men that were taken in the small ship
 put vnder barres, and coupled in bolts, and after they had beene Prisoners three or foure dayes,
 there was a *Spanishe* English-bearer in the ship, that had a brother haine in the shore that came for
England.

England, who as then, minding to reuenge his death, and withall to shew his man-hood to the English Captaiues, that were in the *Englishe* shippes, which they had taken, as is aforesaid, tooke a Ponyard in his hand, and went downe vnder the Hatches, where finding the poore *Englishe* men sitting in bolts, with their faces toward he blabbed five of them to the heart: which two others of them pursuing, clabbed each other about the middle, because they would not be murtured ere they came into the Sea, and there were drowned. This & was of all the *Spaniards* much disliked and very ill taken, so that they carried the *Spaniard* prisoner vnto *Lisbon*, where being arraigned, the King of *Spain* would he should be sent into *England*, that the *Queene of England* might vile him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreatie got to bee reueried, notwithstanding he commanded he should without all fauour bee beheaded: but vpon a good Friday, the Cardinall going to Maile, all the Captaines and Commanders made so great intreatie for him that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might vnderstand the bloudie and honest mindes of the *Spaniards*, when they haue men vnder their subiection.

The fame two *English* ships, which followed the *Spanish* Admiral, till he had got under the Fort of *Terceira*, as I said before, put into the Sea, where they met with another *Spanish* ship, being of the same fleet, that had likewise been scattered by the storme and was only missing, for the rest lay in the Road as I said before. The *Englishmen* tookke, and sent all the men on shore, not hurting any of them, but if they had knowne, what had bene done unto the forefaid *English* Captives, I beleieve they would have renewed themselves, as afterwards many an innocent life was payed for it. This ship thus taken by the *Englishmen*, was the fame that was kepte and confiscated in the Island of *Terceira*, by the *Englishmen*: that got out of the lland in a fiftie-boord, as I said before, and was sold unto the *Spaniards*, that as then came from the *Indies*, where- by they failed to *Saint Lucae*, where it was also arreited by the Duke, and appointed to goe in company to fetch the filver in *Terceira*, because it was a shippe that layed well: but among the *Spaniards* there was the meaneft of the Company. By this meanes it was taken from the *Spaniards*, and carried into *England*, and the Owners had it againe, when they least thought of it.

[illegible]

In the month of March 1590. There was a Blasing Starre with a taile seene in *Tercera*, that continued foure nights together, stretching the taile towards the South.

continued route high to Caradoc, the village of *Enladrada* at *Tercera*, in the Haven or Road of *Aguera*, laden with Oxen, Sheep, Hennes, and all other kinds of victuals, and full of people, which by a Horse had broken the way to her, whereby the Sea can hit her about and therewith the lunke, and mlier were drownd by the help from the shore, but all the Cattle and Hennes came drownd to land: the Ship was drownd with a great Procellion and Solemnitie, effeeming him for a Saint, because he was taken up dead by his Booke between his armes: for the which cause every man came to looke and see this Miracle, singing great Offerings to say Masses for his soule.

to look on him as a Miracle, giving great Offerings to lay Blaises for his soul: The first of August the Governor of *Terceira*, received advice out of *Portugal* and *Spain*, that two yeres before the date of his Letters, there were Lyled out of *England* twelve great ships, 60 well appointed, with full resolution to take their journey, feare of them into the *Portugall* *Indies*, and the other fye to *Malacca*: of the which fye, two were cutt away in pissing the Straits of *Magellanes*, and three Lyled to *Malacca*: but what they had done there, wasas then not knowne. The other feuen palled the *Cipe de bono Spranza*, and arrived in *India*, where they put into the Coast of *Malabar*, but let them goe againe; and two *Turk* Gallies, that came

there flowed a most cleare water, and after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder and noise vnder the earth, as if all the Demels in hell had bene assembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Island of *Tercera* shooke foure times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there happened no misfortune vnto it. Earthquakes are common in those Ilands, for about twenty years past there happened another earthquake, where in a high Hill that lyeth by the same towne of *Vila Franca*, fell halfe downe, and covered all the towne with earth and killed many men.

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CHAP. 14. *Great surtesie shewed. The Reuenge cast away in Tercera.* 1679

Great Stormie

e Greatburra.

Revenge re-
venged with the
loss of about
100 other ships
of the Spaniards
attending her
fates : as great
a blow as 88.

manner (as I said before) towards the Iland, and approaching to the shore, the Master being an old man, and full of years, called his Sonne that was in the ship with him, and having embraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good old father willed his Sonne not to take care for him, but to seek to save himself: for (said he) sonne, thou art young, and may have some hope to face thy life; but as for me, I have no great matter (I am old) what become of me, and therefore with each of these shedding many teares, as every loving father and kinde child may well consider, the ship fell upon the Cliftes and brake in peeces, the Father on the one side, the Sonne on the other side falling into the sea, each laying hold upon that which came next to hand, but to no purpose, for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and only foure, twelve or fifteene saved themselves by swimming, with their legges and armes halfe broken and out of ioynt; among the which was the Masters sonne, and foure other Dutch Boyes: the rest of the Spaniards, and sailors, with the Captain and Master were drowned: whose heart would not melt with teares to behold so grievous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the beastlinesse and inoleny of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be seene: whereby may be considered how the other ships sped, as we our selves did in part behold, and by the men that were saved did heare more at large, as also some others of our Countreymen that as then were in the like danger can well witnesse.

On the other Ilands the losse was no lesse then in *Tercera*; for on the Iland of *Saint George* there were two Ships cast away: on the Iland of *Pico* two Ships: on the Iland of *Gratia* three Ships, & besides those there came every where round about divers peeces of broken ships, & other things floating towards the Ilands, wherewith the Sea was all covered most pittifull to behold. On the Iland of *Saint Michael*, there were four Ships cast away, and betweene *Tercera* and *Saint Michael*, three more were cast away, which were seene and heard to cry out, wherof not one man was saved. The rest run into the Sea without Maits all torne and rent: so that of the whole Fleece and Armado, being one hundred and forty ships in all, there were but thirty two or thirty three arrived in *Spain* and *Portugall*, yea and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arrived together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, & so one after the other to the number aforesaid. All the rest were cast away upon the Ilands, and overwhelmed in the sea: whereby may be considered what great losse and hinderance they received at that time: for by many mens iudgements it was esteemed to be much more then was lessey their Armie that came for *England*, and it may well be thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a iust plague purpously sent by God upon the Spaniards, and that it might truly be said, the taking of the *Revenge* was iustly reuenged upon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly said in the Isle of *Tercera*, that they beleueed verily God would consume them, and that heooke part with *Luiberans* and Hereticks: saying further, that so loone as they had throwne the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir *Richard Greenfield* over-board, they verily thought that as he had a diuellish Faith and Religion, and therefore the Duells loved him, so he presently funke into the bottomes of the Sea, and downe into Hell, where he raised vp all the Duells to the reuenge of his death: and that they brought to great stormes and tempests upon the Spaniards, because they only maintained the Catholike and *Romish* Religion: such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to utter, without that any man reproved them therein, nor for their false opinions, but the most part of them rather said and affirmed, that of truth it must needs be so.

As one of those *Indian* Fleets put out of *Nova Spaigna*, there were five and thirty of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being fiftie in all, so that but fifteene escaped. Of the Fleece that came from *Santa Domingo*, there were foure teene cast away, coming out of the Channell of *Havana*, wherof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from *Terra Firma* in *India*, there came two ships laden with Gold and Silver, that were taken by the *Englishmen*, and before the Spanish Armie came to *Cornu*, the *Englishmen* at times had taken at the least twenty ships, that came from *Saint Domingo*, *India*, *Brazilia*, &c. and all sent into *England*. Wherby it plainly appeareth, that in the end God will assuredly plague the Spaniards, having already blinded them, so that they have not the fence to perceive it, but still to remaine in their obstinate opinions: but it is loft labour to strive against God, and to trust in man, as being foundations erected upon the sands, which with the winde are blowne downe and overthrowne, as we daily see before our eyes, and now not long since in many places have evidently observed: and therefore let every man but looke into his owne actions, and take our *Leuitie* Countreier for an example, wherein we can but blame our owne sinnes and wickednesse, which doth so blinde vs, that we wilfully forget and reiect the benefits of God, concerning the seruants and yoke-slaves of Sathan. God of his mercy open our eyes and hearts, that we may know our onely health and Saviour Iesus Christ, who onely can helpe, gouerne, and preserve vs, and give vs a happy end in all our affaires. By this destruction of the Spaniards, and their euill successe, the lading and shipping of the goods that were saved out of the ship that came from *Malacca* to *Tercera*, was againe put off: and therefore wee must haue patience till it please God to send a better time, and that we receive further aduise and order from his Maiestie of *Spain*.

Note.

Calapho propheth.
God taketh part with Luiberans.

So then the gates of hell preuaile against their faith.

Two Ships of treasure taken by the English, and 20. others of the Indian Fleece.

All this being thus past, the Farmers of Pepper and other Merchants that had their goods in *Tercera*, which were taken out of the lost ship that came from *Malacca*, seeing that the hope of any Armada, or any ships in the Kings behalfe to be sent to fetch it, was all in vaine: they made request vnto his Maiesty, that he would grant them licence every man particularly to ship his goods in what ship he would at his owne aduenture, which in the end, after long suite, was granted, vpon condition that every man should put in sureties, to deliuer the goods in the Custom-house at *Lisbone*, to the end the King might be paid his custome, as also that the goods that should be deliuered vnto them in *Tercera*, should all be registred: wherupon the Farmers of Pepper, with other Merchants, agreed with a *Fluginger*, to fetch all the Cloues, Nutmegs, Mace, and other spices and goods that belonged vnto them, the Pepper onely excepted, which as then the King would not grant to lade. The same Ship arrived in *Tercera* about the last of Nouember, and because it was somewhat dangerous, being the latter end of the yeare, we laded her with all the speede we could, for as then the coast was cleare of *Englishmen*. To be short, this *Fluginger* being laden with most part of the goods, sailing the Pepper that was left behinde, we set saile for *Lisbone*, passing some small stormes, not once meeting with any ship, but onely vpon the coast where we saw ten *Hollanders*, that sailed with Corne towards *Ligerne*, and other places in *Italie*, and so by Gods helpe vpon the second of January, *Ann. 1592*.

We arrived in the Riuier of *Lisbone*, being nine yeares after my departure from thence, and there I staid till the month of Iuly, to dispatch such things as I had to doe, and vpon the fifteenth of the same month, I went to *Sensuall*, where certaine *Hollanders* lay, with whom I went for *Holland*.

The end of the eight Booke.

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10
ENGLISH PLANTATIONS,
DISCOVERIES,
ACTS, AND OCCURRENTS,
IN VIRGINIA AND SUMMER
10 ISLANDS SINCE THE YEERE

1606. TILL 1624.

THE NINTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

10 Part of the first Patent granted by his Maiesie for the Plantation
of Virginia, Aprill the tenth 1606.



AMES by the grace of God, &c. Whereas our loving and well
disposed Subiects, Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summers
Knights, Richard Hakluyt Clerke, Prebendary of Westminster,
Edward Maria Wingfield, Thomas Hannam, Rawleigh Gil-
bert Esquires, William Parker, George Popham, and divers o-
thers of our loving Subiects have bene humble Suitors unto us
that we would vouchsafe unto them our License to make Habita-
tion, Plantation, and to deduce a Colonie of sundry of our people into
that part of America; commonly called Virginia; and other parts
and Territories in America, either appertayning unto us, or which
now are not actually possessed by any Christian Prince or people, si-
tuate lying and being all along the Sea Coast betweene thirtie foure
degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctiall Line, and fortie five degrees of the same latitude, and
in the mayne Land betweene the same thirtie foure and fortie five degrees, and the Islands thereunto ad-
iacent within one hundred miles of the Coast thereof. And to that end, and for the more speedie accom-
plishment of the said intended Plantation and Habitation there, are desirous to deuise themselves into
50 two severall Colonies and Companies, the one consisting of certaine Knights, Gentlemen, Merchants, and
other Adventurers of our Citie of London and elsewhere, which are and from time to time shall be ioy-
ned unto them, which doe desire to beginne their Plantations and Habitations, in some fit and convenient
place betweene thirtie foure and fortie one degrees of the said latitude, all alongst the Sea Coast of Vir-
ginia, and Coast of America aforesaid. And the other consisting of sundry Knights, Gentlemen, Mer-
chants, and other Adventurers of our Cities, of Brittol and Exeter, and of our Towne of Plymmouth
and other places which doe ioyne themselves unto that Colonie, which desire to beginne their Plantations
and Habitations in some fit and convenient place betweene thirtie eight and fortie five degrees of the said
latitude: all alongst the said Coast of Virginia and America, as that Coast lyeth. We greatly commen-
60 ding and graciously accepting of their desires to the furtherance of so Noble a worke, which may by the
providence of Almighty God hereafter tend to the glorie of his Divine Maiesie, in propagating of
Christian Religion, to such people as yet lye in darknesse, miserable ignorance of the true knowledge
and worship of God, and may in time bring the Infidels and Savages (living in those parts) to humane
civillite and to a settled and quiet government, doe by these our Letters Patents graciously accept of, and
agree to their humble and well intended desires, And doe therefore for vs our Heires and Successors

Tortois.

Ships: if this Bay stood in England, it would be a great profit and commoditie to the Land. On this land we caught great store of Fresh-fish, and abundance of Sea Tortois, which lived all our Fleet: three daies, which were in number eight score persons. We also killed great store of wilde Fowle, we cut the Barkes of certaine Trees which tasted much like Cinnamon, and very hot in the mouth. This Land in some places hath very good ground, straight and tall Timber, but the greatest ditcommoditie that wee havee fenne on this Land is that it hath no Fresh-water, which makes the place void of any Inhabitants.

On this water
vanholiome.

Vpon the sixth day, we let faile and passed by *Becam*, and by Saint *Iohn de portorico*. The fourth day, we arrived at *Monia*: where wee watered, which we stood in great need of, seeing that our water did smell so villy that none of our men was able to indure it. Whilst some of the Saylers were filling the Caskes with water, the Capaine, and the rest of the Gentlemen, and other Soldiers marched vp in the lle fixe myles, thinking to find some other prouision to maintain our victualling; as wee marched we killed two wild Bores, and saw a huge wild Bull, his hornes was an ell betweene the two tops. Wee also killed *Guanar*, in fashion of a Serpent, and speckled like a Toade vnder the belly. These were the things that wee went looking to troublefome and vile good vpon the sharpe Rocks, that many of our men fainted in the match, but by good fortune wee left none but one *Edward Brooke* Gentleman, whose fat melted within him by the great heate and drought of the Countrey: we were not able to relieue him nor our felues, so he died in that great extremity.

Ed. Brooke
faint with
thirst.

Monia.

The ninth day in the afternoon, we went off with our Boat to the Ile of *Monia*, some three leagues from *Monia*, where we had a terrible landing, and a troublefome getting vp to the top of the Mountain or Ile, being a high firme Rocke steep, with many terrible fere stones: After we got to the top of the Ile, we found it to be a fertile and a plaine ground, full of goodly grasse, and abundance of Fowles of all kinds, they flew ouer our heads as thick as drops of Hail; besides they made such a noise, that wee were not able to heare one another speake. Furthermore, wee were not able to let our feet on the ground, but either on Fowles or Egges which lay so thick in the grasse: Wee laded two Boats full in the space of three hours, to our great refreshing.

Store of fowles

The tenth day we set faile, and disimboged out of the *Welt Indies*, and bare our course Northerly. The fourteenth day we passed the Tropique of *Cancer*. The one and twentieth day, about fise a clocke at night there began a vehement tempest, which lasted all the night, with winds, raine, and thunders in a terrible manner. Wee were forced to lie at Hull that night, because we thought wee had bene neverer land since wee were. The next morning, being the two and twentieth day we were fouled; and the three and twentieth and foure and twentieth day, and wee could find no ground. The fise and twentieth day we found, and had no ground at all hundred fathom. The six and twentieth day of April, about foure a clocke in the morning, we descried the Land of *Virginia*: the same day we entered into the Bay of *Chesapeake* directly, without any let or hinderance; there wee landed and discovered a little way, but wee could find nothing worth the speaking of, but faire meadows and goodly tall Trees, with such Fresh-waters running through the woods, as I was almost rauished at the first sight thereof.

We were drie-
ven to try this
night, and by
the storme
were forced
neere the
shore, not
knowing
where we
were.
They land in
Virginia.

At night, when wee were going aboard, there came the Sauges creeping vp all foure, from the Hills like Beares, with their Bowes in their mouths, charged vs very desperately in the faces, hurt *Captaine Gabriell Archer* in both his hands, and a sayler in two places of the body very dangerous. After they had spent their Arrowes, and felt the sharpnesse of our shot, they retired into the Woods with a great noise, and left vs.

The feuen and twentieth day we began to build vp our Shallops the Gentlemen and Soldiers marched eight miles vp into the Land, we could not see a Saugie in all that march, we came to a place where they had made a great fire, and had bene newly a roasting Oysters: when they perceived our coming, they fled away to the Mountains, and left many of the Oysters in the fire: we eat some of the Oysters, which were very large and delicate in taste.

The eighteenth day we lanchred our Shallops, the Capaine and some Gentlemen went in her, and discovered vp the Bay, we found a River on the Southside running into the Maine; we entered it and found it very shoald water, not for any Boats to swim: Wee went further into the Bay, and saw a plaine plot of ground where we went on Land, and found the place fise mile in compasse, without either Bush or Tree, we saw nothing there but a Cannow, which was made out of the whole tree, which was fise and fortie foot long by the Rule. Vpon this plot of ground we got good store of Musks, and Oysters, which lay on the ground as thick as stones: wee opened some, and found in many of them Pearles. Wee marched some three or foure miles further into the Woods, where we saw great smoakes of fire. Wee marched to those smoakes and found that the Sauges had bene there burning downe the grasse, as wee thought either to make their plantation there, or else to giue signes to bring their forces together, and so to giue vs battell. Wee past through excellent ground full of Flowres of diuers kinds and colours, and as goodly trees as I haue seene, as Cedar, Cipresse, and other kinds: going a little further we came into a little plot of ground full of fine and beautifull Strawberries, foure times bigger and better then in Eng-

Strawberries.

land. All this march we could neither see Saugie nor Towne. When it grew to be towards night we stood backe to our Ships, we sounded and found it shallow water for a great way, which put vs out of all hopes for getting any higher with our Ships, which roade at the mouth of the River. Wee rowed ouer to a point of Land, where wee found a channell, and founded fix, eight, ten, or twelue fathom: which put vs in good comfort. Therefore wee named that point of Land, Cape Point Comfort.

Comfort. The nine and twentieth day we set vp a Crosse at *Chesepiote Bay*, and named that place *Cape Henry*. Thirtieth day, we came with our Ships to *Cape Comfort*; where wee saw the Sauges running on the shore; presently the Capaine caused the shallop to be manned, for rowing to the shore, the Capaine called to them in signe of friendship, but they were at first very timelome, until they saw the Capaine lay his hand on his heart: vpon that they laid downe their Bowes and Arrowes, and came very boldly to vs, making signes to come a shore to their Towne, which is called by the Sauges *Kecoughtan*. Wee coasted to their Towne, rowing ouer a River running into the Maine, where these Sauges swam ouer with their Bowes and Arrowes in their

monies. When we came ouer to the other side, there was a many of other Sauges which directed vs to their Towne, where we were entertained by them very kindly. When we came first a Land they made a dolefull noise, laying their faces to the ground, scratching the earth with their nails. Wee did thinke that they had bene at their Idolatry. When they had ended their Ceremonies, they went into their houses and brought out mats and laid vpon the ground, the chieft of the late all in a rank: the meanest fort brought vs such dainties as they had, & of their bread which they make of their Maize or Genne wheat, they would not suffer vs to eat vellese we fate down, which we did on a Mat right against them. After we were well satisfied they gave vs of their Tobacco, which they tooke in a pipe made artificially of earth as ours are, but far bigger, with the bowle fashioned together with a piece of fine copper. After they had feasted vs, they shewed vs, in welcome, their manner of dancing, which was in this fashion: one of the Sauges standing in the midt giving, beating one hand against another, all the rest dancing about him, flourishing, howling, and stamping against the ground, with many Anticke tricks and faces, making noise like to many Wolues or Deuils. One thing of them I obserued, when they were in their dance they kept

stroke with their feet iust one with another, but with their hands, heads, faces, and bodies, every one of them had a seuerall gesture: as they continued for the space of halfe an houre. When they had ended their dance, the Capaine gave them Beades and other trifling Jewells. They hang behind their ears: they haue the right side of their heads with a shell, the left side through their eares: Fowles legs: they wear of an ell long tied vp with an artificiall knoe, with a many of Fowles feathers sticking in it. They goe altogether naked, but their priuities are covered with Beasts skines beest commonly with little bones, or beastes teeth: some paint their bodies blacke, some red, with artificiall knots of lundry liuely colours, very beautifull and pleasing to the eye: in a brauer fashion then they in the *Welt Indies*.

The fourth day of May, we came to the King or Werowance of *Papife*: where they entertained vs with much welcome; an old Saugie made a long Oration, making a foule noise, vntering his speech with a vehement action, but we knew little what they meant. Whilst we were in company with the *Papife*, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* came from the other side of the River in his Cannoe: he seemed to take displeasure of our being with the *Papife*: he would faine haue had vs come to his Towne, the Capaine was vnwilling, seeing that the way was so far: pent he returned backe to his ships for that night.

The next day, being the fift day of May, the Werowance of *Rapahanna* sent a Messenger to haue vs come to him. We entertained the said Messenger, and gave him trinkets which pleased him: Wee manned our shallop with Muskets and Targeters sufficiently: this said Messenger guided vs downe the water side with all his traine, as goodly men as any I haue seene of Sauges or Christians: the Werowance comming before them playing on a Flute made of a Reed, with a Crown of Deares haire coloured red, in fashion of a Rofe fastened about his knoe of haire, and a great Plate of Copper on the other side of his head, with two long Feathers in fashion of a paire of Hornes placed in the midt of his Crowne. His body was painted all with Crimfon, with a Chaîne of Beads about his necke, his face painted blew, beprinkled with siluer Ore: as wee thought, his eares all behung with Braitles of Pearle, and in either eare a Birds Claw thre or twofeet with fine Copper or Gold, he entertained vs in so modest a proud fashion, as though he had bene a Prince of ciuill gouernment, holding his countenance without laughter or any such ill behaviour; he caused his Mat to be spread on the ground, where hee fate downe with a great Maletie, taking a pipe of Tobacco: the rest of his company standing about him. After he had rested a while he rose, and made signes to vs to come to his Towne: Hee went forth, and all the rest of his people and our folowes followed him vp a steeps Hill where his Palace was fetled. Wee pulled through the Woods in fine paths, hauing most pleasant Springs which issued from the Mountains: Wee also went through the goodliest Corne fields that euer was seene in

Point Comfort.

Kecoughtan.

Tobacco.

Singing and
Dancing.

A long oration

A Flute made
of a Reed.

The Saueges
vnto sacrifice
to the Sunne.

worship as their God, besides he laid his hand on his heart, that he would be our special friend. It is a general rule of these people when they sweare by their God which is the Sunne, no Christian will keepe their Oath better vpon this promise. These people haue a great reuerence to the Sunne about all other things at the rising and setting of the same, they sit downe lifting vp their hands and eyes to the Sunne making a round Circle on the ground with dried Tobacco, then they began to pray making many Deuillish gestures with a Hellish noyse foming at the mouth, staring with their eyes, wagging their heads and hands in such a fashion and deformite as it was monitrous to behold.

The sixt of August there died *John Aboe* of the bloudie Flixie. The ninth day died *George Flower* of the swelling. The tenth day died *William Bratler* Gentleman, of a wound giuen by the Saueges, and was buried the eleventh day.

The fourteenth day, *Ierome Akkeek* Ancient, died of a wound, the same day *Francis Midwinter*, *Edward Moris* Corporall died suddenly.

De th of Cap.
Bart. Gofoid.

The fifteenth day, their died *Edward Browne* and *Stephen Galbrope*. The sixteenth day, their died *Thomas Gower* Gentleman. The seuenteenth day, their died *Thomas Mowfite*. The eighteenth day, there died *Robert Pennington*, and *Iohn Marins* Gentleman. The nineteenth day, died *Drue Pugges* Gentleman. The two and twentieth day of August, there died Captaine *Baribolomew Gofoid* one of our Councell, he was honourably buried, hauing all the Ordnance in the Fort shot off with many volles of Mill shot.

After Captaine *Gofoid*'s death, the Councell could hardly agree by the diffention of Captaine *Kendall*, which afterward was committed about hainous matters which was proued aganist him.

The four and twentieth day, died *Edward Harrington* and *George Walker*, and were buried the same day. The fixe and twentieth day, died *Kendall Thorngrove*. The seuen and twentieth day died *William Ronds*. The eight and twentieth day died *Thomas Swode*, Cape Merchant.

Miserable fa-
mine.

The fourth day of September with cruell diseases as Swellings, Flixes, Burning Feuers, and by warres, and some departed suddenly, but for the most part they died of mere famine. There were neuer *Englismen* left in a forreigne Country in such miserie as wee were in this new dis- covered *Virginia*. We watched euery three nights lying on the bare cold ground what weather founer came wardd all the next day, which brought our men to bee most feeble wretches, our food was but a small Can of Barlie sod in water to fise men a day, our drinke cold water taken out of the Riuer, which was at a foudie veele salt, at a low tide full of slime and filth, which was the destruction of many of our men. Thus we liued for the space of fise months in this miserable distresse, not hauing fise able men to man our Bulwarks vpon any occasion. If it had not pleased God to haue put a terror in the Saueges hearts, we had all perished by those vild and cruell Pagans, being in that weake estate as we were; our men night and day groaning in euery corner of the Fort most pittifull to heare, if there were any conscience in men, it would make their hearts to bleed to heare the pittifull murmurings & out-cries of our sick men without reliefe euery night and day for the space of fise weekes, some departing out of the World, many times three or foure in a night, in the morning their bodies traile out of their Cabines like Dogges to be buried: in this for did I see the mortalitie of diuers of our people.

It pleased God, after a while, to send those people which were our mortal enemies to reduce vs with victuals, as Bread, Corn, Fish, and Flesh in great plenty, which was the setting vp of our feeble men, otherwife we had all perished. Also we were frequented by diuers Kings in the Countree, bringing vs hore of prouision to our great comfort.

The eleuenth day, there was certaine Articles laid aganist *Master Wingfield* which was then President, thereupon he was not only displaced out of his President ship, but also from being of the Councell. Afterwards Captaine *Iohn Rolfe* was chosen President.

The eighteenth day, died our *Edm Kinitone* which was starued to death with cold. The same day at night, died one *Richard Simmons*. The nineteenth day, there died one *Thomas Master*.

He was a made
man.

William White (hauing liued with the Natives) reported to vs of their customes in the morning by breake of day, before they eate or drinke both men, women and children, that be about tenne yeeres of age runnes into the water, there wathes themselves a good while till the Sunne riseth, then offer Sacrifice to it, throwing Tobacco on the water or Land, honouring the Sunne as their God, likewise they doe at the setting of the * Sunne.

* There is
omitted being
more uerly set
downe in Cap.
Smiths Rela-
tions.

CHAP. III.

The description of Virginia by Captaine Iohn Smith, enlarged
out of his written Notes.



Virginia is a Countree in *America*, that lieth betwene the degrees of 34. and 44. of the North Latitude. The bounds thereof on the East side are the great Ocean. On the South lieth *Florida*: on the North *Nova Francia*. As for the West thereof, the limits are vnkowne. Of all this Countree we purpose not to speake, but onely of that part which was planted by the *Englismen* in the yeeres of our Lord, 1606. And this is vnder the degrees 37. 38. and 39. The temperature of this Countree doth agree wel with *English* constitutions being once seasoned to the Countree. Which verie small meanes and continued in health, though there were other great causes, not only to haue made them sick, but euen to end their dayes, &c.

The Summer is hot as in *Spain*; the Winter cold as in *France* or *England*. The heate of Summer is in Iune, Iuly, and August, but commonly the coole Breezes alwaye the vehemencie of the heate. The cheefe of Winter is halfe December, Ianuary, February, and halfe March. The cold is extreme sharpe, but heere the Proverb is true, That no extreme continueth long. In the yeere 1607. was an extraordinary Frost in most of *Europe*, and this Frost was found as extreme in *Virginia*. But the next yeere for eight or ten daies of ill weather, other foure daies would be as Summer.

The winds here are variable, but the like Thunder and Lightning to purifie the Aire, I haue seldom euer seene or heard in *Europe*. From the South-west came the greatest gulls with Thunder and heate. The North-west winde is commonly coole, and bringeth faire weather with it. From the North is the greatest cold, and from the East and South-east as from the *Barbados*, foggies and raines.

Sometimes there are great droughts other times much raine, yet great necessitie of neither, by reason we see not, but that all the varietie of needfull Fruits in *Europe* may bee there in great plenty by the industry of men, as appeareth by those we there planted.

There is but one entrance by Sea into this Countree, and that is at the mouth of a verie goodly Bay, the wideneffe whereof is nere eighteen or twen'tie miles. The Cape on the South side is called *Cape Henrie*, in honour of our most Noble Prince. The shew of the Land there is a white Hilly Sand like vnto the *Downes*, and along the shoares great plenty of Pines and Firres.

The North Cape, is called *Cape Charles*, in honour of the worthy Duke of *Torke*. *Towles* before it are named *Smiths hills*, because he first of ours set foot on them. Within is a Countree that may haue the prerogative ouer the most pleasant places of *Europe*, *Africa*, or *America*. for large and pleasant navigable Riuers, Heauen and Earth neuer agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation being of our constitutions, were it fully mannured and inhabited by industrious people. Here are Mountaynes, Hills, Plaines, Vallies, Riuers and Brookes, all running most pleasantly into a faire Bay compassed but for the mouth with fruitful & delightfull Land. In the Bay and Riuers are many Isles both great and small, some woodie, some plaine, most of them low and not inhabited. This Bay lieth North and South, in which the water floweth nere two hundred miles, and hath a Channell for one hundred and fortie miles, of depth betwixt seuen and fifteene miles, and from the Cape Southward, the farther off from the Bay are those Mountaynes. From which fall certaine Brookes which after come to fise principall Nauigable Riuers. These runne from the North-west into the South-east, and so into the West side of the Bay, where the fall of euery Riuer is within twen'tie or fiftene miles one of another.

The Mountaynes are of diuers natures, for at the head of the Bay the Rockes are of a composition like Mill-stones. Some of Marble, &c. And many pieces of Chisell we found as throwne downe by water from the Mountaynes. For in Winter these Mountaynes are covered with much Snow, and when it dissolueth the waters fall with such violence, that it causeth great inundations in the narrow Vallies, which yet is scarce perceived being once in the Riuers. These waters walk from the Rockes such glittering tintures that the ground in some places seemeth as gilded, where both the Rockes and the Earth are so plentiful to behold, that better iudgements then ours might haue bene persuaded, they contained more then probability. The velture of the Earth in most places doth manifestly proue the nature of the soile to be luite and very rich. The colour of the Earth we found in diuers places, resembleth *Bole Ammoniac*, *terra sigillata ad iuniora*, Full of Envy, Marble, and diuers other fo happy natures. But generally for the most part the Earth is a blacke sande mixed, in some places at it illic clay, in other places a verie barren grauell, But the best ground

The Latitude
By later Pa-
trons this is
extended fur-
ther to 37.50
degrees, &c.

The temper-
ature.

The winds.

The entrance

Cape Henrie,
Cape Charles,
Cape Smith.

The Country.

The Bay.

The Mount-
taines.

The soile.

best ground is knowne by the verdure it beareth, as by the greatnesse of Trees or abundance of Weeds, &c.

The Vallies. The Countrey is not mountainous nor yet low, but such pleasant plaine Hills and fertile Vallies, one prettily crossing another, and watered so conueniently with their sweete Brookes and Christfall Springs, as if Art it selfe had deuised them. By the Rivers are many plaine Marishes containing some twentie, some one hundred, some two hundred Acres, some more, some lesse. Other plaines there are few, but only where the Sauages inhabit: but all ouer-grown with Trees and Weeds, being a plaine Wildernesse as God first made it.

The River Powhatan. On the West side of the Bay, we said were fiew faire and delightfull nauigable Rivers, of which we will now proceed to report. The first of those Rivers and the next to the mouth of the Bay hath his course from the West and by North. The name of this River they call *Powhatan* according to the name of a principall Countrey that lieth vpon it. The mouth of this River is neere three miles in breadth, yet doe the Shoales force the Channell so neere the Land that a *Sacre* will ouer-shoot it at Pointe-blanc. This River is nauigable one hundred and fiftie miles as the Channell goeth; the Shoales and soundings are heere needlesse to be expressed. It falleth from Rocks farre West in a Countrey inhabited by a Nation that they call *Monacan*. But where it cometh into our Dis-

Falls. course it is *Powhatan*. In the farthest place that was diligently obserued, are Falles, Rockes, Shoales, &c. which makes it past nauigation any higher. Thence in the running downward, the River is enriched with many goodly Brookes, which are maintained by an infinite number of small Runnelles and pleasant Springs that disperse themselues for best seruice, as doe the vines of a mans bodie. From the South there falls into this River; First, the pleasant River of *Apamattuck*; next more to the East are the two Rivers of *Quiyongcohanoche*. A little farther is a Bay wherein alle in three or foure pretie Brookes and Creekes that halfe intrench the Inhabitants of *Warrakeyoc*; then the River of *Nawdsamund*, and lastly, the Brooke of *Chispiack*. From the North side is the River of *Chickhamania*, the backe River of *James Towne*; another by the *Cedar Ile*, where we liued ten weekes vpon Oysters, then a conuenient Harbour for fisher-boats or small Boats at *Kecoughtan*, that so conueniently turneth it selfe into Bayes and Creekes that make that place very pleasant to inhabit, their Corne fields being girded therein in a manner as *Penninsulæ*. The most of these Rivers are inhabited by seuerall Nations, or rather Families, of the name of the Rivers. They haue also in euery of those places some Governour, as their King, which they call *Werowances*. In a *Penninsula* on the North side of this River are the *English* planted in a place by them called *James Towne*, in honour of the Kings most excellent Maiestie, vpon which side are also many places vnder the *Werowances*.

James Towne. The first and next the Rivers mouth are the *Cecoughtans*, who besides their women and children, haue not past twentie fighting men. The *Paspabeges* on whose Land is seated the *English* Colonie, some fortie miles from the Bay haue not past fortie. The River called *Chickhamania* neere two hundred. The *Weanocke* one hundred. The *Arrowatocke* thirtie. The place called *Powhatan*, some fortie. On the South side this River the *Apamattuck* haue sixtie fighting men. The *Quiyongcohanoche*, fiew and twentie. The *Warrakeyoc* fortie. The *Nawdsamund* two hundred. The *Chesapeake* are able to make one hundred. Of this last place the Bay beareth the name. In all these places is a seuerall Commander, which they call *Werowance* except the *Chickhamanians*, who are governed by the Priests and their Assistants of their Elders called *Caw-caw-wassauges*. In Summer no place affordeth more plentie of Sturgeon, nor in Winter more abundance of Fowle, especially in the time of Frost. There was once taken fiftie two Sturgeons at a draught, at another draught sixtie eight. From the latter end of May till the end of June are taken, but young Sturgeons of two foot or a yard long: From thence till the midde of September, of two or three yards long and few others. And in foure or fiew houres with one Net were ordinarily taken seuen or eight: often more, seldome lesse. In the small Rivers all the yeere there is good plentie of small fish, so that with Hookes those that would take paines had sufficient.

Free Service. Fourteene miles Northward from the River *Powhatan*; is the River *Pamamuck*, which is nauigable fiftie miles, but with Catches and small Barkes, twentie or thirtie miles farther. At the ordinary flowing of salt water, it diuideth it selfe into two gallant branches. On the South inhabit the people of *Toughtanund*, who haue about sixtie men for warres. On the North branch *Pamamuck*, who haue thirtie men. Where this River is diuided, the Countrey is called *Pamamuck*, and nourisheth neere three hundred able men. About fiew and twentie miles lower on the North side of this River is *Werowocomoco*, where their great King inhabited when Captaine *Smith* was deliuered him prisoner; yet there are not past fortie able men. But now he hath abandoned that, and lieth at *Orapake* by *Toughtanund* in the Wildernesse; tenne or twelue miles lower; on the South side of this River is *Chiskiack*, which hath some fortie or fiftie men. These, as also *Apamattuck*, *Arrowatocke*, and *Powhatan*, are their great Kings chiefe Alliance and Inhabitanse. The

R. Pamamuck. rest (as they report) his Conquest.

The Inhabitants. Before we come to the third River that falleth from the Mountaines, there is another River (some thirtie miles nauigable) that cometh from the In-land, the River is called *Payanokatanke*, the Inhabitants are about some fortie seruiceable men.

Yerapikatanke R.

The

The third navigable River is called *Toppawock*. (This is navigable some one hundred and thirty miles.) At the top of it inhabit the people called *Mannaback* amongst the Mountains, but they are about the place we describe. Upon this River on the North side are seated a people called *Cattawomen*, with thirty fighting men. Higher on the River are the *Maraghtacanda*, with eighty able men. Beyond them *Toppawock* with one hundred men. Farre above is another *Cattawomen* with twenty men. On the South, farre within the River is *Namaghtacand* having one hundred and fifty men. This River also as the two former, is replenished with fish and fowle.

Toppawock R.
The Inhabitants.

The fourth River is called *Patawomeck*, and is fixe or seven miles in breadth. It is navigable one hundred and forty miles, and fed as the rest with many sweet Rivers and Springs, which fall from the bordering Hills. These Hills many of them are planted, and yeeld no lesse plenty and varietie of fruit then the River exceedeth with abundance of fish. This River is inhabited on both sides. First on the South side at the very entrance is *Wighcomisco*, and hath some one hundred and thirty men, beyond them *Sekowone* with thirty. The *Onanmant* with one hundred. Then *Patawomeck* with one hundred and sixty able men. Here doth the River divide it selfe in three or four convenient Rivers. The greatest of the least is called *Quinough*, trendeth North-west, but the River it selfe turneth North-east, and is still a navigable streame. On the Westerne side of this bought is *Tauxent*, with forty men. On the North of this River is *Secowcomisco* with forty men. Some what further *Potapaco* with twenty. In the East part of the bought of the River, is *Patawomeck* with sixty men; After *Moyawance* with one hundred. And lastly, *Nacotchtang* with eighty able men. The River tenne miles above this place maketh his passage downe a low pleasant Vally ever shadowed in many places with high Rockie Mountains; from whence distill innumerable sweet and pleasant Springs.

Patawomeck R.

The fifth River is called *Pamunkey*, and is of a lesse proportion then the rest; but the channell is fixtene or eightene fadome deepe in some places. Here are infinite skuls of divers kinds of fish more then elsewhere. Upon this River dwell the people called *Acquitanackynak*, *Pamunkey* and *Mattapamant*. Two hundred men was the greatest strength that could be there perceived. But they inhabit together, and not so disperled as the rest. These of all other were found the most civill to give entertainment.

Pamunkey R.

Thirty leagues Northward is a River not inhabited, yet navigable; for the red Earth or Clay resembling *Bale Armenack*, the *English* called it *Balus*. At the end of the Bay where it is fixe or seven miles in breadth, there fall into it foure small Rivers, three of them issuing from divers bogges mounred with high Mountaines. There is one that cometh due North three or four dayes journey from the head of the Bay, and falls from Rockes and Mountaines, upon this River inhabit a people called *Sasquesahanock*. They are seated two dayes higher then was passage for the Discoverers Barge, which was hardly two tunnes, and had in it but twelve men to performe this Discouery, wherein they lay above the space of twelve weekes upon those great waters in those unknowne Countries, having nothing but a little Meale or Oat-meale and water to feed them; and for the halfe lustient of that for halfe that time, but that by the Sauges, and by the plenty of fish they found in all places, they made themselves provision as opportunity served; yet had they not a Mariner or any that had skill to trimme their Sayles, vie their Oares, or any businesse belonging to the Barge, but two or three. The rest being Gentlemen, or as ignorant in such toyle and labour, yet necessitie in a short time by their Captaines diligence and example, taught them to become so perfect, that what they did by such small means, I leave to the censure of the Reader to iudge by this Discourse and the annexed Map. But to proceed, fixtie of thole *Sasquesahanocks*, came to the Discoverers with Skines, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Beades, Sworis and Tobacco-pipes for Presents. Such great and well proportioned men, are sellome seene, for they seemed like Giants to the *English*, yea, and to the Neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition, with much adoe restrained from adoring the Discoverers as Gods. Those are the most strange people of all those Countries, both in Language and Attire; for their Language it may well beleeve their proportions, founding from them, as it were a great voyce in a Vault, or Cave, as an Echoe. Their Attire is the Skines of Beares, and Woolues, some haue Callacks made of Beares heads and Skines that a mans necke goes through the Skines necke, and the Eares of the Beare fastned to his shoulders behind; the Nose and Teeth hanging downe his breast, and at the end of the Nose hung a Beares Pawe, the halfe sleeves coming to the elbows were the neckes of the Beares and the armes through the mouth with pawes hanging at their Noes. One had the head of a Wolfe hanging in a Gaine for a Jewell his Tobacco-pipe three quarters of a yard long, prettily carved with a Bird, a Beare, a Deere, or some such deice at the great end, sufficient to beate out the braines of a man, with Bowes, and Arrowes, and Clubs fittable to their greatnesse and conditions. These are farce knowne to *Powhatan*. They can make neere fixe hundred able and mightie men, and are pallisaded in their Townes to defend them from the *Massawomecks* their mortall enemies. Five of their chiefe *Wapomances* came aboard the Discoverers, and credd the Bay in their Barge.

Balus R.
The head of the Bay.

Sasquesahanock.

Gianty people.

The description of a *Sasquesahanock*, see the Map.
Lang Spoken to ease with the Deuill.

The Picture of the greatell of them is signified in the Mappe. The calf of whose legge was three quarters of a yard about, and all the rest of his limbes so answerable to that proportion, that hee seemed the goodliest man that ever wee beheld. His haire, the one side was long, the other shorne close with a ridge over his crowne like a Cockes Comb. His Arrows were five quarters long, headed with flints or spinters of stones, in forme like a Heart, an inch broad, and an inch and a halfe or more long. These he wore in a Woolles Skine at his backe for his Quiver, his Bow in the one hand and his Clubbe in the other, as is described.

On the East side the Bay, is the River of *Tockwogh*, and vpon it a people that can make one hund red men, teated in some seven miles within the River: where they haue a Fort very well palliaded and mantled with the Barkes of Trees. Next to them is *Ozimes* with fixte men. More to the South of the East side of the Bay, the River of *Rapahanock*, neere vnto which is the River of *Ruikarawack*. Vpon which is teated a people with two hundred men. After that is the River of *Tants Wybecomack*, and on it a people with one hundred men. The people of those Rivers are of little stature of another Language from the rest, and very rude. But they on the River of *Aschewack* vnto this time, and they of *Accomack* eighty men do qualize any of the Territories of *Powhatan* and speake his Language, who ouer all these dole as King.

Southward they went to some parts of *Chawneck* and the *Mangoogy* to search for the men there left by Sir *Walter Raleigh*; for those parts to the Towne or *Chippacaw* haue formerly bene discovered by Master *Harris* and Sir *Ralph Lane*. Amongst those people are thus many seuerall Nations of sundry Languages, that enuiron *Powhatan* Territories. The *Chawneck*, the *Mangoogy*, the *Almonack*, the *Maenabokes*, the *Malawemokes*, the *Powhatans*, the *Sappony*, the *Algonquians*, the *Tockwoghes*, and the *Kufcarawakes*. Of all those not any vnderstandeth another but by Interpreters. Their seuerall Habitations are more plainly described by this innexed Mappe, which will present to the eye, the way of the Mountaines and current of the Rivers, with their seuerall Turnings, Bays, Shoales, Iles, Inlets, and Creekes, the breadth of the waters, the distinces of places and such like. In which Map observe this, that as farre as you see the little Crosses on R. uers, Mountaines, or other places haue bene discovered; the rest was had by information of the Sauiages, and are let downe, according to their instructions.

Of such things which are naturall in Virginia, and how they vse them.

Virginia doth afford many excellent v. girahles and liuing creatures, yet graffe there is little or none, but what groweth in low Masshes: for all the Countrey is ouergrown with Trees, whose droppings continually turne their grasse to weedes, by reason of the ranknesse; of the ground which would haue bene amended by good husbandry. The wood that is most common is *Oke* and *Walnut*; many of their *Okes* are so tall and straight, that they will beare two foorthe and a halfe square of good Timber for twenty yards long; Of this wood there is two or three several kinds. The *Acornes* of one kind, whose bark is more white then the other, are somewhat sweetish, which being boyled halfe a day in seuerall waters, at last afford a sweete Oyle, of which they keep in Goards to annoynt their heads & ioynts. The fruit they eat in bread or otherwise. There is also some *Elme*, some blacke *Walnut* tree, and some *Ash*; of *Ash* and *Elme* they make *Sopashals*. If the trees be very great, the *ashes* will be good, and melt to hard lumps, but if they be small, it will be but powder, and not so good as the other. Of *Walnuts* there are two or three kinds; there is a kind of wood we called *Cypresse*, because both the wood, the fruit, and leafe did most resemble it, and of those trees there are some neere three fadome about the Roote very straight, and fifty, sixty, or eighty foot without a branch. By the swelling of the Sauiages are some great *Mulberry* trees, and in some parts of the Countrey, they are found growing naturally in pretie Groves. There was an inflay made to make silke, and surely the *Wormes* prospered excellently well, till the Master workmen fell sick. During which time they were eaten with *Rats*, so

In some parts they found some *Clefnuts* whose whole will frut equalize the best in *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, or *Italy*, so their rats that had tailed them all. Plummes there are of three sorts. The red and white are like our hedge Plummes, but the other which they call *Patchamunes*, grow as high as *Palmeto*: the fruit is like a Medler; it is first greene then yellow, and red when it is ripe; if it be not ripe it will draw a mans mouth awrie, with much torment, but when it is ripe, it is as delicious as an *Apricock*.

They haue *Cherries*, and those are much like a *Damson*, but for their tastes and Colours we called them *Cherries*. We saw few fine *Crabbes*, but very small and bitter. Of *Vines* great abundance in many parts climbe the tops of the highest trees in some places; but these beare but few *Grapes*. But by the Rivers and Sauiage habitations where they are not cuerlled downe from the Sunne, they are couered with fruit, though neuer pruned nor manured. Of those legge *Grapes* we made neere twenty gallons of *Wine*, which was neere as good as *French Brandy*. *Wine*: but certainly they would proue good, were they well manured. There is another sort of *Grape*, neere as great as a *Cherry*, this they call *Maliamunes*, they be far, and the taste

thicke. Neither doth the taste so well please when they are made in *Wine*. They haue a small fruit growing on little trees, husked like a *Chesnut*, but the fruit most like a very small *Acorn*: this they call *Chechingamunis*, which they esteeme a great dainty. They haue a berrie much like our *Gooseberrie*, in greatnesse, colour, and taste; those they call *Rancomenes*, and doe eat them raw or boyled. Of these naturall fruits they liue a great part of the yeere, which they vie in this manner. The *Walnuts*, *Chesnuts*, *Acornes*, and *Chechingamunis*, are dried to keepe. When they need them they breake them betweene two stones, yet some part of the *Walnut* shels will cleaue to the fruit. Then doe they drie them againe vpon a Mat ouer a Hurdle, after they put it in a Morter of wood, and beate it very small: this done they mixe it with water, that the shels may sink to the bottome. This water will be coloured as milke, which they call *Panacis*, and keepe it for their vse. The fruit like *Medlers* they call *Patchamunes*, they cut vpon Hurdles on a Mat, and preserve them as *Pruines*. Of their *Chesnuts* and *Chechingamunis* boyled four hours, they make both Broth and Bread for their chiefe men, or at their greatest feasts. Besides those fruit trees, there is a white Poplar, and another tree like vnto it, that yeeldeth a very cleare and an odoriferous Gumme like Turpentine, which some called *Balsam*. There are also Cedars and Saxafraz trees. They also yeeld Gummes in a small proportion of themselves. Wee tried conclusions to extract it out of the wood, but nature afforded more than our arts.

In the watery Vallies groweth a Berrie, which they call *Ozangimamunis*, very much like vnto *Capens*. These they dry in Summer. When they will eat them, they boyle them neere halfe a day; for otherwise they differ not much from poison. *Mattomne* groweth as our *Bent* doe in meadowes: the feed is not much vnlike to *Rie*, though much smaller: this they vie for a dainty Bread buttered with *Deeres* Suet.

During Summer there are either *Strawberries* which doe ripen in April or *Malberries* which ripen in May and Iune: *Raspberries*, *Hurtes*, or a fruit that the Inhabitants call *Maracochi*, which is a pleasant whollome fruit, much like a *Limon*, Many Herbes in the Spring time there are commonly dispersed throughout the Woods, good for Broths and Sallets, as *Violets*, *Purlane*, *Sorrell*, &c. Besides many were vied whole names we know not.

The chiefe root they haue for food is called *Tackewahunge*, it groweth like a Flag in low muddy Freshes. In one day a Sauiage will gather sufficient for a weeke. These rootes are much of the greatnesse and taste of *Potatoes*. They vie to couer a great many of them with *Oke* Leauers and Fernes, and then couer all with earth in the manner of a *Cole-pit*; ouer it, on each side, they continue a great fire twentie foure hours before they dare eat it. Raw it is no better then poison, and being roasted, except it be tender and the heat abated, or sliced and dried in the Sunne, mixed with *Sorrell* and *Meale*, or such like, it will prickle and torment the throat extremely, and yet in Summer they vie this ordinarily for bread.

They haue another root which they call *Wigwagac*: as th' other feedeth the bodie, so this cureth their hurts and diseases. It is a small root which they bruse and apply to the wound. *Pocornes* is a small root that groweth in the Mountaines, which being dried and beat in powder turneth red. And this they vie for swellings, aches, annoynting their ioynts, painting their heads and garments. They account it verie precious, and of much worth. *Musquapenne* is a root of the bignesse of a finger, and as red as blood. In drying it will wither almost to nothing. This they vie to paint their Mats, Targets, and such like. There is also *Pellitorie* of *Spain*, *Sassafrage*, and diuers others Simples, which the Apothecaries gathered, and commended to be good and medicinal. In the low marshes grow plots of *Onions* containing an acre of ground or more in many places; but they are small, not past the bignesse of the top of ones thumb.

Of beasts the chiefe are *Deere*, nothing differing from ours. In the Deserts towards the head of the Rivers, there are many, but amongst the Rivers few. There is a beast they call *Aracham*, much like a *Badger*, but vnto liue on trees as *Squirrels* doe. Their *Squirrels*, some are neere as great as our smallest sort of wilde *Rabbets*, some blackish or blacke and white, but the most are grey. A small beast they haue, they call *Asipenick*, but wee call them flying *Squirrels*, because spreading their legs and stretching the largenesse of their skinned, that they haue bene seene to the thirde or fourth yards. An *Opasam* hath a head like a *Swine*, and a taile like a *Rat*, and is of the bignesse of a *Cat*. Vnder her belly she hath a bag, wherein she lodgeth, carrieth, and sucketh her young. *Musculus*, is a beast of the forme and nature of our water *Rats*, but many of them smell exceeding strongly of *Muske*. Their Hares are no bigger then our *Conies*, and few of them to be found.

Their Beares are verie little in comparison of those of *Massachus* and *Tartaria*. The *Beauer* is as big as an ordinarie great Dog, but his legs exceeding short. His fore feet like a Dogs, his hinder feet like a Swans. His taile somewhat like the forme of a *Rocket* bare without haire, which to see the Sauiages esteeme a great dainty. They haue many *Otters*, which as the *Beauers* they take with snares, and esteeme the skins great ornaments, and of all those beasts they vie to feede when they catch them.

There is also a beast they call *Petchunguoyes*, in the forme of a wilde *Cat*, their Foxes are like our silver haired *Conies* of a small proportion, and not smelling like those in *England*. Their Dogs

Chechingamunis
Rancomenes
How they vie
their fruits.

Walnut milke

Gumme Cedars
Saxifraz trees

Berries

Mattomne

Strawberries
and other
berries

Wigwagac a
medicinal
root.
Pocornes a
small root,
Musquapenne
a root.

Pellitorie,
Sassafrage,
Onions.

See last, &c.
of certaine
Oxen found
by Cap. *Smith*.

They chiefe
beasts are
Deere,
Aracham,
Squirrels.

Asipenick a
Squirrel flying
Opasam.

Musculus.
Be.
The *Beauer*.

Otters.

Petchunguoyes,
Foxes.
Dogs

the heads of the Rivers. Upon the head of the *Powhatan* are the *Mocanacs*, whose chief habitation is at *Rassawake*, vnto whom the *Moumencungbes*, the *Massinacackes*, the *Monahassanages*, and other Nations pay tributes. Upon the head of the River of *Toppabonack* is a people called *Munnaback*. To these are contributors the *Tanassitanas*, the *Shabacoonas*, the *Ompocan*, the *Togonacas*, the *Whonkentayes*, the *Steragakes*, the *Hasionungas*, and diuers others, all confederates with the *Mocanacs* though many differ in language, and be very barbarous, haue for most part of wilde Beasts and Fowles. Beyond the Mountains, from whence is the head of the River *Patawomeke*, the *Sauages* report to inhabit their most mortall enemies, the *Massinacackes* vpon a great ill water, which by all likelihood is either some part of *Commaude*, some great Lake, or some inlet of some Sea that falleth into the South Sea. These *Massinacackes* are a great Nation and very populous. For the heads of all those Rivers, especially the *Patawomeke*, the *Pamunkeynes*, the *Sapagusshanoes*, the *Tockwonghes* are continually tormented by them; of whose cruelty, they generally complained, and very importunate they were with Captaine *Smith* and his company to free them from these tormentors. To this purpose they offered food, conduct, assistance, and continual subsistence; which hee concluded to effect. But the council then present, emulating his successe, would not thinke it fit to spare him forty men to be hazarded in those vnknown Regions, hauing passed (as before was spoken of) but with twelue, and so was lost that opportunity. Seuen Boates full of these *Massinacackes* the discoverers encountered at the head of the Bay; whose Targets, Baskets, Swords, Tobaccoppes, Flatters, Bowes and Arrows, and every thing they saw, they much exceeded them of our parts, and their dexterity in their small Boates made of the barkes of trees sowed with barke, and well lured with gum, argueth that they are fated vpon some great water.

Against all these enemies the *Powhatans* are constrained sometimes to fight. Their chief attempts are by Stratagems, trecheries, or surprisals. Yet the *Weroanaces* women and children they put not to death, but keepe them Captiues. They haue a method in warr, and for our pleasures they shew it vs, and it was in this manner performed at *Mattaponi*.

Hauing painted and disguised themselves in the fiercest manner they could devise. They divided themselves into two Companies, neere a hundred in a Company. The one company called *Mocanacs*, the other *Powhatans*. Either army had their Captaine. These as enemies took their hands a Musket from one another; ranked themselves fifteen a file, and each rank from another foure or five yards, not in file, but in the opening betwixt their files. So the Reare could shooe as conveniently as the Front. Hauing thus pitched the fields; from either part went a Messenger with these conditions, that whosoever were vanquished, such as escape vpon their submission in two daies after shall live, but their wives and children should be prize for the Conquerours. The Messengers were no sooner returned, but they approached in their orders: On each flanke a Sieriant, and in the Reare an officer for Lieutenant, all duly keeping their orders, yet leaping and singing after their accustomed tune which they vse only in warr. Vpon the first sight of Arrows they gave such horrible shouts and cries, as so many infernall helldooms could not haue made them more terrible. When they had spent their Arrows, they ioyned together prettily, charging and retiring, every ranke seconding other. As they got advantage, they caught their enemies by the hair of the head, & down he came that was taken; his enemy with his wooden Sword seemed to beat out his braines, and fill the crepe to the Reare to maintain the skirmish. The *Mocanacs* decreasing, the *Powhatans* charged them in the forme of a lute Moon; they unwilling to be inclosed, fled all in a troope to their *Amshickades*, on whom they held them very cunningly. The *Mocanacs* perished themselves among the Irish men, whereupon the *Powhatans* retired with all speed to their owne battell, and so each returned to their owne quarters. All their actions, voices and gestures, both in charging and retiring, were so trained to the height of their qualitie and nature, that the strangeness thereof made it seeme very delightful.

For their musick they vse a thicke Cane, on which they pipe as on a Recorder. For their warres they haue a great deepe platter of wood. They couer the mouth thereof with a skin, at each corner they tie a Walnut, which meeting on the backside neere to the bottome, with a small rope they twitch them together till it be so tough and stiffe, that they may beate vpon it as vpon a Drum. But their chief instruments are Rattels made of small gourds or Pumpions shells. Of these they haue Base, Tenor, Counter-tenor, Meane and Treble. These mingled with their voices, sometimes twenty or thirty together, make such a terrible noise, as would affright almight they spread a Mat, as the *Turkes* doe a Carpet, for him to sit vpon. Vpon another right close they sit themselves. Then doe all with a tunable voice of shouting bid him welcome. After this doe two or more of their chiefest men make an Oration, testifying their loue which they doe with such vehemency, and so great passions, that they loose all they say, and are so out of breath they can scarce speake: so that a man would take them to be ex-acting angry, or flake mad. Such victuall as they haue, they spend freely, and at night were but

lodging is appointed, they set a woman fresh painted red with *Pocoes* and Oile, to be his bedfellow.

Their manner of trading is for Copper, Beades, and such like, for which they giue such commodities as they haue, as Skins, Fowle, Fish, Fleish, and their Countre Come. But their victuall is their chiefest riches.

Every spring they make themselves sicke with drinking the iuce of a roote they call *Wigwagan*, *fascas*, and water, whereof they powre so great a quantity, that it purgeth them in a very violent manner; so that in three or foure daies after they scarce recouer their former health. Sometimes they are troubled with dropies, swellings, aches, and such like distastes; for cure whereof they build a house, in the forme of a Douche, with mats, so close that a few coales therein couered with a pot, will make the patient sweate extremely. For swellings also they vse small peeces of touchwood, in the forme of cloues, which pricking on the griefe they burne close to the fish, and from thence draw the corruption with their mouth. With this root *Wigwagan* they ordinarily heale greene wounds. But to scarrifie a swelling or make incision, their best instruments are some splinted stone. Old vlcers or putrified hurts are seldom cured amongst them. They haue many professed Physicians, who with their charmes and Rattels with an infernall row of words and actions will seeme to sucke their inward griefe from their naeles or their grieued places; but of our Chirurgians they were so conceited, that they beleued any Plaster would heale any hurt.

Of their Religion.

There is yet in *Virginia* no place discovered to be so Savage in which the *Sauages* haue not a Religion, Deere, and Bow, and Arrows. All things that were able to doe them hurt beyond their preuention, they adore with their kinde of diuine worship; as the fire, water, lightning, thunder, our ordinance, peeces, horses, &c. But their chief God they worship is the Duell; him they call *Oke*, and ferue him more of feare then loue. They say they haue conference with him and fashion themselves as neere to his shape as they can imagine. In their Temples they haue his image euillfaouredly carued, and then painted and adorned with Chaines, Copper, and Beades; and couered with a skin, in such manner as the deformitie may well fite with such a God. By him is commonly the sepulcher of their Kings. Their bodies are first bowelled, then dried vpon hurdles till they be very dry, and so about the molt of their ioints and necke they hang Bracelets or Chaines of Copper, Pearle, and such like, as they vse to wear, their inward parts fluffe with Copper Beads and couered with a Skin, Matchets, and such trash. Then lay they them very carefully in white Skins, and so rowle them in mats for their winding-sheets. And in the Tombe, which is an arch made of Mats, they lay them orderly. What remaneth of this kinde of wealth, their Kings haue, they set at their feete in baskets. Their Temples and bodies are kept by their Priests.

For their ordinary burials, they dig a deepe hole in the earth with sharpe flukes, and the corpses being lapped in Skins and Mats with their Jewels, they lay them vpon ticks in the ground, and so couer them with earth. The buriall ended, the women being painted all their faces with black cole and oyle, doe sit foure and twenty houres in the houles mourning and lamenting by turnes, with such yelling and howling as may expresse their great passions.

In every Territory of a *Weroanace* is a Temple and a Priest, two, or three, or more. Their principal Temple or place of superstition is at *Vitumuck* at *Pamunkey*, neere vnto which is a house temple or place of *Powhatan*. Vpon the top of certain red sandy hills in the woods, there are three great houles filled with images of their Kings, and Duels, and Tombs of their Predecessors. Those houles are neere sixty foot in length, built arbor-wife after their building. This place they count holily as that none but the Priests and Kings dare come into them; nor the *Sauages* dare not goe to the River in Boates by it, but that they solemnly call some peeces of Popper, white Beads or *Pocoes* into the River; for feare their *Oke* should be offended and reuenged of them. In this place commonly are resident seuen Priests. The chiefs differed from the rest in his ornaments, but inferior Priests could hardly be knowne from the common people, but that they had not any mols in their eares to hang their Jewels at. The ornament of the chief Priest were certaine artires for his head made thus: They took a Iesen, or sixteene, or more Snake skins, and stuffed them with mofe, & of Weefels, and other vermine skins a good many. All these they tie by their tails, so as all their tails meete in the top of their head, like a great Tassell. Round about this Tassell is as it were a cown of feathers, the skins hang round about his head, necke, and shoulders, and in a manner couer his face. The faces of all their Priests are painted as vgly as they can devise, in their hands they had every one his Rattell, some base, some smaller. Their deuotion was most in Songs, which the chief Priest began, and the rest followed him, sometimes he maketh innovations with broken sentences, by flares and strange passions, and at every pause, the rest giue a short groane.

It could not be perceived that they keepe any day as more holy then other; but only in some great distress of waite, feare of enemies, times of triumph and gathering together their fruits, the whole

Their trade.

Their phisicks.

Their chirurgery.

Their charmes to cure.

Their God.

How they bury their Kings.

Their ordinary burials.

Their Temples.

Their ornaments for their Priests.

Their times of solemnity.

Massinacackes.

Their offer of subsistence.

Their manner of battell.

Their Musick.

Their entertainment.

whole Country of men, women, and children come together to solemnities. The manner of their deuotion is, sometimes to make a great fire in the house or fields, and all to sing and dance about it with Rattles and Shouts together foure or five houres. Sometime they let a man in the midst, and about him they dance and sing, he all the while clapping his hands if he would keepe time, and after their songs and dancing ended they goe to their Feasts.

Their Con-
stitutions.

They haue also diuers consuetudes; one they made when Captaine Smith was their prisoner (as they reported) to know if any more of his Country-men would arrive there, and what hee there intended. The manner of it followeth in this story.

Their Altars,
C. Smith.

They haue also certaine Altar fires, they call *Powances*, but these stand from their Temples, some by there houses; others in the Woods and Wildernesses: *Where they haue had any extraordinary accident or encounter. As you trauell by them they will tell you the cause of their erection, wherein they instruct their children; so that they are in stead of Records and memorials of their Antiquities.* Vpon this they offer blood, Deare (suet), and Tobacco. These they doe when they returne from the warres, from hunting, and vpon many other occasions. They haue also another superstition that they vse in stormes, when the waters are rough in the Riuer and Sea Coasts. Their Coniurers runne to the water sides, or passing in their Boats, after many bellish outcries and imprecations, they call Tobacco, Copper, *Pocones*, or such trash into the water, to pacifie that God whom they thinke to be very angry in those stormes. Before their dinners and suppers, the better sort will take the first bit, and cast it in the fire, which is all the grace they knowe to give.

Sacrifices to
the water.

Their solemn
making of
black berries.

Every Nation in fouen or ten yeeres vseth a kind of solemnity. Such a one was at *Quiyogheboack*, some ten miles from *Lames Towne*, and thus performed. Fifteene of the properst young Boyes, betwene ten and fifteen yeeres of age they painted white. Having brought them forth the people kept the forenoone in dancing and singing about them with Rattles. In the afternoon they put those children to the root of the tree. By them all the men stood in a gird, every one hauing a Batinado in his hand, made of Reeds bound together. There made a lane betwene them all along, through which there were appointed five young men to fetch the children: so euerie one of the five went through the guard to fetch a child each after other by turns, the guard fearlesly beating them with the Batinadoes, and they patiently enduring and receiving all, defending the children with their naked bodies from the vnmmercifull blowes, that pay them soundly, though the children escape. All this while the women wepe and cry out vnto piously, prouiding Mats, Skins, Mofse, and drie Wood, as things fitting their childrens Funerals. After the children were thus passed, the guard tore downe the trees, branches, and boughs, with such violence that they rent the bodie, and made wreathes for their heads, orbedecked their haire with leaues. What else was done with the children, was not seene, but they were all cast on a heape, in a Valley as dead, where they made a great feast for all the company.

C. Smith.

The *Werowance* being demanded the meaning of this sacrifice, answered, *That the children were not all dead, but the next day they were to drinke Wighakon, which would make them mad; and they were to bee kept by the last made Blacke boyes in the wildernes, where their Oke did sucke the blood of life which fell to his lot. The truth is, as I thinke, that many die with the misery which they endure. For they lie in all manner in a little blacke wood, and they seldom speake or keepe company with any but their Keepers; whom they obey, for that they be hidden fit on the frozen snow, they will nor rise till they be called. And if they did them good take Fish, Elfish, or Corne from their mothers, or else they are Old men, this word is so terrible that they will leave their mothers thral; but they will haue it; yea it makes them do what neuer they are commanded: and much mischief they often doe to such as they find stragling. Yet hurt they not each other. They continue thus nine months. Then are diuers platters of broath set, of which some are poisoned; and who whose diuination finds out the poisoned, is much esteemed and made a Quiyogheboack. These are the degrees to become Priests or Coniurers. This sacrifice they held to be necessary, that if they should omit it, their Oke or Duill, and all their other Quiyogheboacks which are there other Gods, would let them haue no Deare, Turkeys, Corne, nor Fish, and yet besides, be would make a great laughter amongst them.*

They thinke that their *Werowances* and Priests, which they also esteeme *Quiyogheboacks*, when they are dead, goe beyond the Mountaines towards the setting of the Sonne, and euer remaine there in forme of their Oke, with their heads painted with Oile and *Pocones*, finely trimmed with Feathers, and shall haue Beades, Hatchets, Copper, and Tobacco, doing nothing but dance and sing, with all their Predecessors. But the common people they suppose shall not live after death.

Their resur-
rection.

To duert them from this blind Idolatry, many vsed there best endeauours, chiefly with the *Werowances of Quiyogheboack*, whose deuotion apprehension, and good disposition, much exceeded any in those Countries, whom though we could not as yet persuade withall to forsake their false Gods, yet this he did beleue, that our God as much exceeded theirs, as our Gunnes did their Bowes and Arrows, and many times did lend to the President, at *Lames Towne*, men with Presents, intreating them to pray to his God for Raine, for his Gods would not send him any. And in this lamentable ignorance, doe these poore soules sacrifice themselves to the Deuill, not knowing their Creator.

Of the manner of the Virginians Government.

Although the Countrey people be very barbarous, yet haue they amongst them such gouernment, as that their Magistrates for good commanding, and their people for due subiection, and obeying, excell many places that would be counted vnder ciuill. The forme of their Commonwealth is a Monarchiall gouernment, one as Emperour ruleth ouer many Kings or Gouernours. Their chiefe Ruler is called *Powhatan*, and taketh his name of the principall place of dwelling, called *Powhatan*. But his proper name is *Wahonsonacock*. Some Countries hee hath which haue bene his Ancestors, and came vnto him by Inheritance, as the Countrie called *Towbanan*, *Arrohatock*, *Appamawke*, *Pamavuke*, *Tongbandan*, and *Mattapanient*. All the rest of his Territories expressed in the Map, they report haue bene his seuerall conquests. In all his ancient Inheritance, hee hath houses built after their manner like arbours, some thirtie, some fortie yards long, and at euerie house prouision for his entertainment according to the time. At *Werowance*, hee was seated vpon the Northside of the Riuer *Pamavuke*, some fourteen miles from *Lames Towne*, where for the most part, hee was resident, but hee tooke so little pleasure in our neere neighbourhood, that hee was able to visit him against his will in fixe or seuen houres, that hee retired himselfe to a place in the Defarts at the top of the Riuer *Chickahamnia*, betwene *Tongbandan* and *Powhatan*. His habitation is called *Orapack*, where he ordinarily now resideth. He is of personage a tall well proportioned man, with a fower looke, his head somewhat gray, his beard to thin that it seemeth none at all, his age neere fixtie; of a verte able and hardie bodie to endure any labour. About his person ordinarily attendeth a guard of fortie or fiftie of the tallest men his Countrie doth afford. Euerie night vpon the four quarters of his house are foure Sentinels, each standing from others a fiftie fathome, and at euerie halfe houre one from the Corps doe guard doth hollow, vnto whom euerie Sentinell doth answere round from his stand; if any faile, they presently fynd forth an officer that beareth him extremely.

A description
of Powhatan.

His accom-
dance & watch

His treasure.

A mile from *Orapack*, in a thicket of Wood, hee hath a house in which hee keepeth his kind of Treasure, as Skins, Copper, Pearle, and Beads, which hee storeth vp against the time of his death and buriall. Here also is store of Red paint for ornament, and Bowes and Arrows. This house is fiftie or sixtie yards in length, frequented onely by Priests. At the foure corners of this house stand foure Images as Sentinels, one of a Dragon, another a Beare, the third like a Leopard, and the fourth like a Giant-like man, all made euill-faourily, according to their best workmanship.

His Wives.

He hath as many women as hee will, whereof when he lieth on his bed, one sitteth at his head, and another at his feet, but when hee sitteth, one sitteth on his right hand & another on his left. As he is weary of his women, hee bestoweth them on those that best deserve them at his hands. When hee dineth or supperth, one of his women before and after meat, bringeth him water in a wooden Platter to wash his hands. Another waiteth with a bunch of Feathers to wipe them instead of a Towell, and the Feathers when he hath wiped are dried againe. His Kingdome descendeth not to his sonnes nor children, but first to his brethren, whereof hee hath three, namely, *Opitchapan*, *Opechacangong*, and *Catawanga*, and after their deceale to his sisters. First to the eldest sister, then to the reit, and after them to the heire male and female of the eldest sister, but neuer to the heires of the males.

His Successors
The title of
succession.

Hee, nor any of his people vnderstand any letters whereby to write or read, onely the Lawes whereby hee ruleth is Custome. Yet when hee listeth his will in a law, and must be obeyed: not only as a King, but as halfe a God they esteeme him. His inferior Kings, whom they call *Werowances* are tied to rule by customes, and haue power of life and death, as their command in that nature. But this word *Werowance*, which we call and confer for a King, is a common word whereby they call all Commanders: for they haue but few words in their language, and but few occasions to vse any officers more then one Commander, which commonly they call *Werowances*. They all know their seuerall lands, and habitations, and limite, to fish, fowle, or hunt in, but they hold all of their great *Werowance Powhatan*, vnto whom they pay tribute of Skins, Beads, Copper, Pearle, Deare, Turkeys, wild Beasts, and Corne. What hee commandeth they dare not disobey in the least thing. It is strange to see with what great feare & adoration all these people doe obey this *Powhatan*. For at his feet they present whatsoever hee commandeth, at the least frowne of his brow, their greatest spirits will tremble with feare: and no manell, for hee is very terrible and tyrannous in punishing (such as offend him). For example, hee caused certaine malefactors to bee bound hand and foot, then hauing many fires gathered great store of burning coles, they rake these coles round in the forme of a cock-pit, and in the midst they cast the offenders to broyle to death. Sometimes hee causeth the heads of them that offend him, to bee laid vpon the altar or sacrificing stone, and one with clubs beat out their braines. When hee would punish any notorious enemy or malefactor, hee causeth him to be tied to a tree, and with Multe (hels), or Reeds, the executioner cutteth off his ioynts one after another, euer casting what they cutt off into the fire; then doe hee proceed with S. els and Reeds to caue the skin from his head and face; then doe they rip his belly, and to burne him with the tree and all. Thus the muldres reported they executed *George Cassin*. Their ordinary correction is to beat them with cudgels. Wee haue seene a man kneeling on his

The terror of
their lands.

His manner of
punishments.

himself with two *Englisb* and two *Sauges* went vp higher in a Canowe, but hee was not long able to, but his men went ashore, whole want of government, gaue both occasion and opportunity to the *Sauges* to surprize one *George Caffon*, and much failed not to haue cut off the Boate and all the rest.

Cap. Smith is
falsed and
taken.

Diall admired
of *Sauges*.

Sauge tri-
umph, disciplin
and gallantry.

Their feasting
chere.

Sauge sim-
plicity.

Rices of Con-
iuration.

The *Sauges* having drawne from *George Caffon*, whither *Captaine Smith* was gone, followed him with three hundred Bowmen, conducted by *Opechankanough* the King of *Pamunkey*; who fearing the divisions of the *Kruers*, *Jownd* *Robertson* and *Emery* by the fire side, whom they shot full of Arrows and flew. *Smith* being assailed, flew three of them, and so galled the rest that they would not come nere: he befell the *Sauge*: his guide as he fled, hewing bound him to his arme with his garters; and thinking to haue recovered his Boate, having more eye to them in his march then to his way, he slipped up to the middle in an ozie creeke, and his *Sauge* with him; yett as they got not come to him till he threw away his armes, being neere dead with cold. Then according to composition they drew him forth, and led him to the fire, where his men were slain. Diligently they chased his benumbed limbes; and hee *Opechankanough* a round Ivory double compassed Diall. They much marvelled at the playing of the fire which they could see and not touch, by reason of the Glasse cover; but when he had read a *Cosmographi- cal* lecture to them of the Skies, Earth, Day, and night, with the varieties of Nations; and such like, they were all amazed: notwithstanding which sudden wonder, they tide him to a tree within an houre after; as many as could stand about him prepared their fatal Arrows to his death, which were all laid downe when *Opechankanough* held up the said Diall: and they led him in a kinde of triumph to *Oropaxe*.

There order was this: drawing themselves all in file, the King in the midst had all their Peeces and Swords borne before him: *Captaine Smith* was led after him by three great ladders, holding him self; on each side went six in file, with their Arrows necked. When they arrived at the Towne (which was of thirty or forty burning houses made of Mats, remoned at pleasure, as Tenis with vi) the women and children came to stare on him; the Soldiers in file had their Sargians to keepe them in order. A good while they thus continued, and then cast themselves into a ring, dancing in several postures, and singing helde notes; strangely painted, each having his Quiver of Arrows, and at his back a Clubbe; on his arme a Foxes or Otters Skinne for his vambrae, their heads and shoulders painted red with Oyle and Pecones mingled together, his Bowe in his hand, and the Skinne of a Bird, with her wings abroad, dried, tied on his head, with a peece of Copper, a white Shell, a long Feather, and a small Rattle growing at the taile of their Snake, or some like they fastened thereto. All this while *Smith* stood with the King guarded in the midst, till three daies being done, they departed. Then did they conduct *Smith* to a long house, where thirty or forty men guarded him, and some after were brought more Bread and Venison then would haue served twenty: what he left they put in Baskets and tied over his head, which about midnight they againe set before him, none of them eating ought with him, till having brought as much more the next morning, they did eate the old, and referred the new in like manner. Hee thought they intended to fat and eate him.

One Maocafater, in requital of Beads which he had given him, brought him his Cowne to defend him from the cold. Another was possessed with a contrary humour, and would haue slaine him for the death of his sonne, had not the guard prevented; to him, yett breathing his last, they brought him to comfort him. *Smith* told them that at *James Towne* he had a water that would doe it, if they would let him fetch it. But they prepared to assault *James Towne*, promising him liberty, and women, if he would assist them. In part of a Table Booke he wrote his minde to those which were at the Fort; that they should send such thing mentioned. They went in bitter weather for Frost and Snow, and being men fully out, at he had before told them, they fled; but coming againe in the night to the place which he had appointed, for an answer, they found things ready, and speedily returned, as if either he had diuined, or the paper had spoken.

After this, they led him to the *Youghtanunds*, the *Matapanients*, the *Payankatiks*, the *Nantaghtancunds*, the *Onanmantians*, upon the *Kruers* of *Raphanocke*, and *Patanoocke*, and backe againe by diuers other Nations, to the Kings habitation at *Pamauk*, where they entertained him with strange conversations. Early in a morning a great fire was made in a long house, a Mat streed on each side; on one of which hee was set, the guard went out, and in came a great grim fellow skipping, all painted with cole mingled with Oyle, many Snakes and Weasels skins stuffed with Mousse, their talers tied together, and meeting on the crowne of his head; round about the tallest was a coronet of Fetters; the skins hung round about his head, shoulders, backe and face: With a bellis voyce, strange gestures and passions, with a Rattle in his hand, hee began his invocation, and enuironed the fire with a circle of Meale. After this, three such other diuellers rubbed in like trickes, painted halfe blacke, halfe red, all their eyes painted white, with some red streakes along their cheekes. These having danced a prettie while, three more came in as vgly as the rest, with red eyes and white streakes over their blacke faces. At last they all sat downe right against him, the chiefe Priest in the midst, and three on each hand. All then with their Rattles began a song, which ended the chiefe Priest laid downe furs wheate comes: and straining his armes and hand with such violence, that hee sweat, and his veines swelled: hee began a short Oracion; at the conclusion whereof they gaue a short groowe, and then laid downe three groaves more. Now

they began their Song againe, and then another Oracion, euer laying downe so many cornes as before, till they had twice enuironed the fire. That done, they take a bunch of little sticke, prepared for that purpose, and at the end of every Song and Oracion laid downe a sticke betwixt the diuisions of the Corne. Till night, neither he nor they did eate or drinke, and then they feasted merrily with their best provisions. Three dayes they used this Ceremonie, thereby to know (as they said) whether hee intended them worse no. The circle of meale signified their Countrey, the two circles of Corne the Sea-bound; and the sticke his Countrey. They imagined the World to be flat and round like a trencher, and themselves in the midst. After this, they brought him a bigge of Powder, which they carefully preferred till the next Spring, to plant as they did their Corne, because they would be acquainted with the nature of that seede.

Opitchapam the Kings brother, invited him to his house, where hee welcomed him with as many Plasters of Bread, Fowle and wilde Beasts, as did encompasse him: but he would not eate with him, referring the remainder in Baskets. At his returne to *Opechankanoughs*, all the Kings women and their children flocked about him, as for their customary due, to be merry with such fragments. As last they brought him to *Werowocomoco* to *Pohatan*, where above two hundred of his Countreys stood wondering on him, till *Pohatan* and his traine had put themselves in their greatest bravery. Before a fire hee sat on a seate like a bedsted, covered with a great robe made of *Rarowcon* Skinner, all the taites hanging by: on each hand did sit a young wench of sixteen or eighteen yeeres of age; along on each side the house two rowes of men, and behinde them as many women, with all their heads and shoulders painted red; many of their heads bedecked with the white downe of Birds, every one adorned with something, a great chaine also of white Beades about their neckes. At his entrance before the King all the people gaue a great shout. The *Queene* of *Appanattucke* was appointed to bring water to wash his hands, another brought him a bunch of Feathers instead of a Towell to drie them. *Hauing* fested him in their best manner, she held a consultation, in conclusion whereof, two great stones were brought before *Pohatan*, and as many as could lay hold on him dragged him to them, and theron laid his head, being ready with their clubbes to beate out his braynes. *Pocahuntas* the Kings dearest Daughter, when no intreatie would preuaile, gat his head into her armes, and laid her owne upon his so saue him from death: whereupon the Emperor was contented hee should liue to make him *Hatchees*, and *Beads*, *Bells*, and *Copper* for her. For they thought him like themselves, of all occasions: the King himselfe making his owne Robes, Shoots, Bowes, Arrows, Pots, Planting all, Hunting, and doing Offices, no lesse then the rest.

Two dayes after, *Pohatan* having disguised himselfe in the dreadfulest manner, caused *Captaine Smith* to be brought forth to a great house in the woods, and there upon a Mat by the fire to seee if hee slept alone. Not long after from behinde a Mat which diuided the house, was made the dolefullist noise that euer hee had heard. After this *Pohatan* with twenty more as blacke as himselfe came vnto him, and told him that they were now friends, and presently hee should goe to *James Towne* to send him two great Gunnes, and a *Grindstone*, for which hee would giue him the Countrey of *Capanowinck*, and for euer citeeme him as his Sonne *Nantaquack*. Hee sent him thither with twelue guides. When they came to the Fort, *Smith* used the *Sauges* kindly, and shewed *Rauwinut*, *Pohatan* truly forswore two *Demiculmerius* and a *Millstone* to carry to *Pohatan*; somewhat too heauie for their carriage. But when they saw him discharge them laden with stones, on the boughes of a great tree hanging full of stickes, the Ice and boughes coming downe with such force, the *Sauges* were halfe dead with feare; and at last returning contented with tales and presents for *Pohatan*, his women and children. This his returning safe to the Port, once more itated the Pinnacle her flight for England, which till his returne, could not see faile, so extreme was the weather, and so great the Frost.

His relation of the plenty hee had seene, especially at *Werowocomoco*, where inhabited *Pohatan* (that till that time was unknowne) so reuied againe their dead spirits, as all mens feare was abandoned, *Pohatan* having sent with this *Captaine* diuers of his men loaded with provision, hee had conditioned, and so appointed his trustie Messengers to bring but two or three of our great Ordnances; but the Messengers being satisfied with the sight of one of them discharged away amazed with feare, till means were vied with gifts to assure them our loves.

At this time our cares were not so much to abandon the Countrey, but the Treasurer and Council in England, were as diligent and careful to supply vs. Two tall Ships they sent vs, with neere one hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary both for them and vs. The one commanded by *Captaine Newport*: the other by *Captaine Nelson*, an honest man and an expert Mariner, but such was the leewardness of his Ship (that though hee were within sight of Cape Henry) by stormy contrary windes, was forced to houre to Sea, as the West Indies was the next land for the repaire of his Masts, and reliefe of wood and later. But *Captaine Newport* got in, and arrived at *James Towne*, not plenty after the redemption of *Captaine Smith*, to whom the *Sauges* euerly other day brought such plenty of Bread, Fish, Turkeys, Squirrels, Deere, and other wilde Beasts, part they gaue him as presents from the King; the rest hee as their market Clarke set the price how they should sell.

Sauge Geo-
graphy.
Gunpowder
lowe.

He is brought
to *Pohatan*.

Wilde rayoly.

Pocahuntas
Luch his life.

All men of all
occupations.

The third pro-
ject to aban-
don the Fort

The arrival of
the sixt ship
with their pro-
ceedings and
returne.
Cap. N.
The Phoenix
from Cape
Henry forced
to the West
Indies.

So he had enchanted those poor souls (being their Prisoner) in demonstrating unto them the roundness of the World, the course of the Moone and Starres, the cause of the day and night, the largeness of the Seas, the equalities of our thips, shot and powder : The division of the World, by the diversities of people, their complexions, customs and conditions. All which he fauced to consider the command of Captaine Newports, whom he termed to them his Father; he fancied to consider the promise of God, which he had made to them in his Obedience at which arrivall, it chanced he too directly prophesied , as they esteemed him an Oracle; by these fictions he not only saved his owne life, and obtained his liberty; but had them at that command, he might command them what he listed. That God that created all these things; they knew he adored for his God, whom they would also tearme in their Discourses, the God of Captaine Smith.

How C. Smith got his liberty.

His opinion
of Gods

The President and Council so much revered his estimation amongst the Savauges (though we are in general equally participated with him of the good thereof) that they wrought it into their vnderstanding, that his great bounty in giuing four times more for their Commodities than he appointed, that his greatnesse and authority, as much exceeded his, as their bounty and liberality. Now the arrival of his first supply, lo ore-loved vs, that we could not desiste too much to please the Munnrs. We gaue them liberte to trucke or trade at their pleasures. But ma short time, it followed, that that could not be had for a pound of Copper, which before was sold for an ounce. Thus Ambition and Suffrance, cut the throat of our Trade, but confirmed their opinion of *Nempsts* greatnesse wherewith *Smith* had possessed *Powhatan*: especially by the great Pretenses *Nempst* often lent him, before he could pre-pare the Pinnauge to goe and visit him: so that this Sauge also desired to see him. A great rate there was to see him forward: when hee went was accompanied, with Captaine *Smith*, and Master *Scriuener* a very wise vnderstanding Gentleman neuer arrived, and admitted of the Councell, and thirrie or fower chosen men for that guard. Arriving at *Weroocomo*, *Nempst* conceit of this great Sauge bred many doubts and suspitions of Treacheries; which *Smith*, to make appeare was needefulle, with twentie men and appointed, vnder trucke to encounter (with that number) the worlth that could happen.

[illegible]

The exchange of a Christian for a Savage.

Powhatan speech. *threw* lubbed capacitee. *I* three or four dayes were with him, and hee gave me a good knowledge of his language. *and* *in* his Savage manner) as made vs all admire his naturall gifts confidering his education, as looking to trade as his lubbies did, hee bespake *Newport* in this manner. *Captaine Newport* it is not agreeable with my greauesse in this pedling manner to trade for vsifles, and I esteeme you a great Weroans, Therefore I maye demoe all your

Commodities together, what I like, I will take, and in recompence give you that I thinke fitting
for mee. Captaine Smith being our Interpreter, regarding *Newport* as his Father, knowing well the
disposition of *Powhatan* told vs his intent was but to cheat vs: yet Captaine *Newport* thinking to
out-braue this Savage in ostentation of greatneffe, and so to bewitch him with his bountie, as to
have what he desired, but for it chanced *Powhatan* hauing his desire, valued his Corne at such a rate,

as I think it better cheape in *Spain*, for we had not foure buifells for that we expected twelue
Hogfheads. This bred some vnkindnesse betweene our two Captaines, *Newport* seeking to please
the humour of the vnfortunate *Savage*; *Smith* to cause the *Savage* to please him, but smoothing his
dislike (to auoid the *Sauages* supposition) glanced in the eyes of *Powhatan* many Trifles who fixed
himselfe vpon a *Small-bee*. A long time he importunately desired them, but *Smith* re-
fused.

his Honour upon a few days, he was made to much the more to affect them, so that ere we departed, for a pound or two of blue Beads he brought over my King for two or three hundred bushels of Corne, yet parred good friends. The like entertainment we found of *Opechathangh* King of *Pamunke* whom also he in like manner fitted, (at the like rates) with blue Beads: and so we returned to the Fort. Where this new

supply being lodged with the fire, and the fire was so fierce as to burn their Pallizadoes (though ten or twelve
but chatched with Reeds, the fire was so fierce as to burn their Pallizadoes (though ten or twelve
yards distant) with their Armes, Bedding, Apparell, and much private provision. Good Master
Hunt our Preacher lost all his Librerie, and all that hee had (but the clothes on his backe) yee
none yee saw him repine at his loss; Upon any alarme he would be as ready for defence as any, and

114. He could speak; he never ceased to his visitors to announce his constant readiness to help. How-

fronleffe is with God. This happened in the Winter, in that extreme Frost 1697. Now though we had victual sufficient, I mean, only of Oate-meale, Meale, and Corne, yet the ship lying there four or five weekes, when the might as well have bene gone in fourteen dayes, spent the Beefe, Porkes, Oyle, Aquavinta, Fish, Butter, and Cheefe, Beere and such like; as was provided for the landed vs. When they departed, what their disrection could spare vs., to makee Feast or to be landed vs. Beefe, Porkes, Fish, and Oyle, to rellish our mouths, of each some what they left vs; yet I must confesse, though that had either Money, spare Clothes, credit to give Bills of payement, Gold Rings, Furrer, or any such Commodities were ever welcome to this removing; yet we were not so patient to obey such flying Commanders, and buy up our own provision for nothing, but to seeke the way to our discharge, and so to be landed vs. yet must not repine, but fast; and then leakage, ship-rats, and such other casualties occasioned the loss, but the vexill and remnants (for totalls) we were glad to receive with all our hearts to make vp the account, highly commending them for their care for preferring that. For all this plenty our ordinarie was but meale and water, so that this great charge little relieved our wants, whereby with the extremity of the bitter cold Aire more then halfe of vs died, andooke our deaths, in that piercing Winter. I cannot deny, but both *Schwenker* and *Smith* did their best to amend what was amiss; but with the President went the maior part, that their horns were too short. But the worst mischief was, our guided Refiners with their golden prornies, made all men their flaves in hope of recompence; there was no talke, no hope, no worke, but digge Gold, wash Gold, refine Gold, load Gold, such a brute of Gold, as one mad fellow desired to be buried in the Sands, least they should by their Arte make Gold of his bones: Little need there was and little was to be desired, they should flay, their wages runne on, our victuals were scarce, that we were to paye, that the Mariners might flay, they built such a golden house, that we were to buye, the raine washed neere to nothing in fourty dayes time. The President him self, then to see all necessary businesse neglected, to fraught such a drunken ship full of men to such a gild * then: till then we neuer acknowledged Captain *Nemport* a Refiner; when being sent to see laiffe for England, and we not having any vie of Parliaments, Playes, Petticoats, Admirals, Records, Interpreters, Chronologers, Courts of Plea, nor Iustices of Peace, sent Master *Wingfield* and Captain *Archer* with him for England, to seeke some place of better employment.

[illegible]

30 *Probaten* to expellre his loute to *Neppen*, when he departed, presented him with twenty *Tun* keys, conditionally to return him twenty Swords, which immediately were sent him; Now at his departure he presented Captain *Smith* with the like luggage, but not finding his humour obeyed in lending him Weapons, he caused his people with twenty devices to obtaine them; he left by Ambassadors at our very Ports the would take care to send him twenty Swords, in any way, which was to loose the same; he was so infortunate, there was no Rule, the common saying was, *It is to fraight not to offend them*, as our authority Bearer (keeping their houses) would rather be any thing then Peace-breakers: this uncharitable charity prevailed, till it wanced that they medled with Captain *Smith*, who without farther deliberation gaue

A ship idly loitering tounen weeks, and shamefully abusing the company here and Colonie there for private lucre,

The effect of
mere Verbal
lifts.
A needless
charge.

* Certain
shining yellow
sand which
was sent out
(I saw it) with
great promise
of gold, like
the promiser
yielding sand
performance.
The arrival of
the Phoenix, he
returne, and of
their accident
Chap. 4.
The repairing
of James town
Helen's bon-
ty & Edeline

Sixtie appointed to discourage *Menacem*.

An ill example to sell words to Savages. *Pombatus* is cheric,

**The Govern-
ment weak-
ness.**
*Smiths attempt
to suppress
the Sanguis-
iniferous*

Powhatan ex-
cuses.

A ship fraught
with Cedar.

The adven-
tures of Cap-
Maitin.

The accidents
which hapned
in the discov-
erie of the Bay
Chap. 5.
I have a Diance
of this and the
following Discov-
erie of the
Bay, contain-
ing things
more particu-
larly & largely
but I was loth
to be tedious,
& find the sub-
stance in this
Cape Chapt.
A strange nar-
rative of Sa-
vages.

An extreme
gulf.
Ruffell Isles.

Wigwaggon.
An extreme
want of fresh
water.

The Barge
nearly in
a gulf.

Limbo Isles.

fones desiring peace without any farther composition for their Prisoners, who being threatened and examined their intents and plotters of their villanies, confessed they were directed only by *Powhatan*, to obtain him our owne weapons to cut our owne throats, with the manner how, where, and when, which we plainly found most true and apparant. Yet he sent his Messengers and his deereh Daughter *Pocahontas* to excuse him, of the injuries done by his Subjects, desiring their liberties, with the assurance of his love. After *Smith* had given the Prisoners what cor- rection he thought fit, vied them well a day or two after, he then delivered them to *Pocahontas*, for whose sake only hee had to loose their lives and grant them liberty. The patient count- nance, that nothing would mee to warre with the Sauges, would glally have wrangled with *Cap- taine Smith* for his cruelty, yet none was laine to any mans knowledge, but it brought them in such feare and obedience, as his very name would sufficiently affrighte them. The feare of this ship being called to be Cedar, by the diligence of the Master, and *Captaine Smith*, they was quickly reladed; *Master Scrumer* was neither idle nor slow to follow all things at the Port, the ship falling to the Cedar Ile, *Captaine Martin* having made shift to bee sicke neere a yeere, and now, neither Pepper, Sugar, Cloues, Mace, nor Nutmegs, Ginger, nor Sweet meats in the Coun- try (to enjoy the credit of his supposed Art) at his earnest request, was most willingly admit- ted to returne for *England*, having bene there but a yeere, and not past halfe a yeere since the agelett him (that he might say somewhat he had seene) he went twice by water to *Poughke* a place neere seven miles from *Janes Towne*, but left the dew thould distemper him, was euer forced to returne before night. Thus much I thought fit to expresse, hee expressly comman- ding me to record his Iournies, I being his man, and he sometimes my Master. One hundred and twen- tie were landed in the last shippe, *Thomas Swale*, *Adon Tadkill*.

The predigality of the Presidents late went to seape in the store that *Smith* and *Scrumer* had a while tyed both *Maryland* him to the Rules of Proportion, but now *Smith* being to depart, the Presidents authority looqued away *Master Scrumer's* direction as our store, our time, our strength and labours were idely consumed to fulfill his phantasies. The second of June 1608, *Smith* left the Port to performe his Discov'ry, with this company, *Walter Ruffell* Doctor of Phy- sicke, *Ralph Marion*, *Thomas Memfry*, *William Cantrill*, *Richard Fisherbone*, *Janes Bourne*, *Michael Sicklmore*, *Adon Tadkill*, *Robert Small*, *Janes Watkins*, *John Penell*, *Janes Read* black *Smith*, *Richard Keale* Fishmonger, *Jones Profit* fitter.

Thefe being in an open Barge of two tonnes burthen leaving the *Phoenix* at *Cape Henrie*, we crossed the Bay to the Easterne shore, and fell with the lles called *Smiths* lles: the first people we saw there were two grumme and stout Sauges upon *Cape Charles*, with long Poles like lue- lings, headed with bone, they boldly demanded what we were, and what we would, but after many circumstances, they in time seemed very kind, and directed vs to *Accomacke*, the habita- tion of the *Weroams* where we were kindly intreated; this King was the comeliest proper ciuill Sa- uage we encountered: his Country is a pleasant fertile layle. He told vs of a strange accident lately happened him, and it was: Two dead children by the extreme passions of their Parents, or some dreaming Visions, Phantasie, or affection moued them againe to reuolt their dead car- kasses, whose benumbed bodies reflected to the eyes of the beholders such pleasant and countenances, as though they had regained their vitall spirits. This is a Miracul drew many to behold them, all which, (being a great part of his people) not long after died, and not any one escaped. They spake the language of *Powhatan*, wherein they made such descriptions of the Bay, lles, and Riuers that often did vs exceeding pleasure. Pasing along the Coast, searching every Inlet, and Bay fit for Harbours and Habitations, seeing many lles in the midle of the Bay, we bore vp for them, but ere we could attaine them, such an extreme gulf of Winde, Raine, Thunder, and Lightning happened, that with great danger we escaped the vnmerssall raging of that Ocean-like water.

The next day searching those inhabitable lles (which we called *Ruffell* lles) to procure fresh water, the deffect whereof forced vs to follow the next Easterne Channel, which brought vs to the Riuer *Wigwaggon*, the people at first with great furie seemed to assault vs, yet at last with Songs, Dances, and much mirth, became very tractable, but searching their habitations for water, we could fill but three, and that such puddle, that neuer till then, we knew the want of good water. We digged and larched many places, but ere the end of two dayes we would haue re- fused two Barriques of Gold for one of that puddle water of *Wigwaggon*, Being past these lles, falling with a high Land upon the Mayne, we found a great pond of fresh water, but to exceed- ing hot, that we supposed it some Bath: that place we called *Pott-plotter*, in honour of that Ho- nourable House of *Moutlay*, that in an extreme extremitie once robbed our Captaine: Being thus refreshed in cooling our from the Mayne to others lles, the winde and waters so much increased with Thunder, Lightning, and Raine, that our fore-mast blew ouer-board, and such mightie waues over-wrought vs in that small Barge, that with great labour, we kept her from sink- ing by freeing out the water: two dayes wee were informed to inhabite the vninhabited lles, which (for the extremitie of Gulfs, Thunder, Raine, Stormes, and ill weather) we called *Limbo*. Repu-

ring our fore-sayle with our thirts, we set sayle for the Mayne, and fell with a faire Riuer on the East called *Kuckarannacke*.

The people ran as amazed in trumpet, from place to place, and darts got into the tops of Trees, they were not flaring of their Armes, nor the greatest passion they could expresse of anger, long they stood still riding at an Anchor out of their reach, making all the signes of friendship we could. The next day they came vnto us, with every one a Bicket, dancing in a ring to draw vs on shore, but seeing there was nothing in them but vnicane, we discharged a volley of Muskets charged with Pistol shot, whereat they all lay humping on the ground, creeping some on way, some another into a great cluster of Redd hard by, where their companions lay in Ambuscado. Towards the Evening we neighed and approached the shore, discharging five or six shot amongst the Redd we landed, where they laid a many of baskets, but saw not a Savage, a smoke appearing on the other side the Riuer we went thither, where we found two or three little Houses in each a fire, there we left some pieces of Copper, Beads, Bell, and Looking-glasse, and then went into the Bay. When it was dark we came to an Anchor againe. Early in the morning, four Sauges came to vs in their Canoe, whom we used with such courtesie, nor knew what we were, nor bad done, having bene in the Bay a silyng, had vs stay, and ere long they would returne, which they did, and some twentie more with them, with whom after a little conference, two or three hundred men, women, and children came clustering about vs, every one presenting vs something, which a little Boat would so well requite, we became such friends, they would contend who should fetch vs water, stay with vs for builage, conduct our men any whether, and give vs the best content.

By it inhabit the people of *Sorapahough*, *Naufe*, *Arjick*, and *Nauaque*, that much extolled a great Nation called *Broken-lles*, and the Mayne for most part without fresh water, we passed Easterne thore of *Limbo*, for the Westerne shore. So broad is the Bay here, that we could scarce receive the great high Cliftes on the other side; by them we were anchored that night, and called them *Richards* Cliftes. Thirtie leagues we layled more Northwards, not finding any Inhabitants, yet the Coast well watered, the Mountains very barren, the Valleys very fertile, but the Woods extreme thicke, full of Wolues, Beares, Deere, and other wild Beasts. The first Inlet we found, we called *Bolus*, for that the clay (in many places) was like (if not) *Bole-Armoucke*, but when we first fell saile, some of our Gallants doubted nothing, but that our Captaine would make them our best halfe home; but having lien not aboute twelue dayes in this final Barge, yet tyed at their Oares, their Bread spoyled with wet, so much that it was rotten, yet to good were their stomachs that they could digest it: did it with continuall complaints to importune him now to returne, as caused him bespeake them in this manner.

Gentlemen, if you would remember the memorable Historie of Sir *Rafael Lane*, how his company im- portuned him to proceed in the Discov'rie of *Morattico*, alleging, they had yet a Dogge, that being boyled with *Sassafras* leaues, would richly feed them in their retunes; what a shame would it bee for you (that haue bene so iusticiuous of my tenderness) to force me returne with a moneths provision, scarce able to say where we haue bene, nor yet heard of that we were sent to seek; you cannot say but I haue feared with you of the worst is past; and for what is to come of lodging, diet, or whatsoeuer, I am con- tent to you all the worst part to my selfe: as for your fears that I would lose my self in these unknowne large waters, or be swallowed in some storme gulf, abandon these childish fears, for worse then is past cannot happen, and there is as much danger to returne, as to proceed forward. Requite therefore your old spirits; for returne I will not, (if God assist me) till I haue seene the *Mallawomackes*, found *Patowmacke*, or the head of this great water, you conceit to be endlesse.

Three or four dayes we expected wind and weather, whole aduerser extremities added such discouragements to our discontents as three or four fell extreme sicke, whole pittifull com- plaints caused vs to returne, leaving the Riuer of *Patowmacke*: feare being gone, and our men re- covered, we were all contented to take some paines to know the name of this nine miles broad Riuer, we could see no Inhabitants for thirtie miles sayle; then we were conducted by two Sa- uages vnder a little bayed Creeke toward *Onanawment*, where all the Woods were laid with Am- buscadoes to the number of three or four hundred Sauges, but so strangely painted, grimed, and disguised, (hooting, yelling, and crying, as we rather supposed them to many Deuils, they made many brauadoes, but to appeale their turie, our Captaine prepared with as seeming willingness as they) to encounter them, the grazing of the bullets vp the Riuer, with the Echo of the woods so amazed them, as downe went their Bowes and Arrows; (and exchanging helious words) *Janes Watkins* was sent sixe miles vp the Woods to their Kings Habitation: we were kindly vied by these Sauges, of whom we vnderstood, they were commanded to rob vs, by *Powhatan's* direc- tion, and so he directed from the discontents of *Janes Towne*. The like encounters we found at *Patowmacke*, *Cecawme*, and diuers other places, but at *Moyanes*, *Neacohant* and *Tau*, the people did their best to content vs. The cause of this Discov'rie, was to search a glistering Mer- tiall, the Sauges told vs they had from *Patowmacke*, (the which *Newport* alured that he had troyed to holly halfe silver) also to search what Fures, Metals, Riurs, Rocks, Nations, Woods, Fishings, Fruits, Victuals and other Commodities the Land afforded; and whether the Bay were

Cap. Smith.

The first no-
tice of the
Messengers.

River Riuer.

Smiths here-
to his ioual.

The discov-
erie of
Patowmacke
Ambuscadoes
of Sauges.

A treacherous
project.

Antimony.

An abundant plenty of fish.

How to deal with the Saugages.

A Stingray very burfull, one in fourteen was so, wolne with the King or a Ry throw his inkle fish emers about, that he merod died, in 1613, and was so wolne that they could not bring his coffin out of the dore but broke the wall (as they told us) for that purpose. The Saugages afflicted with their own confusion.

A needefle miley.

The Company left to live at ease.

What happened the second voyage to discover the Bay.

The Saugages admire fireworks.

The head of the B.

were endlesse, how farre it extended. The Mine we found nine or ten miles vp in the Country from the River, but it proved of no value; to which he marched, leading his hands in Chaires, which they were to have for their paines, and to returning loded with that Ore they had. Some Otters, Beuers, Martins, Lizards, and Sables we found, and in diuers places that abundance of fish lying so thicke with their heads above the water, as for want of nets (our Barge driving amongst them) we attempted to catch them with a Frying-pan, but wee found it was better instrument to catch fish with. Neither better fish, more plenty, or variety, had any of vs euer seen, in any place swimming in the water, then in the Bay of Chesapeake, but there not to be caught with Frying-pan.

To expell all our quarrels, treacheries, and incounters amongst those Saugages, I should be too tedious; but in briefe, at all times we we encountered them and curbed their insolencies, they concluded with presents to purchase peace, yet we lost not a man. At our first meeting, our Captaine ever observed this order, to demand their Bowes and Arrows, Sword, Mantles or Pans, with some childre for hostage; whereby he could quickly perceive when they intended any violence. Having finished this discovery (though our victuall was nere spent) he intended to have scene his imprisonments, acquaintance vpon the River of Tappahannock. But our Boate (by reason of the ebbe) chancing to ground vpon a many shoales lying in the entrance, we spied many fishes lurking amongst the weedes on the Sands, our Captaine sporting himselfe to catch them by nailing them to the ground with his Sword, set vs all a fishing in that manner; by this device, we tooke more in an hour, then we all could eat: but it chanced, the Captaine taking a fish from his Sword (not knowing her condition) being much of the fashion of a Thornbacke with a longer tale, whereon is a most payoned thing of two or three inches long, which hee strooke an inch and halfe into the writh of his arme the in foure hours had to extremely twolne his hand, arme, shoulder, and part of his body, as wee all with much sorrow concluded his fate, and hee lay in his grave in an Ile hard by (as himselfe appointed) which then wee called *Stingray Ile*, after the name of the fish. Yet by the helpe of a precious Oyle which Doctor *Ruffell* applied, ere night his tormenting paine was so well allayed that hee ate the fish of his supper, which gave no lesse joy and content to vs, then ease to himselfe. Having neither Surgeon nor Surgery but that preservative Oyle, we presently set saile for *Jamez Towne*; putting the mouth of *Panatanack* and *Pamunkey* Rivers, the next day we safely arrived at *Kecoughtan*. The simple Saugages, seeing our Captaine hurt, and another bloody (which came by breaking his shin) our number of Bowes, Arrows, Swords, Targets, Mantles and Furres; would needs imagine wee had bin at warres, the truth of these accidents would not satisfie them, but impatiently they importuned vs to know with whom wee fought, finding their appetite to beleue, we failed not (as a great secret) to tell them any thing that might affright them, what spoyle wee had got and made of the *Massawomecke*, this rumour went faster vp the River then our Barge; that arrived at *Werahoyack* the twentieth of Iuly, where trimming her with painted streamers, and such devices, we made the Fort jealous of a Spanish Frigate; where wee all safely arrived the twenty one of Iuly.

There we found the last supply, all sicke, the rest, some lame, some bruised, all vnable to doe any thing, but complaint of the pride and vnereasonable needefle cruelty of their vili President, that had riotously consumed the store, and to fulfill his follies about building him an vnnecessary Pallace in the Woods, had brought them all to that misery: That had not wee arrived, they had as strangely tormented him with reuenge. But the good newnes of our discovery, and the good hope wee had (by the Saugages relation) our Bay had stretched to the South Sea, appeared their fury; but conditionally that *Ratiff* should be depoyed, and that Captaine *Smith* would take vpon him the government: their request being effected, hee Substituted *Kiafer Seruener* his deare friend in the Prefidence, equally distributing those priuate propitiations that the other had ingroffed; appointing more honest officers to assist *Seruener* (who then lay extremely tormented with a callenture) and in regard of the weakness of the company, and heate of the year, that they being vnable to worke; he left them to live at ease, but imarked himselfe to finish his discovery. Written by Walter Ruffell and Anas Taddill.

The twentieth of Iuly Captaine *Smith* set forward to finish the discovery with twelve men, their names were *Nahaniel Powell*, *Thomas Monford*, *Richard Fetherstone*, *Michael Sicklemore*, *Jamies Bourne*, *Anas Taddill*, *Edward Pyling*, *Richard Keale*, *Anthony Bagnall*, *Jamies Watkin*, *William Ward*, *Jonas Proffit*. The winde being contrary caused our stay two or three daies at *Kecoughtan*, the *Massawomecke* feasting vs with much mirth, his people were perfwaded we went purposely to the reuenge of the *Massawomecke*, in the evening we firing two or three rockets, to terrify the poore Saugages, they supposed nothing impossible we attempted, and desired to assist vs. The first night wee anchored at *Singray Ile*, the next day crossed *Pamunkey* River, and halted for the River *Bolow*, we went not much farther before we might perceive the Bay to deuide in two heads, and arruning there wee found it deuided in foure, all which wee searched so fast as we could sail them; two of them we found uninhabited, but in crossing the Bay to the other.

other, we encountered feuen or eight Canoes full of *Massawomecke*, wee seeing them prepare to assault vs, left our Oares and made way with our saile to encounter them, yet wee were but fiew (with our Captaine) that could stand: for within two dayes after wee left *Kecoughtan*, the rest (being all of the last supply) were sicke almost to death (until they were taken to the Country) having put them vnder our tarpawling, we put their hats vpon sticks by the Barge side to make vs seeme many, and on each side a man a load Muskets; and so wee thinke the *Massawomecke* supposed those hats to be men, for they fled withall possible speede to the shoare, and there stayed, staring at the sailing of our Barge, till wee anchored right against them. Long it was as we could draw them to come vnto vs, at last they lent: two of their company vnarmed in 10 a Canoe, the rest all followed to second them if neede required: These two being but each presented with a Bell, brought aboard all their fellowes, presenting the Captaine with Venison, Beares flesh, Bowes, Arrows, Clubbes, Targets, and Beare-skins, wee understood them nothing at all but by signes, whereby they signified vnto vs that they had bene at warres with the *Tockwogh*, the which they confirmed by shewing their green wounds; but the night parting vs, wee imagined they appointed the next morning to meete, but after that wee neuer saw them.

Entering the River of *Tockwogh* the Saugages all armed in a flecte of Boates round intoned vs; it chanced one of them could speake the language of *Powhatan*, who perfwaded the rest to a friendly parley: but when they saw vs furnished with the *Massawomecke* weapons, and wee friendlye the intention of *Kecoughtan* to have taken them prisoner; they conducted vs to their paliz doed Townte, manellled with the Barkes of trees, with Scaffolds like Mounts, brefted about with Barkes very formally, their men, women, and children, with Dances, Songs, Fruits, Fish, Putres, and what they had kindly entertained vs, spreading Mats for vs to sit on, stretching their best abilities to expresse their looes.

Many Hatchets, Knives, and peeces of Iron, and Brasse, we saw, which they reported to haue from the *Safqueabamock* a mighty people, and mortall enemies with the *Massawomecke*: The *Safqueabamock*, inhabit vpon the chiefe Spring of these foure, two dayes journey higher then our Barge could pisse for Rocks. Yet wee preuailed with the interpreter to take with him another interpreter to perfwade the *Safqueabamock* to come to visite vs, for their language is different: three or foure dayes we expected their returne, and then sixty of these Gyanlike people came downe with presents of Venison, Tobacco-pipes, Baskets, Targets, Bowes and Arrows, fiew of their *Werawanock* came boldly aboard vs, to croffe the Bay for *Tockwogh*, leaving their men and Canoes, the winde being so violent that they durst not paffe.

Our order was daily to haue prayer, with a Palme; at which solemnity, the poore Saugages much wondered: our prayers being done, they were long busied with consultation till they had contriued their businell; then they began in most passionate manner to hold vp their hands to the sunne with a most fearfull cry, then embracing the Captaine, they began to adore him in like manner, though hee rebuked them, yet they proceeded till their Song was finished, which done with a most strange furious action, and a hellish voyce began an Oration of their looes: that ended, with a great painted Beares skinn they couered our Captaine, then one ready with a chaine of white Beades (weighing at least fix or feuen pound) hung it about his necke, the others had eightene mantles made of diuers furs of Skins lowed together, all these with many other toys, they laid at his feete, broking their ceremonious hands about his necke for his creation to be their Gouverneur, promising their aides, victuals, or what they had to be his, if he would stay with them to defend and reuenge them of the *Massawomecke*: But wee left them at *Tockwogh*, they much lorrowing for our departure, yet we promised the next year againe to visite them; many descriptions and discourtes they made vs of *Aquanamock*, *Massawomecke*, and other people, signifying they inhabited the River of *Canadia*, and from the French to haue their Hatchets, and such like tools by trade, these know no more of the territories of *Powhatan* then his name, and hee as little of them.

Thus hauing fought all the Inlets and Rivers worth noting, we returned to discover the River of *Pamunkey*; these people we found very tractable, and more ciuill then any, we promised them, as also the *Pamunkey*, then next year to reuenge them of the *Massawomecke*.

In the discovery of this River, which some call *Rapahanock*, others *Tapanaback*, we were kindly entertained by the people of *Norawitacoun*: here we encountered our old friend *Mosko*, a little Saugage of *Wighocomoco*, vpon the River of *Patawomecke*, wee supped him (some Frenchmans Sonne, because hee had a thicke, blacke, bulbe Beard, and the Saugages seldom haue any at all, of which hee was not a little proud to see so many of his Country men: wood, and water hee would fetch vs, guide vs any whether, any cause diuers of his Country men to helpe vs too, against wind or tide, from place to place, till we came to *Patawomecke*. There hee rested, till we returned from the head of the River, and then occasioned vs conduct to the Mine, which wee supposed *Antimony*. Now in this place hee failed not to doe vs all the good hee could, perswading vs in any case not to goe to the *Rapahanock*, for they would kill vs, for being friends with the *Morawighlacuds*, that but lately had slaine three of the Kings women. Thus wee did thinke was but that his friends might only haue our trade, so wee crossed the River to the *Rapahanock*: there some twelve or fixtene is landing on the shoare, directed vs to a little narrow creek,

D d d d d

An encounter with the *Massawomecke*.

Good policy.

An encounter with the *Tockwogh*.Hatchets from *Safqueabamock*.The *Safqueabamock* offers us the English.

Canadia.

Presenting us.

The exceeding looe of the Saugage *Mosko*.Mine of *Antimony*.

Our fight with
the Tappanochs

where was good landing, and commodities for us, in three or four Canoes which we saw there. But according to our custom, we demanded to exchange a man, in sign of love, which after they had a little consulted, four or five came to the middle to fetch our man, and leave us one of them, showing we need not fear them, for they had neither Clubs, Bowes, nor Arrows; notwithstanding, as our Todkill being first on shore to see if he could discover any ammalagars, desired to go over the plains to fetch some wood, but they were unwilling, except we would come into the cove, where the Boats might come close a shore. Todkill by degrees having gotten some two staves, threw up the plains, pursued two or three hundred men as he thought behind the trees, so that offering to return to the Boats, the Savages offered to carry him away for price, he called to us, we were betraid, and by that he had broken the word, our hostage was our board, but Watkins his keeper, how him in the water, immediately we let fly amongst them so that they fled; Todkill escaped, yet they told us that he fell flat on the ground, he could recover the Boats; then the Massawomecks Targets stood up in good stead, for upon Mokos words we had let them about the shores of our Boats like a fore-castell, from whence we securely beate the Savages from off the plains without any hurt; yet they shot more then 1000. Arrows, and then fled into the woods, arming our selves with these light Targets, which are made of little small sticks, women betwix strings of their beups and fike grasse, as is our cloth, but so firmly, that no Arrow can possibly pierce them; we refused Todkill who was wounded by some of them that were shot, but as it pleased God, he had no hurt, and followed them up to the woods, we found some wounded, some slain, & in divers places much blood; it seemed all their Arrows were spent, for we had no more of them; their Canoes we took the Arrows which we found we broke except those we kept for Moko, to whom we gave the Canoes for his kindness, that entertained us in the best manner; 20

The Savages
discovered the
bulwark light.

The rest of the day was spent in arming our Boats, instead of shotes we made sticks like bed-staves, to which we fastned so many of our Massawomecks Targets, that we were armed as pestiferous; the next morning we went up the River, and our friend Moko followed us along the shores, he was obliged to go with us in our Boats. But as we passed by Pitacack, Mashpeck and Wequopon, three Towns situated upon high white clay Cliffs, the other side all a low plain marshy, and the River there but narrow, thirty or forty of the Kapananuchs had so prepared themselves with branches, as we took them for little Bushes growing amongst the Sedges; seeing their Arrows strike the Targets and drop in the River, Moko fell flat on his face, crying the Kapananochs; which presently we often to be the Bulwark, which as our first Volley fell down in the Sedge; when we were gone neere halfe a mile, they showed themselves, 30 dancing and singing very merrily. The Kings of Pitt-shack, Naudtaughtand and Cuttawatom, stood us kindly, and all the people neglected not any thing to Moko to bring us to them. Betwixt Scooback and Massickack: is a small Ile or two, which causeth the River to be broader then ordinary; when it pleased God to take one of our company, called M. Richard Fetherstone, that all the time he had bene in the Country had behaved himselfe very honestly, valiantly, & industriously, where in a little Bay, called hereupon Fetherstones Bay, we buried him with a volley of shot, the rest notwithstanding their ill deed and bad lodging crowded in so small a Barge, in so many dangers; never resting, but always tossed to & againe, but all well recovered their healths. The next day we failed so high as our Boat would fore, there setting up Croffes. Then we discovered the River of Payankatik so high as it was Navigable, but the people were most a bunning, but a few old men, women and children, that were tending their Corne; of which 40 they promised us part when we would fetch it, as had done all the other Nations; we came to Guiltsin Bay; but yet bene. In a faire caine, rowing towards Point Comfort, we anchored in the Land by the Sides, but such a sodaine gust surprised us in the night, with thunder and rain, that we never thought more to have seene James Towne; by which light only we kept from the blinding Storme, until it pleased God in that blacke darkness to preserve us by that light to finde Point Comfort; there refreshing our selves, because we had never heard of the Chulaparches and Nandlamunds, we thought it as fit to know all our Neighbors bene home, as so many Nations abroad. This wee did (the particulars are omitted) and arrived late the fourth of September, 1608. where we found 50

Fetherstones
Bay.

For feare of
redoubtful I
have left out
the moth.

Their proceed-
ings at James
Towne.

The Presidency
surrendered
to Cap. Smith,
the arrival and
returne of the
second supply;
and what hap-
pened.

The tenth of September 1608, by the election of the Councell, and request of the Company, Cap. Smith received the Letters Patentes, and took upon him the place of President, which he then by no means he would accept, though he were often importuned thereunto. Now the building of Ratcliffes Place was (it said as thing needfull). The Church was repaired, the Storehouse recovered; building prepared for the supply we expected. The Fort 60

reduced to the forme of this figure, the order of watch renewed, the Squadrons (each letting of the watch) trained: The whole Company every Saturday exercised in a field prepared for that purpose; the Boates trimmed for trade, which in their journey encountered the second supply, that brought them backe to discover the Countrey of Monacan. How, or why, Captaine Newport obtained such a private Commission as not to returne without a lumps of Gold, a certainty of the South-Sea or one of the Isth Company of Sir Walter Rawley I know not, nor why he brought such a piece of Barge, not to beare vs to that South-Sea, till we had borne leech the Mountains: which how farre they extend is yet unknowne) as for the Coronation of Ponbatan, and his Pretens of Baxon, Ewer, Bed, Cloathes, and such costly novelties, they had bin much better will spare, even so all lient. For we had his favour much better, only for a poore peece of Copper, till this stately kinde of soliciting made him much more ualuable himselfe, that he respected vs as much as nothing at all; as for the hiring of the Poley and Dnieb to make Pitch and Tarre, Glasse, Mills, and Sape-athes, was most necessary and well. But to lend them and feuntie more without victuall to worke, was not so well considered; yet this could not haue hurt vs, had they bin two hundred (though then we were one hundred and thirty that wanted for our selves). For wee had the Savages in that order (their harvest being newly gathered) that we feared not to get victuall sufficient, had we bin five hundred. Now was there no way to make vs miserable, but to neglect that time to make our Provision, whilst it was to be had; the which was done to performe this strange Discovery, but more strange Coronation; to looke that time, spend that victuall we had, and flurrie our men, having no means to carry victuall, munition, the hurt or sick, but their owne backs, how or by whom they were wounded, I know not; But Captaine Newport we only accounted the author, who to effect their projects had lodged all our hopes, with great promises, that both Company and Councell concluded his resolution. I coult see little wonderfull then our elates, to come to this conclusion, against all the inconueniences the foregoing President alleged. There was added to the Councell one Captaine Wado, and Captaine Wado, two ancient Soldiers and valiant Gentlemen, but ignorant of the buisnes (being newly arrived) Ratcliff was also permitted to haue his voyce, and Master Serinener delivous to see strange Countries, so that although Smith was President, yet the Councill had the authority, and tuled it as they listed; 30 for clearing Smiths objections, how Pitch, and Tarre, Wankot, Clappboard, Glasse, and Sape-athes, could be prouided to relade the Ship; or prouising got to lue with all, when none was in the Countrey, and that which we had, spent before the Shippes departed: The answer was, Captaine Newport undertooke to fraught the Pinnace with Corne, in going and returning in his Discovery, and to retraight her againe from Weranacumme; also promising a great proportion of victuall from his Ship, inferring that Smiths propositions were only devised to hinder his journey, to effect it himselfe; and that the cruelty Smith had vied to the Savages, in his absence, might occasion them to hinder his designs: For which, all workes were left, and one hundred and twenty chosen men were appointed for his guard; and Smith, to make cleere these seeming suspitions, that the Savages were not so desperate, as was pretended by Captaine Newport, and how willing he was to further them to do it, he wrote to the Countrey (because the Coronation would consume much time) vnderstod their message to Ponbatan, to intreate him to come to James Towne to receive his Presents, accompanied only with Captaine Wado, Master Andrew Buckler, Edward Bruster, and Samuell Collier; with their four he went our land, against Weranacumme; there passed the River of Pamaunke in the Savages Canoes, Ponbatan being thirty miles off, who, presently was sent for, in the meane time his women entertained Smith in this manner.

In a faire plaine field they made a fire, before which he sitting upon a Mat; suddenly amongst the woods was heard such a hideous noise and thrinking, that they betooke them to their armes, supposing Ponbatan with all his power came to surprise them; but the beholders which were many men, women, and children, satisfied the Captaine there was no such matter, being presently presented with this anticke, thirty young women came naked out of the woods (only covered behinde & before with a few greene leaues) their bodies all painted, some white, some red, some blacke, some partly colour, but every one different, their leader had a faire pair of Stages horses on her head, and another Skinne at her girdle, another at her arme, a quiver of Arrows at her backe, and Bowes and Arrowes in her hand, the next in her hand a sword, another a Clubbe, another a Pot-shicke, all homlike alike, the rest every one with their bowell deities. These Feuds with much hellic cries and shouts rushing from amongst the trees, call themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with excellent ill variety, oft falling into their same to sing and dance. Having spent there an hour in this Maskado, as they entred, in like manner they departed. Having accomodated themselves, they solemnly invited Smith to their lodging, but no sooner was hee within the house, but all their Nymphes more tormented him then ever, with crowding, and pressing, and hanging upon him, most tediously crying, Love you not mee? This salutation ended, the feast was set, consisting of Fruite in Baskets, Fish and Fleth in wooden Platters, Beanes, 60

The figure is
left out.

Civility is not
the way to win
Savages, nor
magnificence
and bounty to
reclaim Barba-
rians. Chil-
dren repleat-
ed with riot
and weed with
corde; and this
sort of toys
& teares ha b
awaybell po-
pular with
wild Indians
cable to re-
claim them, or
to make them
good to vs or
to ourselves.
This vniuers
of ours made Pon
batan occasi-
on himselfe,
to come to us.
No way but
one to ques-
tion the bel-
liffle.

Captain Smith
with fourie go-
eth to James
towne.

The women
entertainment
at Weranac-
umme.

A wilde Dine
at James one
perion.

Was forced
to con-
tributions.

First marriage. *don and Anna Burrows*, being the first Marriage we had in Virginia.

Apparent
discourte.

Those poor conclusions to distressed vs all with famine; that the President provided for *Namamund*, Cooke with him Captain *Wanne* and Master *Scriemer*, then returning from Captaine *Namamund* these people along denied him Trade (excusing themselves to be to commanded by *Powhatan*) till we were constrained to begin with them perforce, and then they would rather tell vs some, then we should take all; so loading our Boats, with one hundred bushels were parted friends, and came to *Jamestown*, at which time, there was a Marriage between *John Lay*.

Long he layed out, but fitting himselfe and Captaine *VValdo* with two Barges, from *Chowan*, *po, VVance* and all parts there, was found neither Corne nor Sauge, but all fled (being jealous of our intents) till we discovered the River and people of *Appamattuck*, where we found little that which they had, we equally denieth, betwixt the Sauges and vs (but gave them Cop- per in consideration) Master *Percie*, and Master *Scriemer* went also abroad but could finde no- thing.

The President seeing this procrastinating of time, was no course to lue, resolved with Cap- taine *VValdo* (whom he knew to be sure in time of need) to surprize *Powhatan*, and all his prou- sion, but Captaine *VVance*, and Master *Scriemer* (for some priuate respects) did their best to hin- der their prouid: But the President whom no persuasions could perswade to stand, being im- pined by *Powhatan* to come vnto him, and if he would tend him but men to build him a house, bring him a Grindstone, fittes Swords, some Peeces, a Cooke and a Henne, with Copper and Beads, he would load his ship with Corne, the President nor ignorant of his deuites, yet vnwilling to neglect any opportunity, presently lent three *Dutchmen* and two *English* (hauing no victuals to employ them, all for want thereof being idle) knowing there needed no better Castile, then that house to surprize *Powhatan*, so off. At this prouid he tooke order with Captaine *VValdo* to second him if need required; *Scriemer* he left his Substitute; and let forth with the Pinnace two Bar- ges, and fixe and tortie men which only were such as voluntarily offered themselves for his iour- ney the which) by reason of Master *Scriemer*'s ill successe) was censured very desperate, they all knowing *Smith* would not returne emptie howe soeuer, caused many of those that he had appointed, to find excuses to stay behind.

Cap Smith
in uenture Pa-
namund, &c.

The nine and twentieth of December hee set forward for *Werawocomoco*. In the Pinnace, Master *George Percie*, brother to the Earle of *Northumberland*, Master *Francis White*, brother to the Lord *De-la-Warre*, William *Phetplace* Captaine of the Pinnace, *John Proffit* Master, *Robert Ford* Clerke of the Council.

Michael Phetplace, *Geoffry Abbot* Sergeant, *William Tankard*, *George Tarington*, *Jamies Bonnie*, *George Boston*, *Thomas Cee*, Gentlemen.

John Dodi, *Edward Brinton*, *Nathaniel Peacock*, *Henry Powell*, *Damid Ellis*, *Thomas Cigo- son*, *John Prat*, *George Arizgie*, *Jamies Reade*, *Nicholas Hancock*, *Jamies Watkins*, *Anthony Bag- sh* Sergeant, *Thomas Lambert*, *Edward Pising* Sergeant, Soldiers.

Four *Dutchmen* and *Richard Savage* were lent by Land, to build the house for *Powhatan* against our arrival.

This company being victualled but for three or foure dayes lodged the first night at *Werawo- comoco*, where the President tooke sufficient prouision; This kinde Sauge did his best to duert him from seeing *Powhatan*, but perceiving hee could not preuale, hee aduised in this manner, *Captaine Smith*, you shall find *Powhatan* to vs if you kindly, but trust him not, and be sure hee haue no opportu- nity to vs if you are armed, for hee hath sent for you only to cut your throats; the Captaine thanked him for his good counsell, yet the better to try his loue, desired Guides to *Chowanoke*, for hee would send a present to that King to bind him his friend. To performe this loue, was lent *Michael Sicklemore*, a very honest valiant, and painfull Soldier, with him two Guides, and directions how to search for the lost company of *Sir Walter Ramtheig*, and *Silke Gralle*: then we departed thence, the President assuring the King his perpetual loue, and left with him *Sammell Calier* his Page to learne the Language.

The next night being lodged at *Keocoban* fixe or seven dayes, the extreme wind, raine, frost, and snow, caused vs to keep Christmase amongst the Sauges, where we were neuer more met- res, nor fed on more plenty of good Oyters, Fish, Flech, Wild-foule, and good Bread, nor ne- uer had better fires in *England* then in the dry warme Imokke houles of *Keocoban*. But depart- ing thence, when we found no houles, we were not curious in any weather, to lie three or foure nights together vpon any thore vnder the Trees by a good fire. The President *Anthony Bagsh*, and *Edward Pising*, did kill one hundred fortie and eight Fowles at three shottes. At *Kiuckak* the Frost forced vs three or foure dayes also to suppress the intolerance of those proud Sauges; so quarter in their houles, and guard our Barge, and caule them gine vs what we wanted, yet were we but twelue with the President, and yet we neuer wanted Harbour where we found any houles.

The twelfth of January we arrived at *Werawocomoco*, where the River was frozen neere halfe a mile from the shore, but to neglect no time, the President with his Barge, to farr had appro- ched

ched by breaking the Ice as the ebbe left him amongst those *Ozie shoales*, yet rather then to lie there frozen to death, by his owne example he taught them to march middle deepe, more then a fittle (thor through this muddie frozen Oze; when the Barge stoted hee appointed two or three to resurue her about the Pinnace, where for want of water in melting the Salt Ice they made fittle water, but in this march Master *Ruffell* (whom none could perswade to stay behind) being somewhat ill, and exceeding heauie, so ouer-toyled himselfe, as the reit had much adoe (ere hee got ashore) to regaine life, into his dead benummed spirits, quartering in the next Houles we found, we went to *Powhatan* for prouision, who sent vs plentie of Bread, Turkeyes, and Venison. The next day hauing feasted vs after his ordinary manner, he began to aske, when we would bee gone, faying hee sent not for vs, neither had hee any Corne, and his people much lile, yet for fortie Swords hee would procure vs fortie bushels. The President shewing him the men there present, that brought him the message and conditions, asked him how it chanced hee became so forgesfull, therat the King concluded the matter with a merrie laughter, asking for our Com- modities, but none hee liked without Gunnes and Swordes, valuing a Basket of Corne more precious then a Basket of Copper, faying, hee could eate his Corne, but not his Copper.

Captaine *Smith* seeing the intent of this fubtle Sauge; beganne to deale with him after this manner, *Powhatan*, *Though I had many comfets to haue made my prouision, yet beleueing your promi- se to supply my wants, I neglected all, to satisfie your desire, and to relesse my loue, I sent you my men for your building, neglecting my owne: what your people had you haue engrossed, forbidding them our Trade, and now you thinke by consuming the time, we shall consume for want, not hauing to fulfill your strange demands, as for Swords and Gunnes, I told you long agoe, I had none to spare. And you shall know, these I haue, can keepe me from want, yet scale, or wrong you I will not nor dispute that friend- we haue mutually promised, except you constrain me by your bad usage.*

The King hauing attentively listned to this Discourse; promised, that both he and his Coun- trey would spare him what they could, the which within two dayes, they should recuee, yet Captaine *Smith* (saith the King) some doubt I haue of your coming hither, that makes me not so kindly seeke to releuee you as I would; for many doe informe mee, your coming is not for Trade, but to inuade my people and possesse my Country, who dare not come to bring you Corne, so seeing you thus armed with your men. To cleere vs of this feare, leaue aboard your weapons, for here they are need- lile we being all friends and for euer *Powhatans*.

With many such Discourses they spent the day, quartering that night in the Kings houles, the next day hee reviewed his building, which hee litle intended should proceed; for the *Dutchmen* finding his plentie, and knowing our want, and perceiving his preparation to surprize vs, litle thinking we could escape, both him and famine (to obtaine his fauour) reuealed to him as much as they knew of our estates prouidets, and how to preuent them; one of them being of good a iudgement, spirit, and resolution, and a hiring that was certaine of wages for his labor, and euer well vsed, both he and his Countreimen, that the President knew not whom better to trust, and not knowing any fitter for that employment, had sent him as a spie to discouer *Powhatans* in- tent, then litle doubting his honestie, nor could euer be certaine of his villany, till neere halfe a yeere after. Whilst we expected the coming in of the Country, we wrangled out of the King- terns quarters of Corne for a Copper Kettle, the which the President perceiving him much to ef- fect, valued it at a much greater rate, but (in regard of his scarcitie) he would accept of as much more the next yeere, or else the Country of *Monacan* the King exceeding liberal of that he had more yielded him *Monacan*. Wherewith each seeming well contented; *Powhatan* began to expo- sulate the difference betwixt Peace and Warre, after this manner.

Captaine *Smith* you may vnderstand, that I, hauing seene the death of all my people thrice, and not one lining of those three Generations, but my selfe, I know the difference of Peace and Warre, better then count of any in my Countrie. But now I am old, and ere long I must die, my Brethren, namely *Opiachapan*, *O*, *pechakanough*, and *K*, *kaugh*, my two sisters, and their two danghers, are diffinely each others; I, *so* I, with their experiences no lesse then mine, and your loue to them, no lesse then mine to you. But this brate from *Namamund* that you are come to destruy my Countrie, so much affrighteth all my people, as they dare not visit you; what will it auale you, to take that perforce you may quietly haue with loue, or to destruy them that prouide you food? what can you get by war, when we can buy our prouision and fite to the woods, wherby you must famish by wronging vs your friends and why are you thus zealous of our lues, seeing vs unarmed, and both due, and are willing still to feed you good meat, as we will, and fite quietly with you? I thinke you I am so simple not to know, it is better to eat good meat, the what I will, being your friend, then be forced to fite from all to the cold in the woods, feed vpon *Acornes*, roots and such trash, and be so hunted by you, that I can neither rest, nor sleepe; But my tired men must watch, and if at any time I break, every one cry there comes Captaine *Smith*, then must I fite I know not whether, and thus with mi- serable feare and my miserable life, leauing my pleasures to such yombs as you, which through your trash- vnder seductiue, may quickly as a snare, end, for want of that you neuer know how to find? Let this therefore assure you of our intent, and ere long your friendly Trade shall furnish you with Corne, and

The good counsell
of Werawo-
comoco.

Plentie of
victuals.
The Fowles
killed at three
shottes.

An ill march.
Pewhatans sub-
tletie.

Powhatan's
policy and flattery

Withedesse
of these *Dutch-
men*.

Powhatan's dis-
count of
Peace and
Warre.

and now also if you would come in friendly manner to see us, and not thus with your Guns and Swords, as to invade your feet. To this libellous discourse the President thus replied.

Seeing you will not rightly conceive of our words, we strive to make you know our thoughts by our deeds. The vow I made you of my love, but my selfe and my men have kept, as for your promise I find it scarce day violated, by some of your Subjects, yet we find you have not kept yours. Your confidence is for from being engrained, that for your sake only, we have forbore our thirsting desire of revenge, else had they knowne as well the creative we do to our enemies, as our true love and civility to our friends. And I think your judgement sufficient to conceive as well by the adventures we have undertaken, as by the advantage we have by our Armes of yow: that had we intended you any hurt, long ere this you could have effected it: your people coming to me at Jams Towne, are entertained with their Bowes and Arrows without exception, we welcome it with you, as it is with us, to wear our Armes as our apparel. As for the dangers of our enemies, in such warres consist your chiefest pleasure, for your riches we have no use, as for the hiding your provision, or by your flying to the Woods, we shall so unadvisedly stirre as you conclude your friendly care, in that behalfe is needlesse; for wee have a while since found beyond your knowledge.

Many other discourses they had, till at last they began to trade, but the King seeing his will would not be admitted as a law, our guard dispersed, nor our men disarmed, he (grieving) breathed his mind once more in this manner.

Captaine Smith, I never used any Werowances so kindly as your selfe, yet from you I receive the least kindness of any. Captaine Newport gave me Jewards, Copper, Clothes, a Bed, Toilets, or what I desired, ever taking what I offered him, and would send away his Guns when I intreated him: none doth deny to my feet (or doe) what I desire, but only you, of whom I can have nothing, but what you regard not, and yet you will use what over you demand. Captaine Newport you call father, and so you call me, but I see for all both, you will doe what you list, and wee must both seek to content you: for you intend so friendly as you say, I can hence your Armes that I might beleave you, for you see the love I beare you, doth canse me thus naked to trust my selfe.

Smith canse this Savage but trusted the time to cut his throat: procured the Sauges to breake the Ice (thine his Bat might come to fetch both him and his Corne) and gave order for him to come alittle, to have surprised the King, with whom also hee but trusted the time till his men landed, and to keepe him from suspicion, entertained the time with this reply.

Powhatan, you must know as I have but one God, I know but one King, and I live not here as your Subject, but as your friend, so please you with what I can: by the gifts you bestow on me, you gaine more then by trade, yet would you visit me as I doe you, you should know it is not our custome to sell our civility as a venialle commodity. Bring all your Country with you for your guard, I will not dislike of it as being over zealous. But to content you, to morrow I will leave my Armes, and trust to your promise. I call you father indeed, and as a father you shall see I will love you, but the small care you had of such a child, caned my men to persuade me to forsake you for my selfe.

By this time Powhatan having knowledge, his men were ready: whilst the Ice was breaking, his luggage, women, and children fled, and to avoid suspicion, left two or three of his women talking with the Captaine, whilst hee secretly fled, and his men as secretly beiet the bowes, some an inch a passage among it those naked Deuills, that they fled before him, some one way, some another, so that without hurt hee obtained the Corps du-guard: when they perceived him so well elcaped, and with his eight men (the rest had no more with him), to the utmost of their skill, they lough by excoles to dissemble the matter, and Powhatan to execute his flight, and the hidden coming of this multitude, to this purpose (perceiving then from our Pinnace, a Barge, and men departing and coming vnto vs), Captaine Smith, our Werowance is fled, leaving your Guns, and knowing when the Ice was broken there would come more men, sent some of his guard by Corne from the perry, that might happen without your knowledge: now though some be hurt by your misgiving, yet be is your friend, and I will continue: and since the Ice is open hee would have you send away your Corne; and if you would have his company (and all your Armes, which so affrighteth this people, that they dare not come to you, as he hath promised they should): Now having provided Baskets for our men to carry the Corne, they kindly offered their licence to guard our Armes, that none should steale them. A great many they were, of goodly well appointed fellows as grim as Deuills: yet the very sight of cocking our matches against them, and a few words caused them to leave their Bowes and Arrows to our guard, and beare downe our Corne on their own backs; we needed not importune them to make quick dispatch. But our owne Barge being left by the ebb, was fust to fly till the midnight tide carried vs safe aboard, hauing spent that halfe night with such labour, although we neuer had suspected or intended any thing, we left the Dutchmen to build Brinton to kill Fowle for Powhatan (as by his Messengers he importunately desired) and left directions with our men to give Powhatan all the content they could; that we might in this company at our returne from Pamacoke.

WE had no sooner let saile, but Powhatan returned, and sent Adam and Francis (two stout Dutch men) to the Fort, who faining to be Captaine Wines that all things were well, and that Captaine Smith had vie for their Armes, wherefore they requested new (the which were given them) they told him their coming was, for some extraordinary tooles and thift of apparell, by this colourable excuse, they obtained six or seven more to their contentment, such expert theues that presently furnished them with a great many of Swords, Pike-heads, Peeces, Shot, Powder, and such like; they have Sauges at hand ready to carry it away. The next day they returned unvisited, leaving their confederates to follow, and in the interim, to conuay their competence of all things they could, for which purpose they should live with Powhatan as his chiefe affected: free from those duties, whose diligence had provided them three hundred of their kind of Hatchets, the rest fiftie Swords, eight Peeces, and eight Pikes: Briton, and Richard Savage seeing the Dutchmen so strangely diligent to accommodate the Sauges, these wethaps attempted to have got to Jams Towne, but they were apprehended. Within two or three daies we arrived at Pamacoke, the King as many daies entertained vs with feasting and much mirth: and the day he appointed to begin our trade, the President, with M. Perle, M. West, M. Russell, M. Becham, M. Powel, M. Crahan, M. Ford, and some others to the number of fifteen went up to Opechancanoughs houle (neere a quarter of a mile from the River) where we found nothing, but a lame fellow and a boy, and all the houses about, of all things abandoned: nor long we thad ere the King arrived, and after him came dozens of his people loaded with Bowes and Arrows, but such pinching commodities, and chiefe esteemed at such a value, as our Captaine began with him in this manner.

Opechancanough, the great love you profess to your tongue, seems me deceiv by your allures: last yeere you kindly fringed our ship, but now you have invited me to farre we with bowgins. You know my want, and to your please, of which by some meanes I must have a part: meritt me it is fit for King to keepe their promise, here are my commodities, whereof take your choice; the rest I will proportion fit bargaines for your people.

The King seemed kindly to accept his offer; and the better to colour his pious, sold vs what they had to our owne content: promising the next day more company, better provided (the Barges and Pinnace being committed to the charge of M. Phetplace) the President, with his old fiftie marched vp to the Kings houle, where we found four or five men newly come with great Baskets. Not long after came the King, who with a strained cheerfulness held vs with discourse, what paines he had taken to keepe his promise till M. Russell brought vs in news that we were all betrayed: for at least six or seven hundred of well appointed Indians had invaded the houle and beiet the fields. The King conjecturing what Russell related, we could well perceive how the extremity of his feare betrayed his intent: whereto some of our company seeming dismayed with the thought of such a multitude; the Captaine incouraged vs after this manner.

Worthy Country-men were the mischiefs of my seeming friends, no more then the danger of their seeming enemies. I could wish my people, as you dare doe, but as I. But this is my torment, that if I escape them, my malicious Councils, with their open mouthed Indians, will make me such a peace-bearer (in their opinion) in England, as will break my necke: I would wish the best, that I make the best (some say, and we an Oppressor. But this is the worst of all, wherein, I pray aide me with your opinions, should we begin with them and surprise this King, we cannot keepe him, and defend well our selves, if we should catch him, we must and we must be killed in this house; the rest will fly, then shall we get no more, then the bodies that are flaine, and then shall we be vntoall: as for their furie it is the least danger, for well you know (being alone assaulted with two or three hundred of them) I made them compound to save my life, and we are now fiftie men, and they but seven hundred at the most, and assure your selves GO D will so assist vs, that if you dare but to stand to discharge your Peeces, the verie smoke will be sufficient to affright them: yet howsoever (if there be occasion) let vs fight the best, and not die like the beasts: first I will deal with them, to bring it to passe, we may fight for some thing, and draw them to us by condonance.

If you like this motion, promise me you be valiant. The time not permitting any argument, all vowed to execute whatsoeuer he attempted, or die whereupon the Captaine approaching the King, bespoke him in this manner.

I see Opechancanough your plot is to murder me, but I feare it not; as yet your men and mine have done no harme, but by our directions. Take therefore your Armes; you see mine: my love shall be as naked as yours; the Ile on your River is a fit place, if you be contented; and the consequence (of us two) shall be Lord and Master over all our men: otherwise draw all your men into the field; if you have not enough, take time to fetch more, and bring what number you will, for ever one bring a basket of Corne, against all which I will flake the vntoall Copper; you see I have but fiftie men, and our gun is flake.

The King, being guarded with fiftie or sixtie of the chiefe men, seemed kindly to appease Smiths suspicion of wickedness, by a great present at the doore, they intreated him to receive. This was to draw him without the doore where the present was guarded with (at the least two hundred men, and thirtie lying vnder a great tree (that lay thwart as a Barricado) each his Arrow

How we are
aped turning
a Pinnace
Chap. 4.
The Dutch-
men de-
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C. Smith
Perfidious
wretche

Opechancanough
might abandon
doned.

Smiths speech
to Opechancanough.

How we are
aped turning
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Chap. 4.
The Dutch-
men de-
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Smiths speech
to his Com-
pany.

Smiths offer to
Opechancanough.

Opechancanoughs
dislike
to Smith.

C. Smiths
reply.

Powhatan
importun-
ing him to
base them
in valour
or betray
them.

C. Smiths dis-
course to delay
time, make
him suspicious
Powhatan.

Powhatans plot
to murder
Smith.

A Chaine of
Pearle for a
Pinnce.

His excuse.

Pretending to
kill our men
loaded with
baskets, we
forced the Sa-
gages to car-
rie them,

Openthe doore
taken prisoner
amidst his
men. If this
could have bin
eaten by o-
thers y^e Anglia
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able
to go alone
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the light. But
just as peace
have bid
war then
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conscience
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miserable mal-
factors by this
perfidious Sa-
uages. And
would God a
Dile or Smith,
or some such
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only right
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ther: are
disaffection
it enforces.
Smiths dil-
courte to the
Pawlois.

The Sauges
dissemble their
intent.
See their vie
of English
Armes.
There excite
and recon-
cilement.
The offer of
Skinner and
others with
a Skiff.
M^r Wiffins
journey to the
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President.

row necked ready to throat; some the President commanded to go & see what kind of deceit this was, and to receive the Present; but they refused to do it: yet diuers offered whom he would not permit: but commanding M. Perfe, and M. Wiff to make good the house, to M. Tammell, and M. Bebeabland to guard the doore, and in such a rage matched the King by his long Locke of haire in the midst of his men, with his Pistoll ready bent against his breast, he instantly yielded his Bow and Arrowes, and sued for his life: Thus he led the King (a nere dead with feare) amongst all his people, who deliuering the Captaine his Bow and arrowes, all his men were easily intreated to call downe their Armes, little dreaming any durst in that manner haue vied their King: who then to excuse himselfe, bestowed his Presents in good aduill. And hauing caused all his multitude to approach disarmed; the President argued with them to this effect.

I see you Pawlois, the great desire you haue to cut my throat, and many long suffering your iniuries, haue intreated you to this presumption. The cause I haue forborne your insolence, is the promise I made you (before the God I serue) to be your friend, till you give me will cause to be your enemy. If I keep this vow, my God will keep me; you cannot hurt me; if I break it, he will destroy me. But if you shoot but one Arrow, to shed one drop of blood of any of my men or steal the least of these Beades or Copper (I sworne before me with my foot) you shall see, I will not cease revenge (since I begin) so long as I can here where to find one of your Nation that will not deny the name of Yamavnye: I cannot win at Rattleaxe (a halfe diuine with mine) where you took me prisoner, yet then for keeping promise, and your good usage, and saving my life, I so affect you, that your denials of your treachery, hath halfe persuaded me to mistake my selfe. But if I be the mark you aime at, here I stand, shoot that that dare. You promised to frangeht my ship ere I departed, and so you shall, or I mean to load her with dead carcases; yet as my friends you will come and trade, I once more promise not to trouble you, except you give me the first occasion. Upon this away went your Bowes and Arrowes, and men, women, and children brought in their commodities, but two or three others he thought about the President, and so ouerwearied him, as hee retired himselfe to rest, leaving M. Bebeabland, and M. Powell to accept their Presents: but some Sauges perceiving them fast asleep, and the guard carelessly dis-
perfed, fortie or fiftie of their choicest men each with an English Sword in his hand, began to enter the house, with two or three hundred others that preled to second them. The noise and hail they made in, did so shake the house, as they awoke him from his sleepe, and being halfe amazed with this sudden fight, betooke him first to his sword and Target, M. Craslow and some other charging in like manner, they thronged faster backe, then before forward. The house thus closed, the King and his Ancients, with a long Oration came to excuse this intrusion. The first of the day was spent with much kindeffe, the company againe renuing their Presents of their best provisions. And whatsoever we gaue them, they seemed well contented with it.

Now in the meane while since our departure, this barked at the Port; M. Scruener willing to crosse the surprizing of Powhatan; nine daies after the Presidents departure, would needs visit the Ile of Hoger, andooke with him Captaine Walde (though the President had appointed him to be ready to second his occasions) with M. Anthony Gessell, and eight others; but so violent was the wind (that extreme frozen time) that the Boat funke, but where or how, none doth know; for they were all drowned; only this was knowne, that the Skiffe was much couled; and would scarce haue liued in that extreme tempest, had hee beene empty; but by no perualion he could be diuerted, though both Walde and a hundred others doubted as it happened. The Sauges were the first that found their bodies, which so much the more encouraged them to effect their proiects. To aduertise the President of this heauy newes, none could be found would undertake it, but the journey was often refused of all in the Port, vnill M. Wiffins vnderooke alone in the performance thereof; wherein hee was encountered with many dangers and difficulties, and in all parts as he passed (as also that night he lodged with Powhatan) hee perceived much preparation for warre, that assured him, some mischief was intended, but with extraordinary bribes, and much trouble, in three daies traual as long he found vs in the midst of tiele turn-oules. This vnhappy newes, the President wore him to concale from the rest, and so dissembling his sorrow, with the best countenance he could, when the night approached, went lately aboard with his company.

Now to extremely Powhatan had threatened the death of his men, if they did not by some meanes kill Captaine Smith, that the next day they appointed the Country should come to trade vnarmed: yet vnwilling to be treacherous, but that they were constrained, hating fighting, almost as ill as hanging, such feare they had of bad successe. The next morning the Sonne had not long appeared, but the fields appeared couled with people, and baskets to tempt vs ashore. The President determined to keepe aboard, but nothing was to be had without his presence, nor would he not indure the sight of a Gun: then the President seeing many depart, and being vnwilling to lose such a boote, so well connected the Pinnace, and his Barges with Ambassadors, at 63 only with M. Perfe, M. Wiff, and M. Russell armed, he went ashore, others vnarmed hee appointed to receive what was brought; the Sauges flocked before him in heapes, and (the baskets set as a trench for retreat) he drew them faire open to his Ambassadors, for hee not being periwaded to goe to visit their King, the King came to visit him with two or three hundred men,

men, in the forme of two halfe Moones, with some twentie men, and many women loaded with great painted baskets; but when they approached somewhat neere vs, their women and children fled; for when they had enuironed and beset the fields in this manner, they thought their purpose first vs to tremble with feare, as they were scarce able to nock their Arrowes; Smith standing with his three men ready bent beholding them, till they were within danger of our Ambassadors, who vpon the word discouered themselves, and hee retiring to the banke: which the Sauges no sooner perceived, but away they fled, esteeming their heeles for their best aduantage. That night we went to the Fort M. Craslow, and M. Ford, who (in the mid-way between Werawocomo and the fort) met four or five of the Dutchmens confederates going to Powhatan, to which (to excuse those Gentlemens suspicion of their running to the Sauges returned to the Fort and there continued.

The Sauges hearing our Barge depart in the night were so terribly affraide, that wee sent for more men (wee hauing so much threatened their ruine, and the raising of their Houses, Boates, and Canoes) that the next day the King, sent our Captaine a Chaine of Pearle to alter his purpose, and stay his men, promising (though they wanted them) to frangeht our ship, and bring it aboard to avoid suspicion, to that hue of fixe daies after, from all parts of the Countrey within ten or twelue miles, in the extreme cold Frost, and Snow, they brought vs provision on their naked backs.

Yet notwithstanding this kindeffe and trade, had their art and poison beene sufficient, the President with Master West and some others had beene poysoned: it made them sicke, but expelled it selfe. Wee sent away a stout young fellow, knowing hee was suspected for bringing this present of poison, with fortie or fiftie of his choicest companions (seeing the President but with a few men at Patuxent) so proudly braued it, as though hee expected to encounter a reuenge: which the President perceiving in the midst of his company did not only beat, but sparred him like a dogge, as scorning to doe him any worse mischief: whereupon all of them fled into the Woods, thinking they had done a great matter, to haue so well escaped: and the Townsmen remaining, presently frangeht our Barge, to bee rid of our companies, framing many excuses to excuse Wecatanow (being sonne to their chiefe King, but Powhatan) and told vs, if wee would shew them him that brought the poyson, they would deliuer him vs to punish as wee pleased.

Men may thinke it strange there should bee this stirre for a little Corne, but had it beene Gold with more ease we might haue got it: and had it wanted, the whole Colony had starued. Wee may bee thought verie patient, to indure all those iniuries; yet only with fearing them, we got what they had. Whereas if wee had taken reuenge, then by their losse wee should haue lost our selves. We searched all the Countreys of Tappahannock and Mattapamut, where the people imparted the little they had, with such complaints and teares from women and children; as hee had beene too cruell to bee a Christian that would not haue beene satisfied, and moued with compassion. But this happened in October, November, and December, when that vnhappy discouerie of Monacan was made, wee might haue frangeht a Ship of fortie Tunnes, and twice as much might haue beene had from the Riuer of Tappahannock, Patuxent, and Patuxent. The maine occasion of our temporizing with the Sauges was to part friends (as wee did) to giue the litle cause of suspicion to Powhatan, to fave by whom wee now returned, with a purpose to haue furnished him and his provision: for effecting whereof (when wee came against the Towne) the President sent Master Wiffins and Master Coe, a shoure to discouer and make way for his intended proiect. But they found that those damned Dutchmen had caused Powhatan to abandon his new house, and Werawocomo, and to carrie away all his Corne and provision, and the people they found by their meanes so all affeited, that had they not stood well vpon their guard, they had hardly escaped with their liues. So the President finding his intention thus frustrated, and that there was nothing now to bee had, and therefore an vnfit time to reuenge their abuses, held on the coorte for James Towne: wee hauing in this journey (for fure and twentie pound of Copper, fiftie pound of Iron and Beades) kept fortie men fixe weekes, and daily feasted with Bread, Corne, Flesh, Fish, and Fowle, euery man hauing for his reward (and in consideration of his commodities) a months provision (no trade being allowed but for the store) and wee deliuered at James Towne to the Cope-Merchant two hundred (seuente nine) bullocks of Corne.

When the ships departed, all the provision of store (but that the President had gotten) was so rotten with the last Summers Raine, and eaten with Rats and Wormes, as the Hogges would scarcely eate it, yet it was the Souldiers Diet, till our returnes: so that we found nothing done, but vnuall spent, and the most part of our Tooles, and a good part of our Armes consumed by the Sauges. But now, calling vp the store, and finding sufficient till the next Harvest, the feare of Staruing was abated; and the Company diuided into ternes, fiftences, or as the busines required foure, hours each day was spent in swart, the rest in pastimes and merrie exercise. The Dutchmens Contorts to closely fill comad Powder, Shot, Swords, and Tooles, that

A Chaine of
Pearle sent to
obtaine peace.

The President
poysoned.
The offender
punished.

The Sauges
want and
poutries.

The Dutch-
men die much
hurt.

How the Sauges
became
subject to the
English.
Chap. 10.

The Dutchmen plot to murder Capt. Smith.

Smith taketh the King of Pashheige prisoner.

The Saugages desire peace.

Ocanidge his Orator.

A Saugee smothered at James Towne, and was recovered.

though wee could find the defect, we could not find by whom it was occasioned, till it was too late. All this time the Dutchmen remaying with Powhatan, received them, infringing the Saugages their vile. But their Conforts not following them as they expected (to know the cause, they sent Francis their companion (a stout young fellow) disguised Saugee like) to the Glaffe-houle (a place in the Woods nere a mile from James Towne) where was the rendezvous for all their vntuilefpected villany; forrie men they procured of Powhatan to lie in Ambucadoe for Captaine Smith, who no sooner heard of this Dutchman, but he lent to apprehend him, who found he was gone, yet to crosse his returne to the Glaffe-houle alone, he encountered the King of Pashheige, a most throned stout Saugee, whose perillousness not being able to perlwade him to his ambush, feeling him only armed with a Fauchion, attempted to haue shot him; but the President prevented his shot by graping with him, and the Saugee as well prevented him for drawing his Fauchion, and therefore bore him into the Riuer to haue drowned him; long they struggled in the water, from whence the King perceiving two of the Poles vpon the sands would haue fled; but the President held him by the haire and throat till the Poles came in; then seeing how pitifully the poore Saugee begged his life, they conducted him prisoner to the Fort. The Dutchmen ere long was also brought in, whose Villany, though all this time it was suspected, yet he feared such a formal excuse, that for want of Language, we had not rightly understood them and for their dealings with Powhatan, that to faue their liues they were constrained to accommodate his aimes, of whom he extremely complained to haue detained them perforce; and that hee made this scope with the hazard of his life, and meant not to haue returned, but only walked in the woods to gather Walnuts: yet for all this faire Tale (there was so small appearance of truth) he went by the heels; the King also he put fetters; purposing to regaine the Dutchmen by the fauing his life; the poore Saugee did his best, by his daily Messengers to Powhatan, but all returned that the Dutchmen would not returne, neither did Powhatan stay them, and to bring them firme on their backs they were not able. Daily this King Wives, children, and people, came to witn him with Presents, which he liberally bestowed to make his peace, much trust they had in the Presidents promise, but the King finding his Guard negligent (though fettered) yet escaped: Captaine Winne thinking to pursue him, found such troups of Saugages to hinder his passages, they exchanged many volies of shot for flight of Arrows. Captaine Smith hearing of this, returning to the Fort,ooke two Saugages Prisoners, the one called Kemps, the other Kinsick, the two most exalt Villaines in the Countrey; with thole, Captaine Winne and fiftie chosen men attempted that night to haue regained the King, and reuenged his iniurie (and so had done it he had followed his directions, or beene aided by thole two Villaines, that would haue betrayed both their King and Kindred for a peece of Copper) but hee trifling away the night, the Saugages the next morning by the shirring of the Sunne, braued him to come a shore to fight, a good time both sides let lie at other, but we heard of no hurt, only theyooke two Canoes, burnt the King Houle and so returned.

The President fearing thole brauadoes, would but encourage the Saugages, begonne himselfe to trie his conclusions; whereby fixe or seuen Saugages were laine, as many made Prisoners burnt their Houles,ooke their Boats with all their fishing weares, and planted them at James Towne for his owne vse; and now reloaded not to cease till hee had reuenged himselfe vpon all that had injured him, but in his iourney passing by Pashheige towards Chickabanna, the Saugages did their utmost to draw him to their Ambucadoes; but seeing him regardlesly passe their Countrey, all best to shew themselves in their brauet manner, to try their valour; he could not but fire, and ere hee could land, the Saugages no sooner knew him, but they threw downe their Armes and desired Peace; their Orator was a stout young man called Ocanidge, whose worthy Discourse desired Peace to be remembered; and this it was.

Captaine Smith, my Master is here present in this companie thinking it Captaine Winne, and sent you; and of him intended to haue bene reuenged, hauing neuer offended him: if hee haue offended you in escaping your smothering, the Filles summie, the Fowles fle, and the varrie Beasts strue to escape the faure and liues; then blame not him being a man; he would entreate you remember, your being a prisoner, what paines hee took to save your life; if since hee hath injured you, hee was compell'd to it; but now, you haue reuenged it with our too great loss; we perceive and wellknow you intend to deliuer himselfe, you are here to intreat and desire your friendship, and to enioy our houses and plant our fields, if you fruit you shall participate, otherwise you will haue the worst by our absence, for we can plant any where though with more labour, and we know you cannot time if you want our Harneist, and that relief we bring you; if you promise us peace we will belene you, if you proceed in reuenge, we will abandon the Countrey. Vpon these termes the President promised them peace, till they did vs inuiter, vpon condition they should bring in prouision, to all departed good friends, and to continued till Smith left the Countrey.

Arruing at James Towne, complaint was made to the President that the Chickabannians, who all this while continued Trade, and seemed our friends by colour thereof were the only Thieves, and amongst other things, a Pittoll being stolne, and the Theife dead, there was apprehended two

proper young fellows that were brothers, knowne to be his confederates. Now to regaine this Pittoll, the one we imprisoned, the other was sent to returne againe within twelue houres, or his brother to be hanged, yet the President pitying the poore naked Saugee in the dungeon, lent him victual and some Chat-cole for fire; ere midnight his brother returned with the Pittoll, but the Saugee in the dungeon was so smothered with the smoke hee had made, and so pitiously burnt, that he found him dead, the other most lamentably bewailed his death, and brake forth in such bitter agonies, that the President (to quiet him) told him that if hereafter they would not steal, he would make him aloue againe, but little thought hee could be recovered, yet (we doing our best with Aquatize and Vinegar) it pleased God to restore him againe to life, but so drunke and affrighted that hee seemed lunaticke, as yet standing any thing he spoke or heard, the which as much grieved and tormented the others, as before to see him dead; of which malade (vpon promise of their good behaviour afterward) the President promised to recover him, and so caused him to be laid by a fire to sleepe, who in the morning (hauing well slept) had recovered his perfect senses; and then being dressed of his burning, and each a peece of Copper giuen them, they went away so well contented, that this was spread amongst all the Saugages for a Miracle, that Captaine Smith could make a man aloue that is dead. Thiefe and many other such pretie accidents, so amazed and affrighted both Powhatan and all his people that from all parts with presents they desired peace, returning many stolne things which wee neither demanded nor thought of. And after that, thole that were taken stealing (both Powhatan and his people) hath sent them backe to James Towne to receive their punishment, and all the Countrey became absolutely as free for vs, as for themselves.

Now we so quietly followed our businesse, that in three monthes wee made three or foure latt of Pitch and Tarre, and Sops-ashes, produced a triall of Glasse, made a Well in the Fort of excellent sweet water (which till then was wanting) built some twenty houses, recovered our Church, prouided Nets and were for fishing (and to stop the disorders of our disorderly theues and the Saugages) built a Blocke-houle in the necke of our Ile, kept by a garrison to entertaine the Saugages trade, and none to passe nor repulse, Saugee, not Christian, with our the Presidents order; thirty or forty acres of ground we digged, and planted; of three Soves in one 30 years increased fixty and odde Pigges, and nere fust hundred Chickens brought vp themselves (without hauing any meate giuen them) but the Hoggess were transported to Hogge Ile, where also we built a Blocke-houle with a Garrison, to giue vs notice of any shipping, and for their exercise they made Clap-board, Waincoke, and cut downe Trees against the ships coming. Wee built also a Fort for a retreat, nere a conuenient Riuer vpon a high commanding Hill, very hard to be assaulted, and easie to be defended; but ere it was halfe finished, this defect caused it; in searching our Casked Corne, we found it halfe rotten, the rest so confumed with the many thousand Rattes (increased first from the ships) that wee knew not how to keepe that little wee had. This did grieue vs all to our wits end, for there was nothing in the Countrey but what Nature afforded, vntill this time Kemps and Taffire, were fettered Prisoners, and daily wrought, and taught vs how to order and plant our fields. Whom now (for want of victual) we set at libertie, but so well were they vied, that they little desired it, and to expelle their looue, for sixteen dayes continuance, the Countrey brought vs (when least) one hundred a day of Squirrels, Turkeys, Deare, and other wilde Beasts; but this want of Corne occasioned the end of all our workes, it being worke sufficient to provide victual, fittie or eightie with Ensigne Laxon, were sent downe the Riuer to liue vpon Oysters, and twentie with Lieutenant Perrie to try for fishing at Point Comfort, but in fixe weekes, they would not agreee once to cast out their Net. Master Will with as many went vp to the Falls, but nothing could be found but a few Berries and Acornes; of that in the store every one had their equal proportion. Till this present (by the hazard and endeavour of some thirtie or fortie) this whole number had euen bin

fed. We had more Sturgeon then could be deuoured by Dogge and Man; of which the industrious, by drying and pounding, mingled with Caurie, Sorrell, and other wholesome herbs, would make Bread and Meate; others would gather as much Tacknough Roots in a day, as would make them Bread a Week, so that of thole wilde Frutes, Fish, and Berries, they liued very well (in regard of such a Diet) but such was the most faine condition of some one hundred and fiftie, that had they not bene forced to gather and prepare their victual they would all haue starued, and haue eaten one another: of thole wilde frutes the Saugages often brought vs word that the President would not fulfill the vnreasonable desire of thole distracted lubberly Gluttons to kill, not only our Kettles, Hoes, Tooles, and Iron, yea Swords, Peeces, and the very Ordinance, and Houles (might they haue persuaded but to haue bene burnt) for thole Saugee frutes they would haue imparted all to the Saugages, especially for one basket of Corne they heard of, to bee at Powhatan, fittie miles from our Fort, though hee brought nere halfe of it to satiate their humours, yet to haue had the other halfe, they would haue sold their foules (though not sufficient to haue kept them a Week) thousandes were their exclamations, suggestions, and deuises, to force him to thole bale

Charele, make an v. of murder by enuie, where no vent is left.

Pe. b. p. e. l. e. l. e. f. a. i. s. t. e. r. s. h. a. u. e. (e. s. s. i. e. s. m. e. t. e. r. l. i. e. s. b. a. s. i. c. h. e. d. m. a. n. y. o. f. t. h. e. i. n. d. i. g. n. M. i. r. a. c. l. e. s. t. r. o. m. a. s. v. a. l. k. i. n. g. s. a. s. t. h. i. s. b. y. c. o. n. j. u. r. i. n. g. i. n. d. u. s. t. r. i. e. a. n. d. i. m. p. o. r. t. u. n. e. P. o. w. h. a. t. a. n. d. i. s. t. r. i. c. t. p. e. a. c. e.

What was done in three monthes hauing victual. The Har. d. d. h. o. w. h. e. l. u. e. d. t. h. r. e. e. m. o. n. t. h. s. o. f. t. h. e. i. n. d. i. g. n. t. r. u. i. n. s. a. s. t. h. e. C. o. u. n. t. r. y. a. d.

Rat-plague.

The paines of 40. fed 150.

Banished of 12. dead.

Their desire destroy themselves.

The Pref-
dents Speech
to the Drouce.

But 7 of sooo,
died in two
months.

The Sauges
returned
Fugues.

Search for
them till by
Sir W. Rawley,
Powhatan con-
fessed that hee
had bin at the
muster, and a
bottle
Muster, and
certain pece
of Iron
wh ch had bin
thirs.
The Dutchmen
stoye round
proude.

Inventions, to have made it an occasion to abandon the Country. Want perforce, con-
strayned him to endure their exclaiming toles till hee found out the Author, one *Dye*,
a most craftie Knave, and his ancient maligner, whom hee worthily punished, and with
the rest hee argued the cafe in this manner. *Fellow Soldiers, I did little thinke any so false*
to report, as so many so simple to be persuaded, that I either intend to *steare you*, or that
Powhatan (at this present) *haile Come for himselfe, much lesse for you; or that I would not bene*
it, if I knew where it were to be had. *Nether did I thinke any so malicious as now I see a great many*
yet it shall not so much passionate mee, but I will doe my best for my worst maligner. But dreame no
longer of this vaine hope from Powhatan, nor that I will longer forbear to force you from your idle-
nesse, and punish you if you rale, you cannot denie but that by the hazard of my life, many a time I have
sued your, when, might your owne will have permitted, you would have starved, and will doe still
whether I will or no. But I protest by that God that made me, since necessity hath not power to force
you to gather for your selves those fruits the Earth doth yield, you shall not only gather for your selves,
but for those that are sick: as yet I neuer had more from the store then the worst of you; and all my
English extraordinary provisions that I have, you shall see me divide among the sick. And this ca-
rage trall, you so scornfully repine at, being put in your mouths your stomacks can digest it, and there-
fore I will take a course you shall provide it. The sick shall not starve, but equally share of all our lea-
sons, and every one that gathereth not every day as much I doe, the next day shall be yet dependant on me,
and for ever be banished from the Fort, and live there or starve.

This order many murmured, was very cruell, but it caused the most part to well bestir
themselves, that of two hundred men (except they were drowned) there did not pass twelve or
eight. As for Captaine *Winn*, and Master *Leg*, they died ere this want happened, and thereth
did not for want of such as preferred the rest. Many were billeted among the Sauges, where-
by we knew all their pillages, fields, and habitations, how to gather and vie their fruits, as well
as themselves. So well those poore Sauges vied vs (that were thus Billeted) as diuers of the
Soldiers ranne away, to teach *Kempe* our old prisoner. Glad was this Saugé to haue such an
occasion to testify his love, for insteed of entretyning them, and such things as they had stowe
with all the great offers and promises they made them, to reuenge their injuries vpon Captaine
Smith. First hee made himselfe sport in shewing his Countreimen (by them) how hee was vied;
feeding them with this Law, Who would not worke must not eate, till they were neere li-
ued, continually threatening to beate them to death, neither could they get from him, till per-
force he brought them to our Captaine, that so we contented him, and punished them: as many
others that intended also to haue followed them, were rather contented to labour at home, then
adventure to lue idle among the Sauges (of whom there was more hope to make better
Christians and good subiects, then the one halfe of those that counterfeited themselves best)
For lo afraid were all those Kings and the better sort of their people, to displease vs,
that some of the bader sort that were haue extremely hurt and punished for their villanies,
would be vs that were should not tell it to their Kings or Countreimen, who would also pun-
ish them, and yet returne them to *Jamestowne* to content the President, by that testimonie
of their loyes.

Master *Sicklemore* well returned from *Chawnoke*, but found little hope and lesse certaintie of
them which had beene left by Sir *Walter Rawley*. So that *Nathaniell Powell* and *Anna Tildie* were
also, by the *Quingobahawanne*, conducted to the *Mangoes* to search them there. But no-
thing could we learne but they were all dead. This honesty, proper, good promise-keeping King,
of all the rest did surer best affect vs, and thought to his fall: Gods hee was yet very zealous, yet
he would confesse, our God as much exceeded his, as our Guns did his Bow and Arrowes, often
sending our President many Presents to pray to his God for rain, or his corn would perish, for his
Gods were angrie all this time, To reclaim the *Dutchmen*, and one *Bentley* another Fugitive, we
employed one *William Valdo*, (a *Switzer* by birth) with pardons and promises to regain them. Little
we then suspected this double villaine of any villany, who plainly taught vs, in the most treit
was the greatest Treason. For this wicked Hypocrite, by the seeming hate hee bore to the bad
condition of his curled Countreimen, having this opportunitie by his employment to regaine
them, conueiged them every thing they desired to effect their proiect to destroy the Colonie.
With much deuotion they expected the *Spaniards*, to whom they intended to haue done good fer-
uor. But to begin with the first opportunitie, they seeing necessity thus enforced vs to disperse
our selfe importuned *Powhatan* to lend them but his forces, and they would not only deny
our Hoggies, ere our Towne, and betray our Pinnale; but bring to his seruice and subiect the
most part of our companies. With this plot they had acquainted many discontented, and many
were agreed to their deuillish practice. But one *Thomas Douse* and *Thomas Mullard* (whole
Christian hearts much relenting at such an vnchristian act) voluntarily revealed it to Captaine *Smith*:
who did his best it might be concealed, perswading *Douse* and *Mullard* to proceed to the con-
federacie: only to bring the irreclaimable *Dutchmen*, and inconstant Sauges in such a manner
amongst his Ambulcades, as hee had prepared, as not many of them should euer haue returned
from out our *Penninsula*.

B.B.

Two Genle-
men sent to
him.

Gap. Six.

The arrivall
of the third
ship, Chap. 11.
The alteration
of the govern-
ment.
The losse of
Virginia.

The Sauges
offer to fight
vnder our col-
ours.
Mutinie.

The planting
of the second
crops.

A plantation
of the tals.

The breach of
peace betwix
the Sauges.

But this brute coming to the eares of the impatient multitude, they so importuned the
President to cutt off those *Dutchmen*, as amongst many that offered to cutt their throats before the
face of *Powhatan*, Master *Wiffa* and *Iefra Abbot* were sent to itt abhorre those them; but these
Dutchmen made such excuses accusing *Valdo* whom they supposed had reucaled their proiect,
as *Abbot* would not, yet *Wiffa* would, perceiving it but deceit. The King vnderstanding of this
their importment, sent presently his Messengers to Captaine *Smith*; to signifie it was not his
fault to detain them, nor hinder his men from executing his commands, nor did hee nor would
he maynaine them, as any to occasion his displeasure. But ere this business was brought to a
point, God having scene our misery sufficient, sent in Captaine *Argoll* to him for *Sturgeon* with
a ship well furnished with Wine and Basket, which though it was not fine vs, such were our oc-
casions weooke it at a price, but lett him sufficient to returne for England, till dissembling *Valdo*
his villany, but certainly he had not escaped had the President continued.

Notwithstanding this *Valdo* coming for England, pretending to the Company what rich *Myne*
he had found, for which hee was verie much favoured, rewarded and respected, but returning with the
Lord *La-ware*, hee could not performe any thing hee promised, and thus also having concerned them all,
died both basely and miserably. For the rest of his Comforts vpon the arrivall of the Lord *La-ware*,
whom they highly recommended to *Powhatan*, promising what great wonders they would worke with his
Lordship, would be gine them leave to goe to him, but when he saw they would be gone, hee repented, as you
would haue betrayed Captaine *Smith* to me, so will you to this Lord, for you that would be so false to
him, cannot be true to me, so I can send his men to beate out their braices, as the Sauges reported to diuers
that came from thence.

To redresse those harres and ill proceedings, the Councell in England altered the government
and deuolued the authoritie to the Lord *De-la-ware*. Who for his Deputie, sent Sir *Thomas*
Gates, and Sir *George Somers*, with nine ships and nine hundred persons: they left for *Eng-
land* in May 1609. A small Catch perished at Sea in a *Petreeau*. The Admirall, with 150
men, with the two Knights, and their new Commission, their Bills of lading with all manner
of directions, and the most part of their provision arrived not. With the other *feuen* (as Cap-
taines) arrived *Ratcliffe* (whole right name was *Sicklemore*) *Martin*, and *Archer*. Who as they were
borne troublefome at Sea, began againe to marre all ashore: For though, as is said, they were for-
merly deposed and sent for England: yet now returning againe, graced by the title of Captaine
of the passengers, seeing the Admirall wanting, and great probability of her losse: they straggled
themselves with those new Companies, for railing and exclaiming against Captaine *Smith*, that
they mortally hated him, ere euer they saw him. Who vnderstanding by his Scouts, the arrivall
of such a fleet (little dreaming of any such supply) supposing them *Spaniards*, hee so determi-
ned and ordered his affaires, as we little feared their arrivall, nor the successe of our encounter,
nor were the Sauges any way negligent or vnwilling, to aide and assist vs with their best power,
had it so bene, we had beene happy. For we would not haue trusted them but as our foes, where-
as recruiting those as our Countreimen and friends, they did their best to murder our President,
surprize the store, the Fort, and our Lodgings, to vltimate the government, and make vs all their
seruants and slaves to our owne merit. To a thousand mischiefs those lewd Captaine led this
lewd company, wherein were many vnnly Gallants packed together by their friends to escape
all Defiances, and those would dispoise and determine of the government, sometimes one, the next
day another, to day the old Commission, to morrow the new, the next day by neither. In fine,
they would rule all or rume all; yet in Charitie we must endure them thus to destroy vs, or by
correcting their follies, haue brought the Worlds cenfure vpon vs to haue beene guiltie of their
bloods. Happie had we bene had they neuer arrived; and wee for euer abandoned, and (as we
were) left to our fortunes, for on Earth was neuer more confusion, or misery, then their fatic-
ions occasioned.

The President seeing the desire those Braues had to rule, seeing how his authoritie was so vn-
expectedly changed, would willingly haue left all and returned for England, but seeing there was
little hope this new Commission would arrive, longer hee would not suffer those factious spirits
to proceede: it would be too tedious, too strange, and almost incredible, should I particularly re-
late the infinite dangers, plots, and pretences, hee daily faced amongst this factious crew,
the shiefe whereof hee quickly laid by the helmes, till his leasure better lenued to doe them Iustice;
and to take away all occasions of further mischiefe, Master *Preche* had his request granted to re-
turne for England, and Master *Wiffa* with one hundred and twentie went to plant at *the Falls*.
Martin wish nere as many to *Nanjamoud*, with their due proportions of all provisions, accord-
ing to their numbers.

Now the Presidents yeere being neere expired, hee made *Martin* President, who knowing his
owne insufficiencie, and the Companies scorn and conceit of his vnworthinesse, within three
houres resigned it againe to Captaine *Smith*, and at *Nanjamoud* thus proceeded. The people be-
ing Contributors vied him kindly: yet such was his ialous feare, and cowardize in the midst of
his mirth, hee did surprize this poore naked King, with his Monuments, Houses, and the like hee

imagination. Some that knew any thing to say, the Council instructed, and advised what to swear. So diligent they were in this business, that what any could remember, he had ever done, or said in mirth, or passion, by some circumstantial oath, it was applied to their stiffest eye, yet not past eight or nine could say much, and that nothing but circumstances, which all men did know was most false and untrue. Many got their Passes, by promising in England to say much against him. Instead of accusing him, I have never heard any give him a better report, then many of those witnesses themselves that were sent only home to testify against him. *Richard Potts, W. P.*

The planting at Point Comfort.

A Suffolk alias Sledgeham chain by Powhatan.

The day before the Ships departed, C. Davis arrived in a small Pinnace, with some sixteen proper men more: to those were added a company from *James Towne*, vnder the command of *Captaine Ratcliffe*, to inhabit *Point-Comfort*. *Martin*, and *Master West* having lost their Boats, 10 and near half their men amongst the Saueges, were returned to *James Towne*. For the Saueges no sooner understood of *Captaine Smiths* loss, but they all revolted, and did murder and spoile all they could encounter. Now were we all constrained to live onely of that which *Smith* had only for his owne company, for the rest had consumed their proportions. And now have wee twenty Presidents, with all their appurtenances, for *Master Perse* was so sick he could not goe nor stand. But ere all was consumed, *Master West*, and *Ratcliffe*, each with a Pinnace, and thirtie or fortie men well appointed, fought aboard to trade, and vpon confidence of *Powhatan*, *Ratcliffe* and his men were slain, onely leffery Shortridge escaped, and *Pochabutan* the Kings daughter, *Jaques* a boy, called *Henry Spelman*, who lived many yeeres after by her meane amongst the *Patawomes*. *Powhatan* still as he found meane, cut off their Boats and denied their trade. And *Master West* finding his little boat successle, left it for England. Now we all found the want of *Captaine Smiths* yeas his greater maligner could then curse his losse. Now for come, provision, and contribution from the Saueges; wee had nothing but mortall wounds with Clubs and Arrows. As for our Hogs, Goats, Sheepe, Horfe, or what liued, our Commanders and Officers did daily consume them: some small proportions (sometimes) wee tasted till all was deuoured, then Swords, Arrowes, Peeeces, or any thing we traded to the Saueges, whose bloody fingers were lo imbrued in our bloods, that what by their cruelty, our Gouvernours indifferencie, and the losse of our Ships: Of five hundred within fixe moneths, after there remained not any more then fixtie most miserable and poore creatures. It were to vild to say what wee endured, *Life* was now preferred by 20 *Roots, Herbs, Acornes, Walnuts, Berries*, now and then a little *Effe*, and *Starbe* by such as bad any. A Sauege slaine and buried, is said to have been taken up by the poore and eaten: which is reportall to have hapned to others of their owne. A report was that one flew his wife, and had eaten part of her: this is by others denied, the murder acknowledged, and he justly executed for that pericide.

Wickednes of some Mariners. The fruits of improvidence.

The occasion of the miseries was onely our owne, for want of providence, industrie, and government; and not the barrenesse and defect of the Countrey, as is generally supposed, for till then in three yeeres (for the numbers were landed vs) wee had neuer landed sufficient provision for fixe moneths, such a glutton is the Sea, and such good fellows the Mariners, we as little tasted of those great proportions for their provisions, as they of our miseries, that notwithstanding euery way and overruled the business: though wee did live as is said, three yeeres chiefe of what this good Countrey naturally affordeth: yet now had wee been in *Paradise* it selfe (with those Gouvernours) it would not have beene much better with vs, yet were there some amongst vs, who had had the government, would surely have kept vs from those extremities of miseries, that in ten dayes more would have supplanted vs all by death. Thus you see the miserable ends of those usurping Commanders, for all their greatness, Oratory, and long being there, and what is the want of owne man in Ambition, that is honest and valiant, discreet, and industrious; and how easily that may also be blamished, by ambitious indifferenc, or what did binder them now in his abscie, they had not done much better ther by, having all these advantages.

The arrival of Sir Tho. Gates with 150. James Towne abandoned.

The arrival of the Lord La. ware.

Two ships sent to the Bermudas.

But God that would not it should be vniplanted, sent *Sir Thomas Gates*, and *Sir George Sommers*, with one hundred and fiftie men, most happily preferred by the *Bermudas* to prelieve vs. But when those noble Knights did see our miseries (being strangers in the Countrey) and could understand no more of the cause but by their conjecture of our clamours and complaints, of accusing or excusing one another, they embarked vs with themselves, with the best meane they could, and abandoning *James Towne*, left it for England.

But yet God would not to haue it, for ere wee left the Riuer; wee met the *Lord de-la-warr*, then gouernour of the Countrey, with three Ships exceeding well furnished with all necessaries, who againe returned them to the abandoned *James Towne*, the ninth of June, 1610. accompanied with *Sir Ferdinando Wainman*, and diuers other Gentlemen of fort. *Sir George Sommers*, companied with *Argall* he presently dispatcheth to repaire to the *Bermudas*, to furnish them with provision: *Sir Thomas Gates* for England to helpe forward their supplies: himselfe neglected not provision: but the best was in his power for the furtherance of the business, and regaining what was lost. But in the beginning of his proceedings, his Lordship had such an encounter, that after eight months sickness, he was forced to save his life, by his returne for England.

In this time *Argall*, not finding the *Bermudas*, having lost *Sir George Sommers* at sea, fell on the coast of *Sagadahack*, where refreshing himselfe, he found a convenient fishing for Cod, with a tall

whereof

whereof he returned to *James Towne*, from whence the *Lord De-la-warr* sent him to trade in the Riuer of *Patawomeck*, where finding an English boy those people had sent from the frye of *Powhatan*, by his acquaintance had such good usage of those kind Countrey, that they freighted his Ship with Corne, wherewith he returned to *James Towne*, and so for England with the *Lord Gouernour*; yet before his returne, the adventurers had sent *Sir Thomas Dale* with three Ships, men and cattell, and all other provisions necessarie for a yeere, all which arrived the tenth of May, 1611.

Again, to second him with all possible expedition there was prepared for *Sir Thomas Gates*, fixe tall Ships with three hundred men, and one hundred Kine, with other cattell, with munition, and all manner of provision could be thought needfull, and they arrived about the first of August next after safely at *James Towne*.

Sir George Somers all this time was supposed lost: but thus it hapned, missing the *Bermudas*, hee fell also as did *Argall* with *Sagadahack*, where being refreshed, would not content himselfe with that repulse, but returned againe in the search, and there safely arrived. But ouertoying himselfe on a surfeit died. And in this Cedar Ship built by his owne directions, and partly with his owne hands, that had not in her any Iron, but onely one bolt in her Keel, yet well endured thus tossed to and againe in this mightie Ocean, till with his dead bodie hee arrived in England, and at *Whitchurch* in Dorsetshire, his body by his friends was honourably buried, with many volies of shot, and the rites of a Souldier, &c.

20 But thus much may serue as the arguments of the discourses following, and as the Prologue to the *Virginian Scene*, where we will first produce *M. Archer*, after whose succint narration, *M. Strachies* copious discourses shall feast you with the lively expression of others miseries, and *Bermudas* happy discouery in *Rhetorickes* Full sea and spring tide.

The arrival of Sir Tho. Dale.

Sir George Somers arrival at the Bermudas, and death.

His heart and entrails were buried in *Sumner* Islands, a name from his to them communicated.

CHAP. V.

30 A Letter of *M. GABRIEL ARCHER*, touching the Voyage of the Fleet of Ships, which arrived at *Virginia*, without *Sir THO. GATES*, and *Sir GEORGE SOMMERS*, 1609.



From Woolwich the fifteenth of May, 1609, I scemb saile wynd anchor, and came to Plimouth the twentieth day, where *Sir George Somers*, with two small Vessels, comforted vs. Here we took into the Blessing (being the ship wherein I was) five Mares and two Horses; and the Fleet layed in some necessaries belonging to the action: In which business we spent time till the second of June. And then we set saile to Sea, but crost by South-west winds, we put in to *Faulmouth*, where they staying till the eight 40 of June, we then gate out. Our Course was commanded to leane the *Canaries* one hundred leagues to the Eastward at least, and to shure away directly for *Virginia*, without touching at the *West Indies*, except the Fleet should chance to be separated, then they were to repaire to the *Bermuda*, there to stay fower dayes in expectation of the Admirall; and if they found him not, then to take their course to *Virginia*.

The appointed Course.

Now thus it happened; about fixe dayes after we lost the sight of England, one of *Sir George Somers* Pinnaces left our company, and (as I take it) bare up for England; the rest of the ships, viz. The Sea Adventurer Admirall, wherein was *Sir Thomas Gates*, *Sir George Somers*, and *Captaine Newport*: The Diamond Vice-admirall, wherein was *Captaine Ratcliffe*, and *Captaine King*. The Falcon Rearre-admirall, in which was *Captaine Martin*, and *Master Nellion*: The Blessing, wherein I and *Captaine Adams* were: The Vnitie, wherein *Captaine Wood*, and *Master Pett* were. The Lion, wherein *Captaine Webb* remained: And the Swallow of *Sir George Somers*, in which *Captaine Moore*, and *Master Somers* went. In the Catch went one *Matthew Fitch* Master: and in the Boat of *Sir George Somers*, called the *Virginia*, which was built in the North Colony, went one *Captaine Davies*, and one *Master Davies*. These were the Captaines and Masters of our Fleet.

We ran a Southerly course from the Tropicks of Cancer, where having the Sun within fixe or seven degrees right over our heads in July, we bore away West; so that by the furthest boat and some breezes, many of our men full of the Calenture, and out of two ships was threene on-board thirte two persons. The Vice-admirall was said to have the plague in her; but in the Blessing we had not any sick, altho we had twenty women and children.

From Saint James day, being about one hundred and fiftie leagues distant from the *West Indies*, in 60 crossing the Gulf of Bahama, there hapned a most terrible and vehement storme, which was a taste of the *West Indian* Horacane; this tempest separated all our Fleet one from another, and it was so violent that men could scarce stand vpon the Decks; neither could any man bear another speak, being thus divided, every man fled by his owne course, and as it fell out about fixe or fixe dayes after the storme ceased (which endure a fower fower bowries in excessitie,) The Lion first, and after the Falcon and the Vnitie, got sight

The Ships and cattell men on the Fleet.

Sickness and mortallitie at Sea.

Terrible tem.

6.

Note. False rumours charge-
able.

Arrivall in
Virginia.

Captain Argall
State of the
Colony.

Idleness and
other vices to
blame allo.

Some things
parly, false rum-
ours, partly
factions, lag-
gations, are
here let out.

They choose a
new Governour.

Minicilla lary-
ma. Hence his
the malcon-
tents which
had bene in
Virginia before
enemies to the
President, rais-
ing now ill
rejoys at their
coming of
him, and
these things
and the toll-
wing miseries
in which this
Author with
almost the
whole Colony
perished.

of our Shippe, and so we lay a way directly for Virginia, finding neither current nor wind opposite, as some have reported, to the great charge of our Council and Adventurers. The Vinty was sore distressed when he came up with vs, for of security land men, he had not ten found, and all her Sea men were done, but only the Master and his Boy, with one poor sailor, but we relieved them, and we four comforting fell into the Kings River haply the elements of August. In the Vinty were borne two children at Sea, but both died, being both Boyes.

When we came to James Towne, we found a Ship which had bin there in the River a month before we came; this was sent out of England by our Councils leave and authority, to fish for Sturgeon, and to see the ready way, without tracing through the Turrid Zean, and she performed it: her Commander was Captain Argall (a good Mariner, and a very civil Gentleman) and her Master one Robert Tindall. The people of our Colony were found all in health (for the most part) but when Captain Argall came in, they were in such distress, for many were lying in the Saueage's townes, living upon their skins for an ounce of Copper a piece, having no other allowance at all, neither were the people of the Country able to offer them eight weekes space, having no other allowance at all, neither were the people of the Country able to relieve them if they would. Whereupon Captain Newport and others have bene much to blame to in-
form the Council of such plenty of vittall in this Country, by which means they have bene slacke in
resolving the Council of such plenty of vittall in this Country, by which means they have bene slacke in
resolving the Council of such plenty of vittall in this Country, by which means they have bene slacke in
resolving the Council of such plenty of vittall in this Country, by which means they have bene slacke in

After our foure Ships had bin in harbour a few dayes, came in the Viceadmirall, bearing out her maine Mast overboard also, and had a forward leak, neither did she for our Admirall.

Now did we all lament much the absence of our Governour, for contentions began to grow, and factions, and partakings. Inasmuch as the President, to strengthen his authority, according with the Admirall, and gave out a report to many worthy Gentlemen, that came in our Ships: whereupon they generally (having also my consent) chose Master Well, my Lord de la Wars brother, for his Governour, or President de bene esse, in the absence of Sir Thomas Gates, or if he mischancefully Sea, then to continue till we heard news from our Council in England. This choice of him they made not to dis-
turb the old President during his time, but as his authority expired, then to take upon him the govern-
ment, with such assistants of the Colonies, as discreet persons as the Colonie afforded. Perhappys
shall have it blazoned a mutiny by such as retain old malice; but Master Well, Master Petric, and
all the respected Gentlemen of worth in Virginia, can and will testify otherwise upon their othes. For the
Kings Patent was ratified, but refused to be governed by the President that now is, after his time was ex-
pired, and only subjected our selves to Master Well, whom we labour to have next President. I cannot
certifie you of much more as yet, until we grow to some certayne stay in this our State, but by the other
Ships you shall know more. So with my hearty commendations I cease. From James Towne this last
of August 1609.

CHAP. VI.

A true repertory of the wracke, and redemption of Sir THOMAS GATES
Knight; vpon, and from the Ilands of the Bermudas: his coming to
Virginia, and the estate of that Colonie then, and after, vn-
der the government of the Lord LA WARRE,
July 15. 1610. Written by WILLIAM
STRACHY, Esquire.

§. I.

A most dreadfull Tempest (the manifold deaths whereof are here to the life
described) their wracke on Bermudas, and the descrip-
tion of these Ilands.

2. June. 1609.

Sea. courty al-
sord.



Excellent Lady, know that vpon Friday late in the evening, we brake ground out
of the Sound of Plymouth, our whole Fleetee then consisting of seven good Ships, 42
and two Pinnaces, all which from the said second of June, vnto the twenty three
of July, kept in friendly comfort together, not a whole watch at any time, loo-
ing the fight each of other. Our course when we came about the light of be-
twene 26. and 27. degrees, we declined to the Northward, and according to

our Governours instructions altered the trade and ordinary way vied heretofore by Dominica,
and Menia, in the West Indies, and found the winds to this course indecise as friendly, as in
the iudgement of all Sea-men, it is vpon a more direct line, and by Sir George Sommers our Ad-
mirall had bin likewise in former times sailed, being a Gentleman of approved skill, cheifly,
and ready knowledge in Sea-faring actions, having often carried command, and cheif charge in ma-
ny Ships Royall of her Majesties, and in sundry Voyages made many defraits and attempts in the
times of the Spaniards quarrelling with vs, vpon the Ilands and Indies, &c. We had followed this
course so long, as now we were within ten or eight dayes at the most, by Cap. Newsports reckon-
ing making Cape Henry vpon the coast of Virginia: When on 5. Iames his day, July 24. be-
ginning Monday (preparing for no lesse all the blacke night before) the cloudes gathering theke vpon
vs, and the winds singling, and whistling most vnusually, which made vs to cast off our Pin-
nace towing the same vntill then afterne, a dreadfull storme and hideous began to blow from
out the North-east, which swelling, and roaring as it were by fits, some houres with more vio-
lence then others, at length did beate all light from heauen; which like an hell of darkenelle turned
blacke vpon vs, so much the more fuller of horror, as in such cases horror and feare vie to
ouerturne the troubled, and ouermattered senses of all, which (taken vp with amazement) the
eares lay so sensible to the terrible cries, and murmurs of the winds, and distraction of our Com-
pany, as who was most armed, and best prepared, was not a little shaken. For furdry (Noble
Ladies) as death comes not to sodaine nor apparant, so he comes not so cloudfy and painfull to men
especially when then in health and perfect habitude of body, as at Sea; who comes at no time so
welcome, but our faculty (so weak is the hold of hope in miserable demonstrations of danger) it
makes guilty of many contrary changes, and conflicts: For indeede death is accompanied at no
time, nor place with circumstances every way so vnacceptable of particularities of goddnesse and
inward comforts, as at Sea. For it is most true, there ariseth commonly no such vnmerciful
tempt, compound of so many contrary and diuers Nations, but that it worketh vpon the whole
frame of the body, and most loathsome affecteth all the powers thereof: and the manner of
the sicknesse it laies vpon the body, being so vninflurable, giues not the minde any free and quiet
time, to vie her iudgement; and Empire: which made the Poet say:

Holsum vxoress, perierque cacos
Sentiant motus orientis Hadis,
& Equorū nigri fremitus, & tremantes
Vbera ripas.

For foure and twenty houres the storme in a restlesse tumult, had blowne so exceedingly, as
we could not apprehend in our imaginations any possibility of greater violence, yet did we still
finde it, not onely more terrible, but more constant, fury aided to fury, and one storme vying a
second more outrageous then the former; whether it so wrought vpon our feares, or indeede met
with new forces: Sometimes strikes in our Ship amongst women, and passengers, not vied to
fight furly and discomforts, made vs looke one vpon the other with troubled hearts, and pin-
ting bolomes: our clamours round in the winds, and the winds in thunder. Prayers might
well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the Officers: nothing heard that
could giue comfort, nothing seeme that might encourage hope. It is impossible for me, had I
the voyce of Stentor, and expresse of as many tongues, as his throat of voyces, to expresse the
outcries and murtheries, nor languishing, but wasting his spirits, and are constant to his owne prin-
ciples, but not prevailing. Our failes wound vpon play without their vfe, and if at any time we
were bore by a Hollocke, or halfe forecourte, to guide her before the Sea, fife and sometimes eight men
were not enough to hold the whiplaffe in the sterage, and the tiller below in the Gunner
roome, by which may be imagined the strength of the storme: In which, the Sea swelled above
the Clouds, and gaue battell vnto Heauen. It could not be faid to raine, the waters like whole
Riuers did run in the ayre. And this I did still observe, that whereas vpon the Land, when a
storme hath powred itselfe forth once in driffts of raine, the winds as be aten downe, and van-
quished therewith, not long after indureth: here the glut of water (as if throating the winds ere
while) was no sooner a little emptied and qualifed, but instantly the winds (as haue gotten
their mouths new free, and at liberty) spake more loud, and grew more tumultuous, and
malignant: What shall I say? Windes and Seas were as mad, as fury and rage could make them;
for mine owne part, I had bin in some stormes before, as well vpon the coast of Barbary and Li-
gerie, in the Levant, and once more distressed in the Adriaticke gulfes, in a bottom of Candy, so
as I may well say. Ego quid sit ater. Adria non finis, & quid alius Peccet Iapex. Yet all that
I had euer suffered gathered together, might not hold comparision with this: there was not a
moment in which the sodaine splitting, or instant ouer-setting of the Shippe was not
expected.

Howbeit this was not all; It pleased God to bring a greater affliction yet vpon vs; for in the
beginning of the storme we had obtained likewise a mighty leake. And the Ship in every voynt
almost, haue poured out her Okam, before we were aware: (a casualty more delicate then any
other that a Voyage by Sea draweth with it) was growne full: for suddenly deepe with water

Sir G Sommers
a good ma-
ner and vied
Souldier.

A terrible
storme expro-
fied in a patho-
uall and reco-
re il descrip-
tion.

Feare of death
at Sea more
fearefull.

Continuance
and increate

Swelling Sea
set forth in a
swelling stile.

Compared
with the Aus-
thors former
experiences.

Leake added
to the storme
in our

§. II.

Actions and Occurrences whilst they continued in the Islands: Ravens sent for Virginia;
Divers mutinies; Paine executed: Two Pinnaces built.

SO soone as we were a little settled after our landing, with all the conveniencie we might, and as the place, and our many wants would give vs leave, we made vp our long Bate (as your Ladyship hath heard) in fashion of a Pinnace, fitting her with a little Deck, made of the Hatches of our rind's ship, to close that no water could goe in 10 her, gave her Sayers and Oars, and inueting with our Maisters Mate *Henry Tauxem* (who was supposed a sufficient Pilot) we found him easily wonne to make our therewith, as a *Baile of Anso for Virginia*, which being in the height of thirte foute degrees, five degrees from the Iland which we were, might bee some one hundred and Westlerly twentie eight *English leagues* (who the twenty eight of August being Munday, with fixe Sayers, and our Cape Merchant *Thomas Whittingham* departed from vs out of *Gates his Bay*: but to our much wonder returned againe vpon the Wednesday night after, hauing attempted to haue good cleere of the Iland, from the North North-east to the South-west, but could not as little water as there drew, which might not bee aboute twentie inches for shoales and braches, so as he was faine to goe out from *Summers Creeks*, 30 and the same way we came in on the South North-east of the Ilands, and from thence wee made to Sea the Friday after the full of September, promising if hee liued and arrived safe there, to returne vnto vs the next new Moone with the Pinnace belonging to the Colony there: according vnto which instructiōs were directed vnto the new Lieutenant Governour, and Councill from our Governour here, for which the Ilands were appointed carefully to be watched, and fiers prepared as Beacons to haue directed and waisted him in, but two Moones were waisted vpon the Promontory before mentioned, and gaue many a long and wished looke round about the Horizon, from the North-east to the South-west, but in vaine, discouering nothing all the while, which way (our we turned our eyes, but ayre and fea.

You may please, excellent Lady, to know the reason which moued our Governour to dispatch this long Boat, was the care which hee tooke for the estate of the Colony in this his intored 30 abience: for by a long practised experience, foreseeing and fearing what inuolution and tumult might happily arise, among it the younger and ambitious spirits of the new companies to arrive in *Virginia*, now coming with him along in this same Fleet, hee framed his letters to the Colony, and by a particular Comission confirmed. Captaine *Peter Win* his Lieutenant Governour, with an Assistance of fixe Counsellours, writing withall to diuers and such Gentlemen of qualitie and knowledge of vertue, and to such Ioules of goodnesse in this caule whom hee knew, intreaung them by giuing examples in themselves of dutie and obedience, to assist likewise the said Lieutenant Governour, against such as should attempt the inuouating of the perion (now named by him) or forme of gouernement, which in some Articles hee did likewise prescribe vnto them: 40 as had faire hopes all should goe well, if these his letters might arrive there, vntill such time as either some Ship there (which hee fairly beleueed) might bee moued presently to adventure for him: or that it should please the right honourable the Lordes, and the rest of his Maiesties Council in *England*, to adresse thither the right honourable the Lord *Laure* (one of more eminencie and worthinesse) as the proiet was before his coming forth) whilst by their honourable fauours, a charitable consideration in like manner might bee taken of our estate to redeme vs from hence. For which purpose likewise our Governour directed a particular letter to the Councill in *England*, and sent it to the foreaid Captaine *Peter Winne* (his now to bee chofen Lieutenant Governour) by him to bee dispatched (which is the first) from thence into 50 *England*.

In his absence Sir *George Summers* coasted the Ilands, and drew the former plat of them, and daily fished, and hunted for our whole company, vntill the foute and twentieth of Nouember, when well perceiving that we were not likely to heare from *Virginia*, and conceiuing how the Pinnace which *Richard Frobenius* was a building would not be of further Efficient to transport all our men from thence into *Virginia* (especially considering the season of the year, wherein we were likely to put off) hee consulted with our Governour, that if hee might haue the two Carpenters (for we had foure, such as they were) and twenty men, ouer with him into the maine Iland, hee would quickly frame vnto another little Barke, to second ours, for the better fitting and conuenance of our people. Our Governour, with many thanks (as the cause required) 60 cherishing thus to carefull and religious consideration in him (and whose experience likewise somewhat in these affaires) granted him all things futable to his desire, and to the furthering of the worke: who therefore had made ready for him all such tooles and instruments, as our owne comyle required not: and for him, were drawne forth twenty of the ablest and stoutest of the company, and the best of our men, to hew and square timber, when him selfe then, with sixe men

and labour, wrought vpon a small Veffell, which was faine ready as ours: at which wee leaue him a while buied, and returne to our teluer. In the meane space did one *Frobenius*, borne at *Granet* and, at his coming forth now dwelling at *Lune Houle* (a painfull and well experienced Shipwright, and skilfull workman) labour the building of a little Pinnace: for the furtherance of which, the Governour dispented with no trouble of his body, nor forbore any care or study of minde, perswading (as much and more, an ill qualified parcel of people, by his owne experience, then by authority, thereby to hold them at their worke, namely to feelt, carry, and saue Celar, not for the Carpenters purpose (for what was to meane, whereto hee would not himselfe let his hand, being therefore vp early and downe late) yet nevertheless they were hardly drawne to it, as the Tortoise to the enchantment, as the Proetie is, but his owne presence and hand being let to euery meane labour, and employed freely to euery office, made our people at length more diligent, and willing to be called therunto, where they should fee him before 10 ample, they came. In which, we may obserue how much example preuailes about preachers; and how realier men are to be led by eyes, then eares.

And sure it was happy for vs, who had now runne this fortune, and were fallen into the bottomes of this misery, that we both had our Governour with vs, and one so iollicitous and careful, whose both example (as I said) and authority, could lay thine, and command vpon our people: 20 else, I am perswaded, we had most of vs flattered our dayes there, following were the major part of the common sort: (especially when they found such a plenty of victuals) to settle a foundation of our inhabiting there; as well appeared by many praefices of theirs (and perisps of some of the better sort) Loe, what are our afflictions and passions, if not rightly squared? how irreligious, and irregular they expresse vs? not perhaps so ill as we would be, but yet as we are: some dangerous and fierre discontentes nourished amongst vs, had like to haue bin the parents of bloody illuses and mischiefes; they began first in the Sea-men, who in time had fastened vnto them (by false baits) many of our Land-men likewise, and some of whom (for opinion of their Religion) 30 was carried an extraordinary and good respect, The Angles wherewith chiefly they thus hooked in these diuquetted Pooles, were, how that in *Virginia*, nothing but weichehess and labour must be expected, with many wants, and a charlish intreatie, there being neither that Fish, Fiebs, nor Fowls, which here (without waiting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or any tributing, and ate of authority) at ease, and pleasure might be obtained: and free both in the one, and the other place, they were (for the time) to lose the fruition both of their friends, and Country, as good, and better were for them, to repose and (saue them where they should haue the least outward wants, the while, this preached, and published each to other, though by such who neuer had bin more onward towards *Virginia*, then (before this Voyage) a Sculler could happily rowe him (him who hath a more alarmanlike power to draw vnto it the content and attraction of the idle, vniouward, and wretched number of the many, then liberty, and fullnesse of sensuality) hegat such a murmur, and such a discontent, and disunion of hearts and hands from this labour, and forwarding the meanes of redeming vs from hence, as each one wrought with his Mate how to diuert him from the same.

40 And first (and it was the first of September) a conspiracy was discouered, of which fix were found principals, who had promised each vnto the other, not to let their hands to any trasable or endeavour which might expedite or forward this Pinnace: and each of these had feallly according to appointment) fought his opportunity to draw the Smith, and one of our Carpenters, *Nicholas Bruns*, who made much profession of Scripture, a malicious and diffambling Impostor; the Captaine, and one of the chiefe perfwaders of others, who afterwards brake from the society of the Colony, and like our lawes retired into the Woods, to make a settlement and habitation there) on their party, with whom they purposed to leaue our Quarter, and possesse another Iland by themselves: but this happily found out, they were condemned to the same punishment which they would haue chosen (but without Smith or Carpenter) and to an Iland farre by it selfe, they were carried, and there left. Their names were 50 *John Ware*, the chiefe of them, an Essex man of *Newport* by *Saffronhadden*, both sectricus, and a sectary in points of Religion, in his owne prayers much deuout and frequent, but hardly drawne to the publike, in somuch as being suspected by our Minister for a Brownist, he was often compelled to the common Liturgie and forme of Prayer. The rest of the confederates were *Christopher Carter*, *Francis Pearcepoint*, *William Brian*, *William Martin*, *Richard Knowles*: but those they misled comfort (who were farre removed from our Iland) besides, the society of their acquaintance had wrought in some of them, if not a loathsome nesse of their offence, yet a sorrow that their complement was not more full, and therefore a sensibility of their being thus 60 vntimately precluded: in somuch as many humble petitions were sent vnto our Governour, traughe full of their seeming sorrow and repentance, and earnest bowes, to redeme the former trespasses, with example of Duties in them al, to the common caule, and generally buttin they won which our Governour (not easie to admit any accusation, and hard to remit an offence, but at all times sorry in the punishment of him in whom may appaare either shame or contrition) was easily content to reacknowledge them againe.

more wind blew, we were forced to take more of that, where we were able to fit our Bowyes, but even when we came iust vpon them, we stricke a Rocke on the starboard side, ouer which the Bowye rid, and had it not bene a soft Rocke, by which meanes she bore it before her, and crused it to pieces, God knowes we might haue bene like enough, to haue returned anew, and dwelt there, after tenne monethes of carefull and great labour a longer time: but God was more mercifull vnto vs. When there stricke vpon the Rocke, the Cock-wayne one *Walsingham* heeing in the Boate with a quicke Spirit (when wee were all amazed, and our hearts failed) and so by Gods goodnesse wee led it out at three fadome, 10 and three fadome and an halfe water. The wind seru'd vs easily all that day and the next, when (God be euer prayed for it) to the no little ioy of vs all, we got cleere of the Ilands. After which holding a Southerly course, for seuen dayes wee had the wind sometimes faire, and sometimes scarce and contrarie: in which time we lost Sir *George Summers* twice, albeit we still spared him our mayne top-sayle, and sometimes our fore course too.

Signe of Land.

The seuenenth of May we saw change of water, and had much Rubbish swimme by our ship side, whereby wee knew wee were not farre from Land. The eighteenth about midnight wee founded, with the Dipping Lead, and found thirte seuen fadome. The nineteenth in the morning we founded, and had nineteene and an halfe fadome, stonie, and sandie ground. The twentieth about midnight, we had a marvellous sweet smell from the shoare (as from the Coast of *Spain*, short of the Straits) it strong and pleasant, which did not a little glad vs. In the morning by day breake (so soone as one might well see from the fore-top) one of the Saylers descryed Land about an houre after, I went vp a d might discouer two Hummockes to the Southward, from which (Northward all along) lay the Land, which wee were to Coast to Cape *Henrie*. About seuen of the clocke we cast forth an Anchor, because the tyde (by reason of the Fretcher that set into the Bay) make a strong Ebbe there, and the winde was but easie, so as not beinge able to stemme the Tyde, we purposed to lye at an Anchor vntill the next flood, but the wind coming South-west a loome gale about eleuen, we set sayle againe, and hauing got ouer the Barre, bore in for the Cape.

Chefsiack Bay.

This is the famous *Chefsiack* Bay, which wee haue called (in honour of our young Prince) Cape *Henrie* ouer against which within the Bay, lyeth another Head-land, which wee called in honour of our Princely Duke of *Torke* Cape *Charles*; and these lye North-east and by East, and South-west and by West, and they may bee distant each from the other in breadth seuen leagues, betweene which the Sea runnes in as broad as betweene *Queensborough* and *Lee*. Indeed it is a goodly Bay and a fairer, not easily to be found.

The one and twentieth, beinge Munday in the morning, wee came vp within two miles of *Point Comfort*, when the Capitaine of the Fort discharged a warning Peece at vs, whereupon we came to an Anchor, and sent off our long Boat to the Fort, to certifie who we were by reason of the shoales which lye on the South-side, this Fort easily commands the mouth of the Riuer, albeit it is as broad as betweene *Greenwich*, and the Ile of *Dogges*.

True it is, such who talked with our men from the shoare, deliuered how safely all our ships the last yeere (excepting only the Admirall, and the little Pinnalle in which one *Michael Philes* commanded of some twentie tunne, which we towed a sterne till the storme blew) arriued, and how our people (well increased) had therefore builded this Fort; only wee could not learne any thing of our long Boat, sent from the *Bermudas*, but what wee gathered by the *Indians* themselves, especially from *Powhatan*, who would tell our men of such a Boat landed in one of his Riuers, and would describe the people, and make much scoffing sport thereat: by which wee haue gathered, that it is most likely, how it arriued vpon our Coast, and not meeting with our Riuer were taken at some time or other, at some aduantage by the Sauages, and so cut off. When our Skiffe came vp againe, the good newes of our ships, and mens arriual the last yeere, did not a little glad our Gouvernour: who went soone ashore, and as soone (contrary to all our faire hopes) had new vnexpected, vncomfortable, and heauie newes of a worie condition of our people at *James Towne*.

The long Boat sent by Ravenscroft away

Algermoone Fort sent by Ravenscroft away

Vpon *Point Comfort* our men did the last yeere (as you haue heard) raise a little Fortification, which since hath bene better perfected, and is likely to prouea strong Fort, and is now kept by Capitaine *James Davies* with forty men, and hath to name *Algermoone* Fort, so called by Capitaine *George Percy*, whom we found at our arriual President of the Colony, and at this time like-wise in the Fort. When we got into the Point, which was the one and twentieth of May, beinge

the old Patent and the Charter layd downe, the Ports open, the Gates shut, had taken from them) rent vp and burst, the stones cast off from them, to fetch other newe out, if our men stirred but beyond the bounds, with many more particularities. The disorders the last yeere then I haue already now found the condition and state of the Colony how to amend it, or haue his owne Company, in the like necessities. For we had thought of ring no such accidents possible to befall the Colony for a Sea Voyage, and which is a point of helps from the *Indians*. For this time, however, it was now like with the *Indians*, nor was there at the Fort at this time, with the sufficient Seine, nor other convenient Nets. *Sturgeon* yet come into the River. Althowghe Speech vnto the Company, setting them all equally share with him, and the *Indians* fishing from the Countrey, by the encouragement to port them all into their Native Countrey, there was a generall acclamation, and they were to be disheartened and faint, when they sawed vnto themselves. In the meane while, the *Indians*, which hee enowned them, stricken them, which being written out late, were sent notice of.

If I should be examined from whence, and how ons decended vpon our people, I can only referre the Aduenturers haue sent hither intitled, in the ground and causes are reasonably and produced, not excusing likewise the blame of the full enough among so heauie a multitude, since the last yeere with vs, with whom the absolute command, came along, and we with them had reached our wretched state.

Vnto such calamity can death, and a deede (right noble Lady) not reuenge our people, thus gouerned, haue beene, and some of them, whose vices are a command, guile hereof, as standing vnto the *Indians*, shall neuer find time nor dare of the practises, who, it may be, for all the *Indians*. But vnder pardon, let me speake freely, both meet in any one of our *Indians* in *England*, continuall waiting.

prouisions, what better could we have done, then necessarily following the same doome of the Witeman. *For they pouerty commeth, as one that haue a house with this Idleness, which is the cause, and the headlesse multitude, which they were sent hither, to be for their owne bellies, not for the Gardens or elsewhere. I haue seen many lie sicke and languish, and the*

§. IIII.

The Lord LaWARR's beginnings and proceedings in James Towne. Sir THOMAS GATES sent into England; his and the Companies testimony of Virginia, and cause of the late miseries.

WHEN his Lordships landing at the South gate of the *Pallizado* (which looks into the River) our Governour caused his Company in armes to stand in order, and make a Guard: It pleased him, that I should beare his Colours for that time: his Lordship landing, fell upon his knees, and before we all, made a long and silent Prayer to himselfe, and after, marched vp into the towne, where at the Gate, I bowed with the Colours, and let them fall at his Lordships feete, who passed on into the Chappell, where he heard a Sermon by Master Bucke, our Governours Preacher: and after that, caused a Gentleman, one of his owne followers, Master *Anthony Seer* his Ancient, to reade his Commission, which intituled him Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall during his life, of the Colony and Plantation in Virginia (Sir *Thomas Gates* our Governour hitherto, being now filed therein Lieutenant Generall).

After the reading of his Lordships Commission, Sir *Thomas Gates* tendered vp vnto his Lordship his owne Commission, both Patents, and the Countsell Seale: after which, the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, delivered some few words vnto the Company, laying many blames vpon them for many vanities, and their idleness, earnestly wishing, that he might no more finde it, (at least he should be compelled to draw the sword of Iustice, to cut off such delinquents, which he had much rather, he protested, draw in their defence, to protect them from iniuries; harrasing them with the knowledge of what sort of punishments he had brought for them, viz. sufficient to cut off four hundred men in one day).

The twelfth of Iune, being Tuesday, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall did constitute, and give places of Office, and charge to diuers Captaines and Gentlemen, and elected vnto him a Countsell, vnto whom he did administer an Oath, mixed with the oath of Allegiance, and Supremacy to his Maiestie: which oath likewise he caused to be administered the next day after to every particular member of the Colony, of Faith, Assistance, and Secrecy. The Countsell which he elected were. Sir *Thomas Gates* Knight, Lieutenant Generall. Sir *George Summers* Knight, Admirall. Captaine *George Percy* Esquire, and in the Fort Captaine of fifty. Sir *Ferdinando Wismar* Knight, Master of the Ordnance, Captaine *Christopher Newport*, Vice-admirall. *William Strickley* Esquire, Secretary, and Recorder.

As likewise the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, nominated Captaine *Iohn Martin*, Master of the Battery works for Steele and Iron: and Captaine *George Webb* Sergeant Major of the Fort: and especiall Captaines our Companies, were these appointed: Captaine *Edward Draxler*, who hath the command of his Honours owne Company. Captaine *Thomas Lawley*, Captaine *Thomas Heleroff*, Captaine *Samuell Argell*, Captaine *George Tardley*, who commandeth the Lieutenant Generals Company. Diuers other Officers were likewise made, as Master *Ralph Hamer*, and Master *Brenne*, Clarkes of the Countsell, and Master *Danell Tucker*, and Master *Robert White*, Clarkes of the Store, &c.

The first buttinell which the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall (after the setting of these Officers) thought vpon, was to aduise with his Countsell, for the obtaining of such provisions of victuals for store, and quality, as the Countrey afforded. It did not appeare, that any kinde of Flesh, Deere, or what else, of that kinde, could be recovered from the *Indians*, or to be fought in the Countrey, by the traualle or search of his people, and the old dwellers in the Fort (together with the *Indians* not to friend) who had the last winter, destroyed and killed vp all the *Hogges*, in so much, as of five or six hundred (as it is supposed) there was not one left alive: nor an Henne, nor Chick in the Fort; and our Horses and Mares, they had eaten with the first, and the provision which the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall had brought, concerning any kinde of Fish, was little or nothing: in respect it was not drempt of by the *Adiuncturers* in England, that the *S*ine were destroyed.

In Countsell therefore the thirteenth of Iune, it pleased Sir *George Summers* Knight, Admirall, to propoale a Voyage, which for the better reliefe, and good of the Colony, he would performe to the *Bermudas*, from whence he would fetch six months provision of Flesh and Fish, and some of his Horses to his owne Colony againe: and had a Commission giuen vnto him the nineteenth of Iune, 1610. who in this voyage *Bermuda* Pinnace, the *Patience*, conlorted with Captaine *Samuell Argell*, in the Discovery (whom the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall, made of the Countsell before his departure) the nineteenth of Iune, fell with the Tyde from before our Towne, and the twenty two left the Bay, or Cape *Henry* a sterne.

And likewise, because at the Lord Governours, and Captaine Generals first coming, there was found in our owne River no store of Fish, after many trials, the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall,

Generall, dispatched in the *Virginia*, with instructions, the leuenteenth of Iune, 1610. *Robert Tyndall*, Master of the *De la Warr*, to fish vnto, all along, and betwene Cape *Henry*, and Cape *Charles*, within the Bay; who the last of the said month returned vnto vs againe, but as ill pceding as the former, whom our Governour (now Lieutenant Generall) had addressed thither before for the same purpose. Nor was the Lord Governour, and Captaine Generall in the meane while idle at the Fort, but euery day and night hee caused the Nets to be bawled, sometimes a dozen times one after another. But it pleased not God so to blese our labours, that we did at any time take one quarter so much, as would giue vnto our people one pound at a meale a peece, by which we might haue better husbanded our Pease and Oatemeale, notwithstanding the great force we now law daily in our River: but let the blame of this lye where it is, be vpon our Nets, and the vaskillfulness of our men to lay them.

The sixth of Iuly Sir *Thomas Gates* Lieutenant Generall, coming downe to *Point Comfort*, the North wind (blowing rough) he found had forced the long Boate belonging to *Algeronoe*, the Fort, to the other shoare vpon *Newfound* side, some what fiere of *Weswick*: which to recover againe, one of the Lieutenant Generals men, *Humfrey Blom*, in an old Carrow made out, but the wind driving him vpon the Strand, certaine *Indians* (watching the occasion) seized the poore fellow, and led him vp into the Woods, and sacrificed him. It did not a little trouble the Lieutenant Governour, who since his first landing in the Countrey (how iustly former prouoked) would not by any means be wrought to a violent proceeding against them, for all the practises of villany, with which they daily endangered our men, thinking it possible, by a more tractable course, to winne them to a better condition: but now being startled by this, well perceived, how little a faire and noble intreatie, workes vpon a barbarous disposition, and therefore in some measure purposed to be reuenged.

The ninth of Iuly, he prepared his forces, and early in the morning set vpon a Towne of theirs, some foure miles from *Algeronoe* Fort, called *Kesoughtan*, and had soone taken it, without losse or hurt of any of his men. The Governour and his women fled (the young King *Powhatan* being not being there) but left his poore baggage, and treasure to the spoyle of our Soldiers, which was only a few Baskets of *Pease*, and some other of Pease and Beans, a little Tobacco, and some few women Girles of Silke, of the *Grasse*-like, not without art, and much needing finely wrought; of which I haue sent diuers into England, (being at the taking of the Towne) and would haue sent your Lordship some of them; had they beene a Present so worthy.

We purposed to set a *Frenchman* heere a worke to plant Vines, which grew naturally in great plenty. Some few *Corne* fields it hath, and the *Corne* in good forwardness, and wee despair not but to bee (able if our men stand in health) to make it good against the *Indians*.

The continuall practises of the subtle King *Powhatan*, doth not meanelly awaken all the powers and workings of vertue and knowledge, in our Lord Governour and Captaine Generall, how to prevent not only his mischiefs, but to draw him vpon some better termes, and acknowledgement of our forces and spirits, both able and daring to quite him in any valiant and martiall courte whatsoever, he shall dare to runne with vs, which hee doth yet farrely beleue. For this therefore, since first, and that so lately, he hath sent on his people to attempt vs with priuate Conspiracies and actual violence, into the one drawing his Neighbour Confederates and vnder Pinnacles, and by the other working the losse and death of diuers of our men, and by such their losse feeding their Armes, Swords, Peeces, &c. of which hee hath gathered into his posse a great quantitie and number by Intelligence above two hundred Swords, besides Axes, and Gallaxies, Chif-fles, Howes, to pare and cleafe their ground, with an infinite treasure of Copper: our Lord Governour and Captaine Generall sent two Gentlemen with an Ambasse vnto him, letting him be vnderstand of his practises and outrage, hitherto vsed toward our people, not only abroad but at our Fort alseoyet flattering him withall how the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall did not suppose, that these mischiefs were contriued by him, or with his knowledge, but conceived

that rather to be the acts of his worst and vniuly people, his Lordship therefore now complaining vnto him required, that hee (being so great and wise a King) would giue an vniuersall order to his Subiects, that it might bee no more so, lest the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall should be compelled (by defending him and his) to offend him, which hee would be loath to do: withall he willed the Messengers to demand of him the said *Powhatan*, that he would either bring him or send vnto his Lordship such of his people whom *Powhatan* knew well not long before, had afflicted our men at the Block house, and but newly killed foure of them, as also to demand of *Powhatan*, willing him to returne vnto the *English* Fort, both such men as hee detrayed of ours, and such Armes as hee had of theirs in his possession, and those conditions performed, hee willed

them to assure vnto *Powhatan* that then their great *Woronance*, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall would hold faire quarter, and enter friendship with him, as a friend to King *James* and his Subiects. But refusing to submit to these demands, the Lord Governour and Captaine Generall giue in charge to the Messengers, so sent to signifie vnto *Powhatan* that his Lordship would by all meanes publicke and priuate, seeke to recouer from him such of the *English* as hee had, being

Commission read.
Lord LaWarr's title.
Sir T. Gates Lieutenant Generall.

His speech.

Provisions brought.
Countsell chosen & sworn.

Colony sworn.

Officers appointed.

Sir G. Summers vnder ake the brought provisions from Bermuda.

* Ad Gracia Calicut. Can a Leopard change his spots? Can a Savage re-meyning a Savage because? Were not wee our felies made and not borne ciuill out Progenitors dayes and were not Caesar's Britains as brutish as Virginius? The Romans words were best teachers of ciuill line to this & other Countreys neere vs, Graffia.

English Armes treasured by Powhatan. Melidge to Powhatan.

Powhatan
ho-
m-
g-
c-

Subjects to his King and Master, vnto whom euen *Powhatan* himselfe had formerly vowed, not only friendship but homage, receiving from his Maiestie therefore many gifts, and vpon his King a Crowne and Scepter with other Ornaments, the Symbols of Ciuill State and Christian Soueraintie, thereby obliging himselfe to Offices of dutie to his Maiestie. Vnto all which *Powhatan* returned not other answers, but that either we should depart his Country, or conuide our selfe to *James Towne* only, without searching further vp into his Land, or Riuer, or otherwise, he would giue in command to his people to kill vs, and doe vnto vs all the mischiefes, which they in their pleasure could and we feared: withall forewarning the said Messengers, not to returne any more vnto him, vntill they brought him a Coach and three Horses, for hee had vnderstood by the Indians, which were in *England*, how much was the state of great *Veruance*, and *London* in *England*; to ride and visit other great men.

After this duers times, and daily he sent sometimes two, sometimes three, vnto our Fort, to vnderstand our strength, and to observe our Watch & Guard, and how our people stood in health, and what numbers were arrived with this new *Veruance*: which beinge some perceived our Lord Governour and Capitaine Generall forewarned such his Spies, vpon their owne perill, to relate no more vnto our Fort. Howbeit, they would daily perle into our Block-house, and come vnto our Pallizado gates, supposing the government as well now, as fantastical and negligent in the former times, the while it some quarter of a mile short of the Block-house, the greatest number of them would make affaile, and ly in ambush about our Glasse-house: whether, Duers times indeed our men would make out either to gather Strawberries, or to fetch fresh water, or one of which to fragell, if they could with conueniency, they would affaile: and charge with their Bowes and Arrows, in which manner they killed many of our men: two of which being *Papahans*, who were euer our deadliest enemies, and not to be reconciled; at length being apprehended (and one of them a notable villain, who had attempted vpon many in our Fort) the Lord Governour caused them to be massacred, and consented before him and his Council, where it was determined that hee that had done so much mischief should haue his right hand strooke off, sending him away withall, with a melleage to *Powhatan*, that vntill hee would vnto returne such *Englishmen* as he detained, together with all such of his Saunges (as the Lord Governour and Capitaine Generall, could by any means surprize) should runne the fine course: as likewise the Lord Governour and Capitaine Generall would fine all his Neighbour Corne Fildes, Townes, and Villages, and that suddenly, if *Powhatan* sent not to contract with him the sooner.

What this will worke with him, wee know not as yet, for this was but the day before our ships were now falling to *Point Comfort*, and so to *Fort Sayle for England*: which ships riding before *Werofoock* to take in their freight of Cedar, Clap-board, said *Safetium*, with his Sonne *Kanata*, took the Prisoners likewise the chiefe King of *Werofoock*, called *Safetium*, with his Sonne *Kanata*, and one of his chiefe men, And the fifteenth day of Iuly, in the Blissing Capitaine *Adams* brought them to *Point Comfort*, where at that time (as well to take his leave of the Lieutenant General Sir *Thomas Gates*, now bound for *England*, as to dispatch the ships) the Lord Governour and Capitaine Generall had pitched his Tent, and *Alleguance Fort*.

The Kings Sonne *Kanata* the Lord Governour and Capitaine Generall, hath sent now into *England*, vntill the ships arrive here againe the next Spring, dismissing the old *Indian*, and together with all tearmes of kindeffie, and friendship, promising further daignes to be effected by him, to which hee hath bound himselfe, by diuers Savage Ceremonies, and admirations.

And thus (right Noble Ladies) once more this famous buisnesse, as recreated, and dipped a new into life and spirit, hath rayled in (I hope) from infamy, and shall redeeme the stains and soiles vnder which the hath suffered, since her first Conception: your Graces (I thinke) accompany the last appearance of her, and you shall see her to bee limmed out, with the beautie which wee will begge, and borrow from the faire lips: not feare you, that they will returne bludies to your cheekes for praying her, since more then most excellent Ladies like your selfe (were all tongues dumbe and enuious) there will prayse her life in her most life: may these once bee but bene, or but her shadow lyue by a skilfull Workman set out indeed, which heere (hungry as I am) I haue presumed (though defacing it) in these Papers to present vnto your Ladyship.

After Sir *Thomas Gates* his arrivall, a Booke called *A true Declaration of Virginia*, was published by the Company, out of which I haue here inserted this their publike testimonie of the causes of the former euils, and Sir *Thomas Gates* his Report vpon Oath of *Virginia*.

The ground of all these miseries, was the permissiue Providence of God, who, in the fore-mentioned *Veruance*, separated the head from the bodie, all the small powers of Regiment being exiled with Sir *Thomas Gates* in those unfortunate (but fortunate) hands. The broken remainder of those supplies made a greater shipwrecke in the Continent of *Virginia*, by the tempest of Discontent: every man oner-making his owne worth, would be a Commander: every man vnderprising another's valie, deemed to be commanded.

The next Foundation of woes was secure negligence, and imprudence, when every man sharked for his present bootie, but was altogether careless of succeeding perurie. Now, I demand whether *Sardinia*, or *Sardinia* (I suppose the *Barnes of Rome*) could hope for increase without manning? A Colony in therefore demonstrated, because they should be Colonies; the Tillers of the Earth, and Stewards of fertility: our minimum Loyalters would not see with providence, and therefore they reaped the fruits of sterility: our minimum Loyalters. An incredible example of their idleness, is the report of Sir *Thomas Gates*, who after his first coming thither, hee hath seen some of them eat their fish raw, rather then they would see a fowle cast to fetch wind and driffe it. D. J. laboribus omnia veniunt, God sets vs all to labour for our labour, when Adam himselfe might not live in *Paradise* without driffing the

10 *Garden*.
First idleness, you may sayne Treasons, wrought by these embalanced creatures: that for soke the Colonies, and they their desolate Brethren to extreme miserie, Ten small kins, that eight and nineteen of them, were appointed (in the ship called the *Swallow*) to strike for Corne with the Indians, and having obtained a great quantity by trading, the most sedulous of them, corrected together, persuaded some, and enforced others, to this barbarous practice. They stole away the ship, they made a league amongst themselves to be professed Pirats, with driffes of *Montaignes of Gold*, and happy Robberies: thus at one instant they removed the hopes, and subverted the cares of the Colonies, who depend upon their resources, for so many to further provision: they created the Indians our implacable enemies by some violence they had offered: they carried away the best ship (which should be as a force) 20 refuge in extremities: they weakened our forces, by subtraction of their armes and iacquets. These are the scannons of men that sayling in their Piracie, that being pinched with famine and perurie, after their mid voyaging upon the Sea, when all their lawlesse hopes failed, some remanied with other Leaders, they went upon the Sea, the others refused to returne for *England*, began themselves by *much was Quid*, to agree all in one report to deride the Land, to deplore the famine, and to protest that this their coming away, proceeded from desperate necessity: These are they, that roared out the Tragical History of the mean estate of this desolate *Virginia*, when the Master of that ship wringly confessed a worse forie winner, that at their coming away, they left three women vntill, and all the Cattel lying in the Fort: sometimes they reported that they saw this horrible altion, sometimes that Capitaine *Doues* said so, sometimes that one Beallie the Lieutenant of Capitaine *Doues* did relate it, varying the report into diuersities of false colours, which hold no likeness and proportion: To see to elude all doubts, Sir *Thomas Gates* thus relates the Tragedie.

There was one of the Company who mortally hated his Wife, and therefore secretly killed her, then cut her in pieces and hid her in diuers parts of his House: when the woman was missing, the man suspected, his House searched, and parts of her mangled bodie were discovered, so excute himselfe he said that his Wife died, that he hid her to satisfy his hunger, and that neede daily vpon her. Vpon this, his House was againe searched, where they found a good quantity of Meale, Oat-meale, Beanes and Peale. He thereupon was arraigned, confitted the Murder, and was burned for his horrible villany.

Now shall the scandalous reports of a vicious generation, preponderate the testimonies of a worthy 40 Leaders: Shall their venomous tongues, blasfeme the reputation of an ancient and worthy Peer, who upon the ocular certainty of future blessing, hath provided in his Letters, that he will sacrifice himselfe for his Country in this seruise, if he may be seconded; and if the Company doe give it over, hee will yettely all his fortunes vpon the prosecution of the Plantation?

Vnto Treasons, you may sayne contentions amongst the Mariners, who for their private lucre partly imbeled the provisions; partly preuented our Trade with the Indians making the *Alacates* in the night, and furnishing our Market in the day: whereby the *Virginians* were gladd with our Trifles, and undervalued the prices of their Corne and *Wittall*. That Copper which before would haue procured a bushell, would now obtaine so much as a Pintall.

I come vnto these another euils: there is great store of Fish in the Riuer, especially of *Sturgeon*; but our 50 men provided no more of them then for a fewe necessary, not barreling up any store against that season the *Sturgeon* returned to the Sea. And not to dissimile their folly, they suffered foureteen nets (which was all they had) to rot and spoyle, which by orderly drying and mending might haue beene preserved: but beinge lost all helpe of fishing perished.

The state of the Colony, by these accidents began to finde a sensible declining: which *Powhatan* (as a greedy *Fulmine*) observing, and baying with desire of reuenge, bee incited Capitaine *Ratcliffe*, and about thirty others to reade for Corne, and vnto the colour of fauult friendship, hee brought them with in the compass of his ambush, whereby they were cruelly murdered and massacred. For upon conference of the 60 flabidie they went one and one into several houses, which caused their severall destructions, when if but any flabidie remained together, they would haue beene a Balastrick for the general prefection. After this,

60 *Powhatan* in the night cut off some of our Boats, hee drew away all the Deere into the further part of the Country: hee and his people destroyed our Hogs (to the number of about five hundred) hee sent one of the Indians to trade with vs, but layed secret ambushes in the Woods, that if one or two or a third one of the Fort alone they were endangered.

Cut up the reckoning together: mass of government, store of idleness, their expectations frustrated by

Lord Lawart.

From the two and twentieth: at noon, untill ten of the clocke at night, we had a fresh gale of wind, between East and South-east, and then it shifted all westerly, and so continued untill two of the clocke the twenty three in the morning; and then it began to be very foggy and but little wind, yet shifting all the points of the Compasse, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it began to cleere up. At twelve of the clocke I observed, and then I found the ship to be in fortie degrees fiftie minutes: so from the twenty two at noon, to the twenty three at noon I had layed twenty leagues Northward. From the twenty three at noon, to the twenty four, at three of the clocke in the morning it was calme, and then we had a reasonable fresh gale of wind all southerly, and so it continued untill noon southerly, in which time I had failed twelve leagues North. And about four of the clocke in the afternoon, we had forty fathoms of water, which water we did find to be changed into a graine green in the morning, yet we would not heare a lead, because our Admirall was so farre on head of vs: who about three of the clocke in the afternoon lay by the lee, and fished till I came up to him: and then I fished my selfe and my boat, and fished untill five of the clocke. And then the Admirall fished his failes, and stirred away North, whom I followed with all the speed I could. But before seven of the clocke there fell such a myst, that I was faine to shoot off a Peece, which he answered with a Corset that he had aboard. So with halloving and making a noyse one to another all the night we kept company. About two of the clocke, the twenty five day in the morning we took in all our sailes, and lay at Hull untill five of the clocke: and then finding but small store of fish, we set saile and stirred away North-west, to fetch the mayne land to relieve our selves with wood and water, and we stood in great need of. About two of the clocke in the afternoon we took in all our sailes and lay at Hull, at which time I heaued the lead three times together, and had three sundry kinds of soundings. The first a blacke peppery land, full of pebble stones. The second blacke peppery, and no stones: The third blacke peppery, and two or three fathoms.

From the fourth at noon, to the twenty five, at five of the clocke in the afternoon, I layed thirteen leagues West North-west: and the weather continuing very foggy, thicke, and rainy, about five of the clocke it began to cease, and then we began to fish, and so continued untill seven of the clocke in between thirty and forty fathoms, and then we could fish no longer. So being gotten betweene twenty and thirty Cods, we left for that night: and at five of the clocke, the twenty five in the morning we began to fish againe, and so continued untill ten of the clocke, and then it would fish no longer: in which time we had taken nere one hundred Cods, and a couple of Hollybuts. All this while wee found the ship drauen into one hundred and twenty fathoms, of the clocke in the afternoon we found the ship drauen into one hundred and twenty fathoms, and lost blacke Oje. Then Sir *George Somers* let me word, that he would set saile, and stand in for the Riuer of *Sagadahoc*; whole directions I followed.

Before two of the clocke we set saile, and stirred away North-west by North, the wind South-west, and the weather continued very foggy. About eight of the clocke we took in all our sailes, and lay at Hull at that night. The seven and twentieth, about seven of the clocke in the morning we heaued the lead, and had no ground in one hundred and twenty fathoms. Then I shot off a Peece, but could not heare none answer from our Admirall: and the weather was so thicke, that we could not see a Cables length from our ship. Betweene nine and ten of the clocke we did thinke that we did heare a Peece of Ordnance to windward: which made me suppose our Admirall had set saile, and that it was a warning piece from him. So I set saile and stood close by the wind, and kept an halloving and a noyse to try whether I could find him againe: the wind was at South-west, and I stood away West North-west. From the fixe and twentieth, at two of the clocke in the afternoon, to eight of the clocke at night I had layed nine leagues North-west. The seven and twentieth at noon I heaued the Lead, in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I stirred away North-west, till four of the clocke at night: then I heaued the Lead againe one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I tooke all my sailes and lay at Hull, and I had layed nine leagues North-west. The eight and twentieth, at seven of the clocke in the morning I did found in one hundred and twenty fathoms, and had no ground. Then I set saile againe, and steered away North, and North by West. At noon I heaued in one hundred and twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground. So I steered on my course till, in the wind shifted between South and South-west, and the fog continued. At four of the clocke in the afternoon, I heaued one hundred twenty fathoms againe, and had no ground: so I stood on untill eight of the clocke, by which time I had failed twelve leagues: then I heaued the Lead againe, and had blacke Oje, and one hundred thirty five fathoms water. Then I tooke in all my sailes and lay at hull untill the nine and twentieth, at five of the clocke in the morning. Then I set saile againe, and steered away North, and North by West. At eight of the clocke I heaued the Lead againe, and had blacke Oje in one hundred and thirty fathoms water. Betweene eleven and twelve of the clocke it began to thunder, but the fogge continued not still. About two of the clocke in the afternoon, I went out with my Boat my selfe and heaued the Lead, and had blacke Oje in ninety fathoms water by which time I had failed six leagues North by West more. Then I tooke in all my sailes, sauing my Fore-course and Bonnet, and stood in with thosetailes only.

About

About fixe of the clocke I founded againe; and then I had sixty five fathoms water. Alsone as I came aboard it cleered up, and then I saw a small Island which bare North about two leagues off, whereupon I stood in untill eight of the clocke: And then I stood off againe untill two of the clocke in the morning the thirtieth day. Then I stood in againe, and about eight of the clocke I was faire aboard the Island. Then I maimed my Boat and went on shore, where I found great store of Seales: And I killed three Sables with my hanger. This Island is not half a mile about, and nothing but a Rocks, which seeme to be very rich Marble stone. And a South South-west Moon maketh a full Sea. About ten of the clocke I came aboard againe, with some Wood that I had found vpon the Land, for there had beene some folks that had made fires there. Then I stood off to another Island that did beare North off me about three leagues; this small rocke Island lyeth in forty four degrees. About seven of the clocke that night I came to an anchor among many Islands in eight fathoms water: and vpon one of these Islands I fitted my selfe with Wood and Water, and Ballast.

The third day of August, being fitted to put to Sea againe, I called the Master of the ship to open the boxe wherein my Commission was, to see what directions I had; and for what place I was bound to haue my course. Then I tried whether there were any fish there or not, and I found reasonable good foor there; so I layed there fishing till the twelfth of August: and then finding that the fishing did faile, I thought good to returne to the land where I had killed the Seales, to see whether I could get any more of them or not; for I did find that they were very nourishing meat, and a great relish to my men, and that they would bevery well saued with white to keepe a long time. But when I came thither I could not by any means catch any. The fourteenth day at noon I laboured the Sun, and found the land to be in forty three degrees, for my courses. Then I shaped my course for Cape Cod, to see whether I could get any fish there or not: by the fifteenth at noon, I had failed thirty two leagues South-west, the wind for the most part was betweene North-west and North. From the fifteenth at noon, to the sixteenth at noon I ran twenty leagues South; the wind shifting between West and South-west. And then I founded and had ground in eighteen fathoms water, full of shells and pebbles more of diuers colours; some Greene, and some blue with, some like diamonds, and some speckled: Then I tooke in all my sailes, and set all my company to fishing, and fished till eight of the clocke that night, and finding but little fish there, I set saile againe, and by the twentieth at noon I had failed twenty two leagues West by North, the wind shifting between South and South-west. From noon, till three of the clocke at night, four leagues North-west, the wind shifting between West and South-west. Then it did blow so hard that I tooke in all my sailes, and lay at hull all that night, untill five of the clocke the eighteenth day in the morning: and then I set saile againe, and by noon I had failed four leagues North-west, the wind between West and South-west. From the eighteenth at noon, to the nineteenth at noon ten leagues West by West, the wind shifting between South and South-west, and the weather very thick and foggy.

About ten of the clocke at night the fogge began to breake away, and the wind did shift westerly, and by midnight it was shifted to the North, and there it did blow very hard untill the twenty at noon: but the weather was very cleere, and then by my observation I found the ship to be in the latitude of forty one degrees, forty four minutes, and I had failed twenty leagues South-west by West. From the nineteenth at noon, to the twentieth at noon: about two of the clocke in the afternoon I did see an Island, which did beare off me South-west, about four leagues: so I steered with it, taking it to be Cape Cod; and by four of the clocke I was fallen among so many shoales, that it was woe of the clocke the next day in the morning here I could get cleere of them, it is a very dangerous place to fall vpon: standing in the shoales: the least ten leagues off from the Land; and I had vpon one of them but one fathom and an halfe water, and my Barke did draw ten foot. This Land lyeth South-west and North-west, and the shoales lie off from it South and South by West, and so long toward the North. Then the North-west by West Guards I observed the North starre, and found the ship to be in the latitude of forty one degrees, fiftie minutes, being then in the middle of the Shoale: and I did finde thirteene degrees of westerly variation then likewise. Thus finding the place not to be for my turne, alson as I was cleere of the danger, I thought it fit to returne to *Long Towne in Virginia*, to see Lord *De la Marre*, my Lord Gouernour, and there to attend his command: so I shaped my course for that place. And the one and twentieth day by noon I had brought my selfe South South-west thirty three leagues from this Cape: and I had the wind shifting all this while betweene North and North-west, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the one and twentieth at noon, to the two and twentieth at noon, I ran thirte leagues South-West by West; and then by my observation I found the ship to be in thirte nine degrees, thirte five minutes: and I had twelve degrees westerly variation, and the wind shifting between North and North-east, and the weather very faire and cleere. From the two and twentieth at noon, to the three and twentieth at noon, nine leagues South-west by West; and then by observation I did find the ship in thirte nine degrees, twent four minutes, and I had eleven degrees of westerly variation: and there did blow but very little wind, and shifting between West and North, and the weather

A Rocke of Marble halfe a mile about full of Seales. The small rocky Island lieth in 44 degrees. Many Islands in eight fathoms water.

August 3.

Seale Rocks in 43 deg. of N. E. the current is strong.

at 11: 44 mi

Cape Cod. The shoales of Cape Cod.

The middle of the shoales in 41 deg. 16 mi. 15. degrees of westerly Variation.

11. degrees of westerly Variation.

11. degrees of westerly Variation.

10 degrees of
Westerly vari-
ation.

weather very faire and cleere. From the three and twentieth at noone to the foure and twentieth at noone eighteen leagues South-west, and then I found the Shippe to be in thirtie and eight degrees fortie two minutes: and I had twelue degrees of Westerly Variation, and the wind shifting between North and West, and the weather very faire.

From the foure and twentieth at noone, to the five and twentieth, at noone two and twentie leagues West by South, the wind shifting between North and East. And then I found the Shippe to be in thirtie eight degrees five and twelue minutes, and the same Variation that I had before, and the weather very faire.

From the five and twentieth at noone, to the six and twentieth at noone, five and twentie leagues Westerly, the wind all shifting between South and South-west. And I had thirtie degrees five and twelue minutes of Westerly Variation. About fixe of the clocke at night the water was changed, and then I found and had red sandie ground in twelue fathomes water about twelue leagues from the shore.

The seven and twentieth by day in the morning, I was faire aboard the shore, and by nine of the clocke I came to an Anchor in nine fathomes in a very great Bay, where I found great flore of people which were very kind, and promised me that the next day in the morning they would bring me great flore of Corne. But about nine of the clocke that night the wind shifted from South-west to East North-west. So I weighed presently, and shapd my course to Cape Charles. This Bay lyeth in Westerly thirtie leagues, And the Souther Cape of it lyeth South South-east and North North-west, and in thirtie eight degrees twelue minutes of Northerly Latitude.

The eight and twentieth day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoon I fell among a great many of shoales, about twelue leagues to the Southward of Cape La Warre. So there I came to an Anchor in three fathomes water, the wind being then all Easterly, and rode there all that Night.

The nine and twentieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind being all Southerly, and turned vnill night, and then I came to an Anchor in seven fathomes water in the offing to Sea.

How the tyde diddier there; or whether that there did runny current or not, I cannot say; but I could find neither current nor tyde.

The thirtieth in the morning I weighed againe, the wind still Southerly, and turned all that day, but got very little, so at Evening I stood off to Sea vnill midnight, and then stood in againe.

The one and thirtieth, about seven of the clocke at night I came to an Anchor vnder Cape Charles in foure fathomes; and one third part water, and rode there all that night.

Cape Charles.

CHAP. VIII.

A short Relation made by the Lord De-La-Warre, to the Lords and others of the Council of Virginia, touching his vnexpected retorne home, and afterwards delivered to the generall Assembly of the said Company, at a Court holden the twelue five of June, 1611. Published by authoritie of the said Council.

MY LORDS, &c.

BEING now by accident returned from my Charge at Virginia, contrary either to my owne desire or other mens expectations, who spake but to ensure mee, in point of duty, and to discourse and question the reason, though they apprehend not the true cause of my returne, I am forced (out of a willingness to satisfie euery man) to relate vnto your Lordships, and the rest of this Assembly, briefly (but truly) in what there hath been, ever since my arrivall to the Colonie; what hath bene the cause of my intended departure thence; and in what termes I have left the same. The rather because I perceive, that since my coming into England, such a coldnesse and irresolution is bred, in many of the Adventurers, that some of them seeke to withdraw thole payments, which they have subscribed towards the Charge of the Plantation, and by which that Action might be supported and maintained, making this my returne, the colour of their needlesse backwardnesse and vninst protraction. Which, that you may the better vnderstand; I must informe your Lordships, that presently after my arrivall in Iewes Towne, I was welcommed by an hor and violent Ague, which held me a time, till by the advice of my Physician, Doctor Lawrence Boken (by blood letting) was recovered as in my first Letters by Sir Thomas Gates I have informed you. That Disease had not long left me, till (within three weekes after it had gotten a little strength) I began to be distressed with other grievous sicknesses, which lastly and finally afflicted mee: for besides a relaps into the former Disease, which with much more violence held me more then a month, and brought me to great weaknesse, the Flux followed me, and

Lord La Warre
was very sick-
nished.

and kept me many dayes; then the Cramp assailed my weak body, with strong paines; and afterwards the Gout (with which I had heretofore bene sometime troubled) afflicted me in such sort, that making my body through weaknesse vnable to stirre, or to vntie any manner of exercise, drew vpon me the Disease called the *Scary*; which though in others it be a tickle of the fleshly fleshe, yet was in me an effect of weaknesse, which neuer left mee, till I was vpon the point to leaue the World.

These seuerall Maladies and Calamities, I am the more desirous to particularise vnto your Lordships (although they were too notorious to the whole Colonie) lest any man should misdeeme that vnder the generall name and common excuse of sicknesse, I went about to cloke either sloth, or feare, or any other base apprehension, vnworthy the high and Monorable Charge, which you had entrusted to my Fidelity.

In these extremities I refused to consult my friends, Who finding Nature spent in mee, and my body almost consumed, my paines likewise daily encreasing) gaue me advice to prefer a hopeful recovery, before an assured ruine, which must necessarily haue ensued, had I liued, but twelue dayes longer in Virginia: wanting at that instant, both food and Phyticke, fit to remedy such extraordinary Diseases, and restore that strength so desperately decayed.

Whereupon, after a long consultation held, I resolved by generall consent and perswasion, to ship my selfe for *Menis*, an Island in the West Indies, famous for wholesome Bathes, there to try what helpe the Heauenly Providence would afford mee, by the benefit of the hot Bath: But God, who guideth all things, according to his good will and pleasure, so provided, that after we had layd an hundred Leagues, we met with Southerly windes which forced mee to change my purpose (my body being altogether vnable to endure the tediousnesse of a long Voyage) and to steer my course for the Westerne Islands, which I no sooner recovered, then I found helpe for my health, and my sicknesse asswaged, by means of fresh Diet, and especially of Oranges and Lemons, an vnknown remedy and medicine for that Disease, which lastly, and so long, had afflicted me, which eased (soone as I found, I refused (although my body remayned still feeble and weak, to restore backe to my charge in Virginia againe, but I was aduised not to hazard my selfe before I had perfectly recovered my strength, which by counsell I was perswaded to seeke in the natural Ayre of my Country, and so I came for England. In which Accident, I doubt

not but men of reason, and of iudgement will imagine, there would more danger and preiudice haue happened by my death there, then I hope can doe by my returne.

In the next place, I am to giue account in what estate I left the Colonie for government in my absence. It may please your Lordships therefore to vnderstand, that vpon my departure thence, I made choice of Captaine George Percie (a Gentleman of honour and resolution, and of no small experience in that place, to remayne Deputie Gouverneur, vntill the coming of the Marshall Sir Thomas Dale, whose Commission was likewise to be determined, vpon the arrivall of Sir Thomas Gates, according to the intent and order of your Lordships, and the Council here.

The number of men I left there, were vponward of two hundred, the most in health, and provided of at least ten moneths victuals, in their Store-house (which is daily filled vnto them) besides other helpe in the Country, lately found by Captaine Argoll by trading with petty Kings in thole parts, who for a small returne of a piece of Iron, Copper, &c. haue consented to trucke great quantities of Corne, and willingly embrace the intercourse of Traffique, shewing vnto our people certainties of amitie and affection.

And for the better strengthening and securing of the Colonie, in the time of my weaknesse there, I tooke order for the building of three seuerall Forts, two of which are seated neere Point Comfort, to which adioyneth a large circuit of ground, open, and fit for Corne: the third Fort is at the Falls, vpon an Island inuironed also with Corne ground. These are not all manned, for I wanted the commoditie of Boats, hauing but two, and one Barge, in all the Country, which hath bene cause that our fishing hath bene (in some sort) hindered for want of thole provisions, which easily will be remedied when we can gaine sufficient men to be employed about thole businesses, which in Virginia I found not: but since meeting with Sir Thomas Gates at the *Cowes neere Portsmouth*, (to whom I gaue a particular account of all my proceedings, and of the present estate of the Colonie as I left it) I vnderstood thole wants are supplied in his Fleet.

The Country is wonderfull fertile and very rich, and makes good whattsoever heretofore hath bene reported of it, the Cattell alreadye there, are much encreased, and thuse exceedingly with the pasture of that Countrey: The Kine all this last Winter, though the ground was covered most with Snow, and the Season sharpe, liued without other feeding then the grasse they found, with which they prospered well, and many of them ready to fall with Calfe: Mlike being a great nourishment and refreshing to our people, leuening also (on occasion) as well for Phyticke as for food, so that it is no way to be doubted, but when it shall please God that Sir Thomas Dale, and Sir Thomas Gates, shall arrive in Virginia, with their extraordinary supply of one hundred Kine, and two hundred Swine, besides thole of all manner of other provisions for the sustenance and maintenance of the Colonie, there will appear that successe in the Action as shall giue no man cause of distrust that hath alreadye adured, but encourage euery good minde to further to

h h h h h

wor-

Oranges and
Lemons good
remedies: not
the Scary.

Master George
Percie Captaine
of the Colonie
min. et h. p.
Dilectus Fili,
200. let. thirtie.

Trade by Cape
at 20.

Three Forts.

Sir T. Gates his
second voyage

200. Kine and
200. Swine
sent.

worthy a worke, as will redound both to the glory of God, to the credit of our Nation, and to the comfort of all that have bene Instruments in the furthering of it.

K and R. Pa
tamack.

The last Discovry, during my continual sicknesse, was by Captain Argoll, who hath found a Trade with Patamack (a King as great as Powhatan, who still remaynes our Enemy, though not able to doe vs hurt.) This is in a goodly River called Patamack, upon the borders whereof there are growne the goodliest Trees for Mills, that may be found else where in the World: Hempe better then English: growing wild in abundance: Mynes of Antimonic and Lead.

There is also found without our Bay to the Northward an excellent fishing Bank for Cod and Ling, as good as can be eare, and of a kind that will keepe a whole yeere in ships hold, with little care; a trill whereof now have brought out with me. Other Lands there are upon our Coasts, that doe promise rich Merchandize, and will further exceedingly the establishing of the Plantation, by supply of many helpes, and will speedily afford a returne of many worthy commodities.

I have left much ground in part manured to rectifie Corne, having caused it the last Winter to be sowed for Roots, with which our people were greatly releued. There are many Vines planted in diuers places, and doe prosper well, there is no want of any thing, if the action can be vpheld with constancie and resolution.

Lately, concerning my selfe and my course, though the World may imagine that this Countrey and Climate, will (by that which I have suffered beyond any other of that Plantation) disagree with the state of my body, yet I am so farre from thinking or giuing over this honourable Enterprise, as that I am willing and ready to lay all that I am worth upon the adventure of the Action, rather then to Honourable a Worke should faile, and to returne with all the convenient expedition I may, beseeching your Lordships and the rest, not only to excuse my former want; happened by the Almighty Hand: but to second my Resolutions with your friendly inducements: that both the State may receive Honour, your selves Profit, and I future Comfort, by being employed (though but as a worse Instrument) in to great an Action.

And thus having plainly, truly, and briefly deliverd the cause of my returne, with the state of our affaires, as we now stand, I hope every worthy and indifferent hearer, will by comparing my present resolution of returne, with the necessity of my coming home, rest satisfied with this true and short Declaration.

CH A P. IX.

A Letter of Sir Samuell Argoll touching his Voyage to Virginia,
and Actions there: Written to Master Nicholas
Hawes. June 1613.



Master Hawes, within *ten weeks* after my departure from the Coast of England, being the three and twentieth of July, 1612. I left with the Coast of Virginia, in the 42nd degree of latitude. The twelfth of September, with all my men in good health, the number being sixty two, and all my vittuals very well conditioned: my course being sitte leagues to the Northward of the Azores. The seventeenth, I arrived at Point Comfort, where by the direct and provident government of Sir Thomas Gates, and great pines and bow-ard of Sir Thomas Dale, I found both the Countrey and people in farre better estate there, then the report was by such as came home in Sir Robert Mansfields ship. From my arrival until the first of November, I spent my time in helping to repaire such ships and Boats, as I found here decayed for lacke of Pitch and Tarr: and in pursuing the Indians with Sir Thomas Dale, for their Corne, of which we got some quantitie, which we were like to have bought very deere: for by the Providence of God, Sir Thomas Dale escaped killing very narrowly. Then about the beginning of November, by the advice of Sir Thomas Gates, I carried Sir Thomas Dale to Sir Thomas Smiths Island, to ease his opinion of the inhabiting of it: who, after three dayes march in discovering it, appeared very well of the place: and so much the better, because we found abundance of fish there, and great Cod, which we caught in fine saltwater, of which we are in hope to get a great quantitie this Summer, for the releefe of our men, as also to find safe passage for Boats and Barges thither, by a cut out of the bottom of our Bay, into the Dela Ware Bay. For which fishing and better Discovry, I have my ship ready, with my Company in as good health, as at my arrival, and as they have continued ever since: for which, God be glorified, to whom we give daily thanks, for the continuance of his mercy.

After my returne from Sir Thomas Smiths Island, I fitted my ship to fetch Corne from Patowomeck, by trading with the Indians, and so set saile from Point Comfort the first of December: being 63 entered into Penbrooke River, I met with the King of Pataience a hunting, who went presently aboard with us, seeming to be very glad of my coming, and told me that all the Indians there were very good friends, and that they had good store of Corne for me, which they had provided the year before, which we found to be true. Then I carried my ship presently before his Towne, and there sent one of our

ship, to get the Corne aboard with ball, which being done, and having concluded a peace with divers other Indian Lords, and likewise given and taken * Hostages: I hailed to James Towne, being the first of January, and arrived at Point Comfort the first of February.

In this Voyage I got 1100. bushels of Corne, which I delivered into the severall Store houses, according to the direction of Sir T. Gates: besides the quantitie of 300. bushels, reserved for mine Company. As I come I had laden this Corne, I let my men to the felling of Timber, for the building of a Frigate, which I left bailed finished in the hands of the Carpenters at Point Comfort, the 19. of March: and returned my selfe with the ship into Pembroke River, and so discovered to the head of it, which is about 65. leagues into the Land, and navigable for any ship. And then marching into the Countrey, I found great store of Cattle as big as Kine, of which, the Indians that were my guides, killed a couple which were found to be very good and wholesome meate, and are very easie to be killed, in regard they are beasts, fit, and not so wild as other beasts of the Wildernesse. In this journey I likewise killed a Myne, of which I have sent a trill into England: and likewise a strange kind of Earthe, the name whereof I know not; but the Indians eat it for Physicke, alleging that it cureth the sickness and paine of the belly. I likewise found a kind of water issuing out of the Earth, which hath a tart taste much like unto Allum-water, it is good and wholesome: for my men did drinke much of it, and neuer found it otherwise. I also found an earthe like a Gumme, white and cleere; another sort red like Terra sigillata; another very white, and of so light a substance, that being cast into the water, it swimmeth.

Whilst I was in this business, I was told by certaine Indians, my friends, that the great Powhatans 20 Danghor Pokohuntis was with the great King Patowomeck, whether I presently returned, refusing to pass my selfe of her by any stratagem that I could use, for the ransom of so many Englishmen as were prisoner with Powhatan: as also to get such armes and tooles, as bee, and other Indians had got by murder and stealing from others of our Nation, with some quantitie of Corne, for the Colonies reliefe. So soon as I came to an anchor before the Towne, I manned my Boate and sent on shore, for the King of Pataience and Ensigne Swift (whom I had left as pledge of our love and truce, the Voyage before) who presently came and brought my pledge with him: whom after I had received, I bailed the matter to this King, and told him, that if he did not betray Pokohuntis into my hands, we would be no longer brothers nor friends. Hee alleged, that if hee should undertake this business, then Powhatan would make warres upon him and his people: but upon my promise, that I would joyne with him against him, hee repaired presently to his brother, the great King of Patowomeck, who being made acquainted with the matter, called his Counsell together: and after some few bowes deliberation, concluded rather to deliver her into my hands, then lose my friendship: so presently, hee betrayed her into my Boat, wherein I carried her aboard my ship. This done, an Indian was dispatched to Powhatan, to let him know, that I had taken his Daughter: and if he would send home the Englishmen (whom hee detained in Lanerie, with such armes and tooles, as the Indians had gotten, and taken) and also a great quantitie of Corne, that then, he should have his daughter restored, otherwise not. This newes much grieved this great King, yet, without delay, hee returned the messenger with this answer. That he desired me to use his Daughter well, and bring my ship into his River, and there he would give me my demands; which being performed, I should deliver him his Daughter, and we should be friends.

Having received this answer, I presently departed from Patowomeck, being the 12. of April, and repaireth with all speed to Sir T. Gates, to know of him upon what condition he would conclude this peace, and what he would demand: to whom I also delivered my prisoner, a woman, whose name was with few dayes, this King sent home seven of our men, who seemed to be very joyfull for that they were freed from the slavery and feare of cruel murder, which they daily before lived in. They brought also three pieces, one broad Axe, and a long Whip-saw, and one Canon of Corne. I being quit of my prisoner, went forward with the Frigate which I had left at Point Comfort, and finished her.

Thus having put my ship in hand to be fitted for an intended fishing Voyage, I left it at business to be followed by my Maister with a ginge of men, and my Lieutenant furnished on shore with another ginge to fell timber, and cleane plank to build a fishing Boat: my Ensigne with another ginge was employed in the Frigate, for getting of fish at Cape Charles, and transporting it to Henrics Towne, for the reliefe of such men as were there: and my selfe with a fourth ginge departed out of the River in my ship, the first of May, for to discover the East side of our Bay, which I found to be use many small Rivers in it, and very good barrowes for Boats and Barges, but not for ships of any great burthen: and also great flocks of inhabitants, who seemed very desirous of our love, and so much the rather, because they had received good reports from the Indians of Pembroke River, of our courteous usage of them, whom I found trading with me for Corne, whereof they had great store. We also discovered a multitude of Islands bearing good Meadow ground, and as I thinke, salt might easie be found there, if there were any ponds digged, for that I found Salt kernal where the water had overflowe in certaine places. Here is also great store of fish, both fresh fish and other. So having discovered along the shore some fertile places, Northward, I returned againe to my ship, the twelfth of May, and huffed forward my business left in hand at my departure: and fitted up my ship, and built my fishing Boats, and made ready to take the first opportunity of the wind for my fishing Voyage, of which I beseech God of his mercy to blesse us.

* Cap. 1763.
Ensigne Swift &
Rob. Spawce &
two Boyes.
1100. bushels
of Corne.
The second
voyage to Pen-
brooke River,
Nove.

Great store of
Oxen in Pen-
brooke River.
A Myne.
A medicinale
Earthe.

A water that
hath the taste
of Allum.

An Earthe like
Gumme.
A red Earthe
like Terra sigil-
lata.

The great King
Patowomeck.
Ensigne Swift.

Powhatan tra-
dition.

7. men freed,

His third Dis-
covery.

Kernal Salt
found.
May 11. 1612.

and husbandry, more men, then I suppose will be adressed thither (the more is the pittie) these three yeeres.

For the further enlargement yet of this Towne, on the other side of the River, by impaling likewise: for we make no other fence, is secured to our view, especially for our hogges to feed in, about twelue *English* miles of ground, by name, *Hog* in *Fault*, *French Dale*, secured by five Forts, called *Charity Fort*, *Mount Malado*, a Retreat or Guest-house for sicke people, a high fence, and whollome ayre, *Elizabeth Fort*, and *Fort Patience*: and here hath Master *Whitakers* chosen his Parsonage, or Church-land, some hundred Acres impaled, and a faire framed Parsonage house built thereupon, called *Rocke Hall*. Of this Towne, and all the Forts thereto belonging, hath Captain *James Dales* the principall Command and Government.

I proceed to our next and most hopeful habitation, where we respect commoditie or security (which we principally ayme at) against forraign designs and aduision, I meane the *Bermuda City*, begun about Christmas last, which because it is the neerest adjoining to *Hemec*, though the last vndertaken, I hold it pertinent to handle in the next place. This Towne, or Plantation is seated by Land, some five miles from *Hemec*, by water fourteene, being the yeere before the habitation of the *Appamattuck*, to reuenge the treacherous iniurie of those people done vnto vs, taken from them, besides all their Corne, the former before without the losse of any, laue onely some few of those *Indians* (pretending our hurt) at what time *St Thomas Dale*, being himselfe upon that seruice, and duly considering how commodious a habitation and fence it might be for vs, tooke resolution to pollicie and plant it, and at that very instant, gave it the name of the new *Bermudas*, whereunto he hath laid out, and annexed to bee belonging to the Freedome, and Corporation for aet, euer, many miles of Champion, and Woods-land, in several hundredes, as the vpper and nether Hundredes, *Reeb-dale* Hundred, and *Willis Sherry* Hundred, and *Diggers* his Hundred.

Captaine *Argalls* Northward discoueries towards *Sacadoe*, and beyond to *Parr Regall*, *Santa Cruz*, and thereabout may not bee concealed: In which his adventures, if he had brought home no commoditie to the Colony (which yet he did very much, both of apparel, victuals, and many other necessaries) the honour which he hath done vnto our Nation, by displanting the *French*, both beginning to feate and fortifie within our limits, and taking of their Ship & Pinace, which he brought to *James Towne*, would haue been reward enough for his paines, and will euer speake loud his honour, and approved valour.

CHAP. XI.

A Letter of Sir THOMAS DALE, and another of Master WHITAKERS, from James Towne in Virginia, June 18. 1614. And a piece of a Treatise, written by the said Master WHITAKERS from Virginia the yeere before.

To the R. and my most esteemed friend, M. D. M. at his house at F. Ch. in London.



Right Reverend Sir, by Sir Thomas Gates I wrote vnto you, of such occasions as then presented themselves, and now againe by this worthy Gentleman Captaine Argall I followe you for such is the reuerend regard I haue of you, as I cannot omit any occasion to expresse the sincere affection I haue you. You haue euer giuen mee encouragement to persevere in this Religious Warlike, until your last Letters; nor for that you are now left well affected thereto: but because you see the Action to be in danger of their non-performances who undertake the business, I haue undertaken, and haue as faithfully, and with all my might indemonstrated the prosecution with all alacrity, as God that keepeth the heart can beare me record, with recompence, or what rewards, by whom, or when I know not where to expect; but from him in whose Vineyard I labour, whose Church with greedy appetite I desire to erect. My glorious Master is gone, that would haue enuicemed with his fauour: the labors I undertake, for Gods cause, and his immortal honor. Hee was the Great Captaine of our Israel, the hope to haue builded up this beaustly Jerusalem he interred (I thinke) the whole frame of this business, fell into his grave: for well mayest thou ward (at least seeming) his desires are quenched, and Virginia stands in desperate hazard. You there doe your duties, I will up your mine: I am promised to labour, is expired: it is not a yoke of Oxen hath drawne mee from this Iust: it is not the marriage of a wife makes me halt home, though that shall give mee an appetite to eate, to returne. But I haue more care of the Stock, then to sit upon a Dy, and rather get my selfe to the curfew of whole and worthy confesors; then runne this way, and haue a lury (may a million) of foule mouthed detraiers, lean upon my endeauours, the ends whereof they cannot dune into. You shall briefly vnderstand what hath betide since my last, and how we now stand, and are likely

likely to grow to perfection, if we be not altogether neglected, my self grounded upon such reason, as had I now returned, it would haue been the ruine of all.

Sir Thomas Gates having embarked himselfe for England, I put my selfe into Captaine Argalls Ship, with a hundred and fiftie men in my frigate, and other boats went vnto Pamunkin River, where Powhatan, with his residence, and can in two or three dayes, draw a thousand men together; with me I carried his daughter, who had beene long prisoner with vs, it was a day or two before we heard of them: At length they demanded why we came: I gave for answer, that I came to bring him his daughter, conditionally he would (as hath beene agreed upon for her ranfome) tender all the Armes, Tooles, Swords, and men that had run away, and to giue me a Ship full of Corne, for the wrong hee had done vnto vs: if they would doe this, we would be friends, if not burne all. They demanded time to send to their King: I consented, I taking, they receiving two pledges, to carry my message to Powhatan. All night my two men lay not farre from the water side about noone the next day they told them the great King was three dayes journey off: Opocankano was hard by, to whom they would haue had them deliver their message, saying, That what hee agreed upon and did, the great King would confirme. This Opocankano is brother to Powhatan, and is his and their chiefe Captaine: and one that can as faine (if not sooner) as Powhatan com and the men. But my men refused to doe my message vnto any faine Powhatan, so they were brought backe, and I sent theirs to them; they told me that they would fetch Simons to me, who had thrice plaid the rannagage, whose lyes and villany much hindered our trade for Corne: But they delayed vs, so as we went afore they had at all, we were not behind hand with them, killed some, burnt others, marched into the Land, burnt their houses, took their Corne, and quartered all night abroad.

The next day we went further up the River, they dyed vs and called to know whether we went: we answered, To breake all, if they would not doe as we demanded, and had beene agreed upon. They would they said, bring all the next day so we forbore all hostilities, went ashore, there men in good numbers coming amongst vs, but we were very cautious, and stood to our Armes. The Kings daughter went ashore, but would not talke to any of them, scarce to them of the best sort, and to them only, that if her father had loved her, he would not value her less then old Swords, Peeces, or Axes: wherefore I would still dwell with the English men, who loved her. At last came one from Powhatan, who told vs, that Simons was run away, to Nonfowhaicond, which was a truth, as afterwards appeared, but that the other English man was dead, that proued a lie (for since M. Hamor, whom I employed to Powhatan brought him mee) our Peeces, Swords, and Tooles within fiftene dayes, should be to James Towne, with some Corne, and that his daughter should be my child, and euer dwell with mee, desiring to be euer friends, and named such of his people, and neighbour Kings, as hee desired to be included, and haue the benefit of the peace, promising if any of our men came to him, without leave from mee, he would find them backe: and that if any of his men stole from vs, or killed our cattell, hee would send them to vs to be punished as wee thought fit, with these conditions were returned, and within the time limited, part of our Armes were sent, and twentie men with Corne, and promised more, which he hath all sent, Opocankano desired I would call him friend, and that he might call me so, saying, Hee was a great Captaine, and did alwayes fight: that I was also a great Captaine, and therefore hee would be my friend, and that my friends should be his friends. So the bargain was made, and every eight or ten dayes, I haue messages and presents from him, with many apparences that he much desired to continue friendship.

Now may you iudge Sir, if the God of Battailles had not a helping hand in this, that having our Swords drawn, killing their men, burning their houses, and taking their corne: yet they tendered vs peace, and strue with all alacrity to keepe vs in good opinion of them; by which many benefits arise vnto vs. First, part of our Armes, disgracefully lost long agoe (keeps by the Saueages as Monuments and Trophies of our shame) redimmed, some repaire to our Honor. Our cattells increase, without danger of destroying our men at libertie to hunt freely for Venison, to fild, to doe any thing else, or goe any whither without danger: to follow the buskinding of our corne secretly, whereof wee haue aboue fife hundred Acres fit, and God be praised, in more forwardnesse then any of the Indians, that I haue sene or heard of this yeere: Rootes and Hearbs we haue abundance; all doubts of want is by Gods blessing quite vanquished, and much plenitie expellid. And which is not the least materiall, wee may by this peace come to discomf the Country better, both by our owne travels, and by the relation of the Saueages, as we grow in familiarity with them.

Powhatans daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in Christian Religion, who after hee had made some good progress therein, renounced publicly her Country Idolatry, openly confessed her Christian Faith, was, as hee desired, baptised, and is since married to an English Gentleman of good understanding (as by his Letter vnto mee, containing the reason of this marriage of her you may perceiue) another kinde to bind the peace betwixt the fringers. Her Father and friends gave approbation to it, and her Uncle gave her to him in the Church: free from cruelty and leuosity with him, and I will will increase in goodness, as the knowledge of Gods mercies in her. She will goe into England with mee, and were it but the gaining of this one soule, I will thinke my time, toyle, and present stay well spent.

Since this accident, the Governours and people of Checkamokes, who are five hundred Br-men, and better, a stout and warlike Nation, haue made motions to haue vs come vnto them, and conclude a peace, where all the Governours would meet me. They haueing thus three or foure times importuned me, I refused to goe: so having Captaine Argall, with fiftie men in my Frigate and Barge I went thither: Captaine

Sir T. Dale
Journey to Pow-
hatan's Coun-
try. This is
more at large
decianted, with
the particular
circumstances
(which I for
brevitie haue
omitted) by
M. Hamor.

Powhatan be-
lieves us and
reports.

Opocankano
now thinke
himselfe wor-
thy of the maske

Powhatan
baptised: & of
Mason (to I
haue heard the
was properly
named) he is still
called Rebacca.

same Argall with forty men landed, I kept aboard for some reason. Upon the meeting they told Captain Argall they had longed to be friends, that they had no King, but eight great men, who governed them. He told them that we came to be friends, asked them if they would have King James to be their King, and whether they would be his men? They after some conference between themselves, seemed willing of both, demanding if we would fight against their enemies; he told them that if any did them injury, they should send me word, and I would agree them, or if their adversaries would not, then I would let them have as many men as they would to help them: they liked well of that, and told him that all their men should help us. All this being agreed upon, Captain Argall gave every Counsellor a Tamahawk, and a piece of Copper, which was kindly taken: they requested further, that if their Boats should happen to meet with our Boats, and that they said they were the Chikahominy Englishmen, and King James his men, we would let them pass: we agreed unto it, so that they promised themselves Englishmen, and King James his men, promising within fifteen days to come unto King James Town to see me, and conclude these conditions; every Bowman being to give me as a Tribute to King James two measures of Corn every harvest the two measures containing two bushels and a half, and I to give every Bowman a small Tamahawk, and to every Counsellor a just of red cloth, which did much please them. This people never acknowledged King before, nor our would acknowledge Powhatan for their King; a stout people they be, and a delicate (eat) they have.

Now Sir you see our condition; you, and all worthy men may judge whether it would not be a grief to see these faire hopes frustrated, and the fresh budding plants to wither which had returned, but actually followed: for here is no one that the people would have govern them, but my self: for I had no way to come away, but I found a general desire in the best sort to returne for England: Letter upon Letter, request upon request from their friends to returne, so as I knew not upon whom to conferre the care of this business in my absence: whom I thought fit was generally distastful, so as seeing the eminent ensuing danger, I should have left this multitude, not yet fully refried, I am resolved to stay till harvest be got in, and then settle things according to my power and advantage, and returne: if in the interim there come no untoward Governours from England.

Consider I pray you, since things be brought to this passe, as you see, and that I should have come away, if then through their factions, humors, mutinies, or misaffection of the Chiefes I had left behind, this should fall to mine: I then should receive the imputation, and incur the blame, for quitting the Plantation, although I might do it, both with my honor, my promise, by of time being so spread, and having warrant from my Sovereigne, the Kings Majesty: but the precedent reasons moved me and that the alien of such price, such excellency and assured profit to mine own knowledge should not dye to the sorrow of our Nation, and to give cause of laughter to the Papists, that desire our ruine. I can assure you, no Country of the world affords more assured hopes of infinite riches, which both by mine own peoples discovery, and the relation of such Savages, whose fidelity we have often found, assure me. Oh why should so many Princes and Noblemen in age age themselves, and thereby intermeddling herein, have caused a number of souls transport themselves, and be transported thither? Why should they I say relinquish this so glorious an Action: for if their ends be to build God a Church, they ought to persevere: if otherwise, yet their honor engageth them to be constant. Henceforth they stand affected, here is enough to content them, let their ends be either for God, or Mammon.

These things having animated me to stay for a little season, to leave the City, I am tied in conscience to returne unto, to leave the assured benefits of my other fortunes, the sweet society of my friends, and acquaintance, for they live alone in the woods, in houses sequestered from the common course of men, neither with all mundan delights, and therefore live with more tranquillity, which I will constantly doe, rather than see Gods glory diminished by my King, and Country dishonored, and the poor people I have the charge of, ruined. And so I beseech you to answer for me, if you have me taxed for my staying, as some may suppose, and to at all things are my chiefest motions God I take to witness. Remember me and the cause I have in hand, in your daily meditations, and reckon me in the number of those that doe sincerely love you, and yours, and will ever rest in all offices of a friend, to doe you service.

To my very deere and loving Cousen M^r. G. Minister of
the B. F. in London.

Sir, the Colony here is much better. Sir Thomas Dale, our Religious and valiant Governour, hath now brought that passe, which never before could be effected. For by waite upon our enemies, and kinde usage of our friends, he hath brought them to take for peace of us, which is made, and they are not breakers. But that which is best, one P. Calvantes or Matos the daughter of Powhatan, is married to an honest and discrete English Gentleman Master Rolfe, and that after he had openly renounced her Country Idolatry, professed the faith of Iesu Christ, and was baptised, which thing Sir Thomas Dale had labored a long time to ground in her.

Notwithstanding, are the vertuous deeds of this worthy Knight, much defaced, by the Letters which some wicked men have written from hence, and especially by one C. L. If you have any commendation this noble Knight, or doe feare to come hither, for these slanderous Letters, you may upon my word boldly reprove them. You know that no malefactors can abide the face of the Judge, but themselves being

be reproved, doe prosecute with all hatred, all those that labour their amendment: I marvaile much that any men of honest life, should feare the sword of the Magistrate, which is unbent only in their defense.

But I much more muse, that so few of our English Ministers that were so hot against the Surplus and subscription: come hither where neither spoken of. Doe they not either wilfully hide their Talents, or keep themselves at home for feare of losing a few pleasures? Be there not any amongst the Image of Moles his munde, and of the Apollites, that forsake all to follow Christ? But I referre them to the Iudge of all hearts, and to the King that shall reward every one according to the game of his Talent. But you my cousin, hold fast that which you have, and I, though my promise of three yeeres service to my Country be expired, will abide in my vocation here untill I be lawfully called from hence. And so breaking us all unto the mercies of God in Christ Iesu, I rest for ever.

Part of a Treatise written at Henrico in Virginia, by Master ALEX.
WHITTAKER, Minister to the Colony there, which then
governed by Sir T. DALE, 1613.

They acknowledge that there is a great good God, but know him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded: wherefore they feare the Duell for feare, after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes (as I have here heard) their owne Children to him. I have sent one Image of their god to the Counsell in England, which is painted upon one side of a toad-skin, much like unto a deformed monster. Their Priests (whom they call Quikokoughs) are no other but such as our English Witches are. They live naked in body, as if their shame of their sinne deferred no covering: Their names are as naked as their body: they themselves are a verue to lye, deceiver, and steale, as their Master the Duell teacheth them. Much more might be said of their miserable condition, but I referre the particular narration of these things to some other season.

These men are not so simple as some have supposed them: for they are of body lusty, strong, and very nimble: they are a very understanding generation, quick of apprehension, judicious in their dispatches, subtil in their dealings, exquisite in their inventions, and industrious in their labour. I suppose the world hath no better make-men with their Bowes and Arrows then they be: they will kill Birds flying, Fishes swimming, and Beasts running: they shoote also with mercurious strength, they shot one of our men being unarmed quite through the body, and nailed both his arms to his body with one Arrow: one of their Children also, about the age of twelve or thirteene yeeres, killed a Bird with his Arrow in my sight. The service of their God is answerable to their life, being performed with a great feare and attention, and many strange dumbes vied in the flame, stretching forth their limbes, and training their body, much like to the counterfeit women in England, who faine themselves bewitched, or possessed of some evil spirit.

They stand in great awe of the Quikokoughs or Priests, which are a generation of Vipers, even of Sathans owne brood. The manner of their life is much like to the Popish Harlots of our age: for they live alone in the woods, in houses sequestered from the common course of men, neither may any man be suffered to come into their house or to speake with them, but when this Priest had call him. He take no care for his vituals, for all such kinde of things both Bread and Water, &c. are brought unto a place near unto his cottage, and there are left, which he fetcheth as his proper neede. It they would have raine, or have lofty any thing, they have their recourse to him, who cometh for them, and many times preauileth. If they be sicke, he is their Physician: if they be wounded, he sucketh them. At his command they make warre and peace, neither doe they any thing of moment without him. I will not be tedious in these strange Narrations, when I have more perfectly entered into their secrets, you shall know all. Finally, there is a cuill government amongst them which they strictly observe, and wherby that the law of Nature dwell in them: for they have a rule kinde of Common-wealth, and rough government wherein they both honour and obey their Kings, Parents, and Governours, both greater and lesse, they observe the limits of their owne possessions. Murder is hardly heard of: Adultery and other offences severely punished.

The whole Continent of Virginia situate within the degrees of 34. and 47. is a place beautified by God, with all the ornaments of nature, and enriched with his earthly treasures: that part of it, which we already possess, beginning at the Bay of Chesapeake, and stretching it self in Northely latitude to the degrees of 39. and 40. is interlined with feare most goodly Rivers, the least whereof is equall to our River of Thames: and all these Rivers are run most goodly Rivers, the least whereof is not very much distant of dry ground between either of water, which I findly waies doe lands are every where watered with many veins or creeks of water, which I findly waies doe Southward the land, and make it almost navigable from one River to the other. The commodity whereof

Their Priests
and manner
of living.

Yet sometimes
in his extreme
was killed in
remedy by an
other strange
his fellow.

As to the
manner

They called
the English
Tostles, and
so would
them-
selves be
called.
The particu-
lars and ar-
ticles of agree-
ment in M.
H. are: Books;
here omitted.

Sir T. Dale's
report of Vir-
ginia. In another
letter to the
Committees
he writeth that
four of the
best Kingdoms
of Christendome
put all together,
may no way
compare with this
country:
either for
commodities,
or goodnelle
of soile.

Master Alexan-
der Whitaker
was son to that
worthy of Po-
liticall Di-
vine Doctor
Whittaker Ma-
ster of S. Johns
Colin Cam-
bridge.
What shadows
of men are the
most in this
age, that the
best deserving
should neede
apologies in-
stead of panegy-
rics? I say
which for do-
ing just ill,
civill warre
fist, and by de-
praving justice
seekt to be ill.

whereof to those that shall inhabit this land is infinite, in respect of the speedy and easie transportation of goods from one River to the other, I cannot better manifest it vnto you, but in aduising you to consider whether the water or land hath bene more beneficiall to the *Low-Countries*. To the River which we inhabit (commonly called *Powhatan* River) ebberth and floweth one hundred and forty miles into the maine; at the mouth whereof are the two Forts of *Henrico* and *Charles*: two and forty miles vpward is the first and Mother-Christian Towne (called *Jamestown*); and twenty miles beyond that vpward, is the new Towne of *Henrico* built, and so named in the memory of Noble Prince *Henry* of lifting and blessed memory: tenne miles beyond this is a place called the *Falls*, because the River hath there a great descent falling downe between many minnerall Rockes which be there: twelve miles farther beyond this place is there a *Christall Rocke* where with the *Indians* doe head many of their Arrows: three dayes journey from thence is there a Rocke or stony hill found, which is in the top couered all ouer with a perfect and most rich Siluer ore. Our men that went to discouer those parts had but two Iron Pickaxes with them, and those to ill tempered, that the points of them turned againe, and bowed at euery stroke, so that we could not search the entrailes of the place, yet some triall was made of that ore with good successe, and argument of much hope. Six dayes journey beyond this Mine a great ridge of high hills doe runne along the maine land, not farre from whom the *Indians* report a great Sea doth runne, which we commonly call a *South Sea*, but in respect of our habitation is a *West Sea*, for there the Sun setteth from vs. The higher ground is much like vnto the molde of *France*, clay and sand being proportionably mixed together at the top; but if we digge any depth (as we have done for our Bricks) we finde it to be red clay, full of glittering spangles. There be many rockie places in all quarters; & more then probable likelihoods of rich Mines of all sorts: though I knew all, yet it were not conuenient at this time that I should utter all, neither haue wee had meanes to search for any thing as we ought, thorough present want of men, and former wants of provision for the belly. As for Iron, Steele, Antimonium, and *Terra sigillata*, they haue rather offered themselves to our eyes and hands, then bin fought for of vs. The Ayre of the Country (especially about *Henrico* and vpward) is very temperate and agreeth well with our bodies. The extremity of Summer is not so hot as *Spain*, nor the cold of Winter so sharpe as the frosts of *England*. The Spring and Haruest are the two longest seasons and most pleasant, the Summer and Winter are both but short. The Winter is for the most part dry and faire, but the Summer watered often with many great and lodaine showers of raine; whereby the cold of Winter is warmed, and the heate of Summer cooled. Many haue died with vs heretofore thorough their owne filchinesse and want of bodily comforts for sicke men; but now very few are sicke among vs: not about three persons amongst all the inhabitants of *Henrico*; I would to God our foules were no sicker then our bodies.

The naturall people of the Land are generally such as you heard of before. A people to be feared of those that come vpon them without defensive Armour, but otherwise faint-hearted (if they see their Arrows cannot pierce) and easie to be subdued. Shirts of Male, or quilted cotton coates are the best defence against them. There is but one or two of their petty Kings, that for feare of vs haue desired our friendships; those keepe good quarter with vs, being very pleasant amongst vs, and (if occasion be) seruiciable vnto vs. Our eldest friends be *Papico* and *Chopack*, who are our outchwart neighbours at *Jamestown*, and haue bene friendly to vs in our great want. The other is the *Werowance of Chesapeake*, who but lately traded with vs peaceably. If we were once the masters of their Country, and they stood in feare of vs (which might with few hands imployed about nothing else, be in short time brought to passe) it were an easie matter to make them willingly to forsake the Diuel, to embrace the faith of Iesus Christ, and to be baptized. Besides, you cannot easily iudge how much they would be assailable to vs in our Discoueries of the Country, in our Buildings and Plantings, and quiet prouision for our selues, when we may peaceably passe from place to place without neede of Armes or Guard.

The meanes for our people to lue and subsist here of themselves are many and most certaine as both for Beasts, Birds, and Hearbes. The Beasts of the Country are for the most part wilde: as Lyons, Beares, Wolves and Deere: Foxes blacke and red, Rakowns, Beuers, Polloons, Squirrels, Wilde-Cats, whose skins are of great price, and Muske-Rats, which yeelde Muske as the Muske-Cats doe. There be two kinde of Beasts amongst these most strange; one of them is the female *Pollowine*, which will let forth her young out of her belly, and take them vp into her belly againe at her pleasure without hurt to her selfe; neither think this to be a Trauellers tale, but the very truth; for nature hath framed her fit for that seruice, my eyes haue bene witness vnto it, and we haue sent of them your yong ones into *England*. The other strange conditioned creature is the flying *Squirrel*, which through the helpe of certain broad paces of skin growing on each side of her forelegges, will flye from tree to tree twenty or thirty paces at one sight and more, if he haue the beneuolence of a small breath of winde. Besides these, since our coming hither, we haue brought both Kine, Goates, and Hogges, which prosper well, and would multiply exceedingly, if they might be prouided for. This Country besides is replenished with Birds of all sorts, which haue bin the best sustenance of flesh, which our men haue had since they came;

alto Eagles and Hawkes of all sorts, amongst whom are Aulpreys, fishing Hauke, and the Cormorant. The woods be euery where full of wilde Turkeys, which abound, and will runne as swift as a Greyhound. In winter our fields be full of Cranes, Herons, Pigeons, Partridges and Black-birds: the Ruers and creekes be ouer-spread euery where with water foule of the greatst and least sort, as Swans, hockes of Geefe and Brants, Ducke and Mallard, Snelldrakes, Dyuers, &c, besides many other kinde of rare and delectable Birds, whose names and natures I cannot yet recite, but we want the meanes to take them. The Ruers abound with Fish both small and great; the Sea-fish come into our Ruers in March, & continue vntill the end of September: great kinds of Fish, as Herings come in first: Shades of a great biggeffe, and Rock-fish follow them. Trout, Bale, or Flounders, and other dainty fish come in before the other be gone: then come multitudes of great Sturgeons, whereof we catch many, and should do more, but that we want good Nets anuierable to the breadth and depth of our Ruers: besides, our channels are so foule in the bottom with great logges and trees, that we often break our Nets vpon them: I cannot reckon nor Nets, giue proper names to the diuers kinde of fresh fish in our Ruers; I haue caught with mine Angles, Pike, Karpe, Eele, Perches of fix severall kinde, Cree-fish, and the Torope or little Turtle, besides many smaller kinde, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Of the Lottery: Sir THOMAS DALES returne: the Spaniards in Virginia. Of POCAHONTAS and TOMOCOMO: Captaine YERDELEY and Captaine ARGOLL (both since Knighthood) their Government; the Lord L A WARRS death, and other occurrences till Anno 1619.



[H]ereto you haue heard the Authors themselves speak of their owne affaires. Now we muft for continuation and confirmation of our Story, borrow a few Collections from others, where the Authors themselves haue not come to our hands. Wherein that industrious Gentleman Captaine *John Smith* hath breathing *Virginian* and diligent enquiry and writing, as sometime by discouery and doing to shew his zeale to this action (for seeing he cannot there be employed to performe *Virginian* exploits worthy the writing, here he employeth himselfe to write *Virginian* affaires worthy the reading) hauing compiled a long History of that and the *Summer Island* plantation, and of *New England* in six Bookes, hath gently communicated the same to mine, that is to thine, as intended to the Worlds vie. Out of his rich fields I haue gleaned these handfulls, adding thereto the crop of mine owne industry.

40 Sir Thomas Gates returned from Virginia in March, and Captaine Argall in June following 1614. The Lottery, and so animated by their hopefull reports the *Adventurers*, that the great *flourishing Lottery* was drawne Anno 1615. in the West end of *Pauls Churchyard* (where before, as in many other places after, a running Lottery of smaller advantage had bene vsed) in which the Prizes were proportioned from two crownes (which was the least) to twenty shillings and degrees, customarily according as the last fell, and paid in money or in Plate there set forth to view, provided that if any chose money rather then Plate or goods for payment, in summer above ten crownes, he was to abate the tenth part. The orders of this Lottery were published, and courses taken to prevent frauds.

While Sir Thomas Dale was in Virginia, it chanced that a Spanish Ship beat up and downe before Point Comfort, and sent aboard for a Pilot. Captaine James Daries sent them one, with whom they presently sailed away, leaving three of their company behinde. These, upon examination, confessed that having lost their Admirall, accident had forced them into this part; two of them said they were Captaines of chiefe command in the Fleet. They received good vantage there, till one of them was found to be an English man, which in the great Fleet 1588. had bin a Pilot to the Spaniards, and now exercised his wonted treachery, having induced some malecontents to runne away with a small Bark. This do knesse being brought to light, some of them were executed, and he expecting no better, confessed that two or three Spanish Ships were at Sea, on purpose to discomer the state of the Colony: but their Commission was not to be opened till they arrived in the Bay, so that he knew no further. One of the Spaniards died the other was sent for England, and this fellow was now reprinted, but (as became such a Pilot) was hanged at Sea in Sir Thomas Dales returne. The English Pilot which they had carried away to Spain, after long

60 and many suite recovered his liberty and Country. Sir Thomas Dale hauing thus established things as you haue heard, returned thence, appointing Captaine George Yerdly his deputy Gouverneur in his absence, and arrived at *Pismouth* in May or Iune 4. 1616. to aduance the good of the Plantation, Master *Relfe* also with *Rebecca* his new conuert and comfort, and *Titamatamkin* (commonly called *Tomocomo*) one of *Pohatans*

Christall Rocke

Ayre and Sea-sons.

Note well.

Feare is the beginning of piety & charity. While vie may be made of the Nations.

Pollowine a strange beast.

Flying Squirrel.

Fish.

Nets.

* To 100000, 3000 & 10000, 10000 and the highest 40000 crownes.

Spanish Ships at Virginia.

English Pilot captured with his wife and children according to his merit.

Captaine Yerdly.

(they doubt not) hath great work to do in this Tragedy, and will threaten draw honour and glory to his great Name; safety, and more flourishing estate to themselves, and the whole Plantation there; and the more speedy conversion of the Children of those Savages to himself, since he so miraculously preferred to many of the *English*, whose design was to draw those people to Religion, by the careless neglect of the *English*. Yet is pleased God to wile some as instruments in the great cause of their own enslaving of their own laces. There is to be a new settlement of the *English* in those lowly places that hath formerly guided, as *Lames Citee*, and other places, and the Pinnace trading in *Pamouny* River; all whose laces were lured by a converted *Indian*, disclosing the plot in the infant.

Converted
1913.

**Manner of the
Sung life.**

These wilde naked Natives live not in great numbers together, but dispersed, and in small Companies; and where most together, not above two hundred, and that very rare, in other places fifty or forty, or thereabouts, and many miles distant from one another, in such places among the Woods where they either found, or might easily find some cleared plots of ground, which they employ wholly in feeding of Corne, whereby to sustain their lives. The small and scattered Companies (as I have said) had warrs with one another, and thus their habits had been to meete at the day and hour appointed for their destruction, at all their severall Townes and Villages, and to kill one another, some were directed to goe to one place, some to another, all to be done at least by the same day and time, which they did accordingly: some entering their Houses vnder colour of trucking, and to take advantage, others drawing our men abroad vpon faire pretences, and the rest suddenly falling vpon those that were at their labours.

By Letters and John that returned it is certified, that besides Master George Thorpe, before mentioned, Master John Berkeley, Captaine Nathaniel Powell, and his wife (daughter of Master William Tracy, and great with child) and Captaine Maynecke, all Gentlemen of birth, verue, and indulity, and of the Council there, suffered vnder this their cruelty and treason. That the slaughter had bene vnuersall, if God had not put vnto the heart of an *Indian* belonging to one Perry, to disclose it, who liuing in the house of one *Pace*, was vrged by another *Indian* his brother (who came the night before and lay with him) to kill *Pace* (so commanded by their King as he declared) as he would kill *Perry*: telling further, that by such an order, *Indians* his number would come from diuers places to finish the Execution, who failed not at the time: *Perry* 30
Indians rote out of his bed and reucaled it to *Pace*, that vied him as a Sonne: And thus the rest of the Colony that had warning giuen them, by this meanes was saved. Such was (God be thanked for it) the good fruit of an Inhiell conuerted to Christianity; for though three hundred and more of ours died by many of these Pagan Infidels, yet thousands of ours were saved by the meanes of one of them alons: which was made a Christian: Blessed be God for euer, whose mercy endureth for euer. Blessed be God whole myrie is about his iustice, and farre about all his works; who wrought this deliuerance whereby their soules escaped euen as a Bird out of the snare of the Fowle.

Pace upon this discovery, securing his house, before day rowed over the River to *Tames* City (in that place neere three miles in breadth) and gave notice thereof to the Governour, by which means they were prevented there, and such other Plantations as was possible for a timely intelligence to be given to, for where the few w^{ts} standing upon our Guard, at the sight of a Pece they all ranne away. In other place there could have no notice, some Peeces with munition (the w^{ch} wherof they know not) were there carried away, and some few Castell also were destroyed by them. And as Fame disaught (not without probable grounds) their King hath since caused the most part of the Cornow, in Harwell next. And that is since discoloured, that the late Summer *Ouphankano* professed with a King of the Easterne shire (no well-willer of his) to furnish him with store of poison (naturally growing in his Country) for our destruction, which was not only refused, though he sent him great store of Beades, and other Presents to winne him thereunto: which he, with five or six of his great men, offered to be ready to iustifie against him. That the true cause of this fuzize was moit by the instigation of the Duell (enemy to their filiation) and the daily feare that possit them, that in time we by our growing continually upon them, would dispossesse them of this Country, as they had bene formerly of the *West Indies*; by the *Spaniard*; produced this bloody act. That neiter grieve and shame possit any people more then themselves, to be thus butchered by so naked and cowardly a people, who dare not stand the presentment of a life in manner of a Pece, nor an unchaged Pece in the hands of a Woman, from which they flye as lo many Hares; much faster then from their tormenting Duell, whom they worship for feare, though they acknowledge they love him not.

Gunpowder
sowne, practi-
sed before in
Captain Smith's
time.

p. 1141.

*A Note of provisions necessarie for euery Planter or personall Adventurer to
Virginia: and accidents since the Massacre.*

Whereas the Inconveniences that have happened to some persons which have transported themselves from England to Virginia, without provisions necessary for sustentation themselves, both greatly hindered the Progress of that Noble Plantation: For prevention of these like disorders hereafter, that no man suffer either through ignorance or misinformation it is thought requisite to publish the following Declaration: wherein is contained a particular of such necessities, as every private Families or single person shall have cause to furnish themselves with, for their better support at their first landing in Virginia: whereby also greater numbers may receive in port, directions how to provide themselves.

Apparell for one man and so after the
rate for more.

Tools for a Family of sixe persons, and so
after the rate for more.

One Adownmouth Cap	1.10.0d.
Three falling bands	1.10.0d.
Three lincins	7.5.0d.
One Waste-coate	2.5.0d.
20 One suite of Cannase	7.5.0d.
One suite of Frize	10.0s.
One suite of Cloth	15.0s.
Three paire of Irish stockings	4.5s.
Fourre paire of shooes	8.0s.8.
One paire of garters	10.0s.
One dozen of points	3.0s.
One paire of Cannase/beds	2.5d.
Seven Lks of Cannase, to make a bed and houshold	
to be filled in Virginia	8.0s.
30 One Rug for a bed 8.1. which with the bed frame	
for two men, halfe is	8.0s.
Fine Elk corse Cannase, to make a bed at Sea for	
two men, to be filled with straw &c.	4.0s.
One corse Rug at Sea for two men, will cost 6.0s.	
for one.	6.0s.

Five broad bones at 2 s. a piece	10 s.
Four narrow bones at 16 d. a piece	6 s. 8 d.
Two broad axes at 3 s. 8 d. a piece	7 s. 4 d.
Five felling axes at 18 d. a piece	7 s. 6 d.
Two Steele Hand-Jamers at 16 d. a piece	2 s. 8 d.
Two two-hand-Jamers at 5 s. a piece	10 s.
One whip-saw, set and filed with beez, file and wery	10 s.
Two Chammers 12 d. a piece	2 s. 4 d.
Three Bevels 18 d. a piece	4 s. 6 d.
Two Spades at 18 d. a piece	3 s.
Two Augers 6 d. a piece	1 s. 6 d.
Six Chisells 6 d. a piece	8 d.
Two percors facked 4 d. a piece	8 d.
Three gimlets 2 s. a piece	6 s.
Two hatchets 21 d. a piece	3 s. 6 d.
Two pomas to cleane pale 18 d.	3 s. 4 d.
Two hand-bills 30 s. a piece	3 s. 4 d.
One pair of Nails fine 4 s.	4 s.
Nails of all sorts to the value of	2 s. 11 d.
Two Pickaxes	3 s. 8 d.
	6 s. 12 s.

Victuall for a whole yeere for one man
and so for more after the rate.

Household Implements for a Family of six
persons, and so for more or less
after the rate.

40	Eight bushels of Meale	2.li.
	Two bushels of Pease at 3.s.	6.s.
	Two bushels of Oatmeale 4.s.6.d.	9.s.
	One gallon of Aquavit	2.s.6.d.
	One gallon of Oyle	3.s.6.d.
	Two gallons of Vineger 1.s.	2.s.
		3.li.2.s.

One Iron Pot	7
One Kettle	6
One large frying-pan	2.5.6
One Griddle	1.5.6
Two Skillets	
One Spit	
Platters, dybes, Spoons of wood	1.11.

Armes for one man, but if halfe of your men
haue Armour it is sufficient, so that all
haue Peeces and Swords.

For Sugar, Spice, and fruit and at Sea for six
men 12..6.d.

One Armour complet, light	17 s.
One long Piece, five foot or five and a halfe, never	1 l. 12 s.
Muiker bore	
One Sword	5 s.
One Belt	1 s.
One Bandalcere	1 s. 6 d.
Twentie pound of Powder	18 s.
Sixtie pound of shot or lead, Pistol and Goof	5 s.

So the full charge of apparell victuall, armes, stooles
& household-stuffe and after this rate for each per-
son, will amount unto about the sum of 12.l. 10.s.
The passage of each man is 6.li
The freight of these provisions for a man, will be a-
bout halfe a Tunn, which is 1.li. 10.s.
So the whole charge will amount to about 20.l.

Nets, Hooks, Lines, and Tens must be added if the number of people be greater, as also some Kine.
And this is the usual proportion that the Virginia Company doe bellow upon their Tenants which they send.
 Who ouer tran ports himselfe or any other at his owne charge vnto Virginia, shall for each person for
 before Midsummer 1625. haue to him and his heires for euer *fifte Acres* of Land upon a first, and
 vpon a second diuision. Kkkkkk 3

twentieth of April, 1612. So passing down to *Crusford*, we anchored at *Tisbury-Isle*, vntill the fifth of May. The wind coming tate, we put forth and came to the *Downe* the sixth of May, where we staid till the ninth. And then setting forward we had a faire and comfortable passage, and by Gods blessing found to direct a course, that on the eleventh of July in the mornings betwixt nine and ten of the clocke we descried our hoped and desired Islands, and in the afternoon of the same day, about three a clocke, we arrived in a verie safe harbour neere *S. Georges* Island, there were landed all our men and women, and had bene at anchor about an houre, before we could heare of our three men which had bene left there. As soone as we had landed all our company, we went all to prayer, and gave thanks vnto the Lord for our safe arrival and whilst we were at prayer, we saw our three men come rowing downe to vs, the sight of whom did much reioyce vs: so they welcoming vs, and wee like to them againe, we sung a Psalm, and praised the Lord for our safe meeting, and went to supper.

The next day, being the Sabbath day, which wee dedicated to God in the best manner we could, wee abode still in the fore said land, with all the rest of our company till Monday morning, being the thirteenth of Iuly: Then we went vp with our Ship and company higher into the harbour, to the place where these three men had planted themselves. They had planted Come, great store of Wheat, Beanes, Tobacco and Mellons, with many other good things for the vse of man: Besides they had wrought vpon Timber, in squaring and sawing of Cedar Trees, for they intended to build a small Pinnae to carrie them into *Virginia*, being almost out of hope and comfort of our coming: because Cap. *Daniels* time was to haue bene with them long before we came.

Wee were no longer come witting a league of the Land, but a company of Fish, as it were, met vs, and neuer left vs till we were come to an anchor within the harbour; and as soone as we had passed ouer our businesse, and all things faile and in order, with a Hooke and Line we tooke more than our whole company was able to eate, so that there was enough to feed many more. The next day after the Sabbath, we went with our Net and Boat, and if we would haue loaded two Boats wee might; and so may you do day by day. Fishes doe so abound, and there be of these sorts, Mulllets, Breames, Hog-fish, Rock-fish and Lobsters, with more sorts of other Fish which I cannot name.

Turtles there be of a mightie bignesse, one Turtle will serue or suffice three or foure score at a meale, especially if it be a *Ther* Turtle, for these will haue as many Egges as will suffice fiftie or threescor at a meale: This I can assure you, they are verie good and wholesome meat, none of it bad, no not so much as the verie Guts and Maw of it, for they are exceeding fat, and make as good Tripes as your beatts bilbies in *England*. And for Fowle we went the third day of our arrival vnto the *Birds* lands (as wee call them) and vnto the *Strick*, nor Stone-bow, nor Gun, we tooke them vp with our hands so many as wee would, that euerie one of the company were to haue some three, some foure, many; three for a child, boy or girle, for a man foure; then reckon what those that serued some fourescore people did amount vnto. But this is for certaine, if wee would haue brought awaie twice so many more we might.

Some fixe daies after our coming, we sent out for Hoggies, for the company which went out brought home some: for the meate of them, I hold your Mutton of *England* not of so sweet and pleasant a taste.

For the inclination of the weather, considering in what climate it lies, wee haue had for the space of some fortie daies no raime, but verie coole and fresh gales of wind, yet in the day time verie hot: but wee agree with it verie well, and not a man that had hie sick or diseased, but all likes well, and followes and implomes themselves to one businesse or other.

For the fruites which the Land yeelds, they be the Mulberrie, great store, and Peares which haue in them a red liquor, as the Pomegranat hat, or somewhat redder, but verie wholesome: if you eate an hundred at one time, you shall neuer surfeit of them; if you eate some proportion of them they will bind, but if you exceed in eating of them, then are they of the contrarie operation: yet neuer any that hurt themselves by them, eate they neuer so many. It is certaine, that one man eate about a peck of them in some ten houres, and was neuer the worse. Wee take of kind of Berrie vpon the Cedar Tree verie pleasant to eate; and for the Palmuto Tree, the top of it is a great deale sweeter and whollomer than any Cabedge.

In some of our Islands there grows Pepper, but not so good as our *Indian* Pepper: diuers sorts of other good things there is, which the seuerall times of the yeere bring forth one after another: but the top of the Palmuto Tree is in season and good all the yeere. Take a Hatchet and cut him or an Auger and bore him, and it yeelds a very pleasant liquor, much like vnto your *White* Wine: it beares likewise a Berrie in bignesse of a Prune, and in taste much like.

Allo wee haue Oliues grow with vs, but no great store: many other good excellent things wee haue grow with vs, which this short time will not permit mee to write of so largely as I do might; but this is of truth, that Hogs, Turkeys, Fish, and Fowle doe abound as diuit of the earth: for Amber-greece and Pearle wee haue not had leisure, in so few daies since our arrival to goe look out for the one, or to fish for the other: but the three men which were left there, haue found them both. Allo they haue made a great deale of Tobacco, and if some would come thither to kill

Saint Georges
Island.
Three men
had been be-
hind, and went
not to Virginia,
Hatter, Viceroy,
and Cherd.

Commodities
of the Coun-
try.
Fishes.

Tortoise
great, and of
great size.

Fowle.

Hogs by reason
of their
food there, and
our mens flo-
mies, extra-
ordinarily
sweet.
The weather.
Fruites.
Peares not
burnt.

Cedar Berrie.
Palmuto.

Pepper.

Palmuto-liquor.

Amber-greece
and Pearle.

Tobacco.

kill in making it, it would be verie commodious, both to the Merchant, and to the maker of it. And for the Silke-worme, if any were brought ouer, and some of skill to vie them, there would be very much good done with them, for the verie Spider in these our Islands doth weave perfect fine Silke, both Yellow and White.

The Timber of the Country consisteth of three sorts, the one is the Cedar, verie fine Timber to worke vpon, of colour red, and verie sweet: the other sorts we haue no name for, for there is none in the company hath seene the like in other Countries before we came, &c.

Silk Spider.
Timber Trees.
I haue com-
mited the rest of
this discourse,
as being better
knowne to la-
ter Writers.

10 A Copie of the Articles which Master R. Moxe, Governour Deputie of the Sommer Islands, propounded to the Company that were there with him to be subscribed vnto, which hath he and they subscribed the second of August, in his house, Anno 1612. which about the same time he sent into England, to the Warshipfull Company of the Adventurers.

WE, who haue here vnder subscribed our names, being by the great goodnesse of God safely arrived at the *Sommer* Islands, with purpose here to inhabite, doe hereby promise and bind our selves to the performance of the severall Articles hereafter following, and that in the presence of the most glorious God, who hath in mercy brought vs hither.

First, Wee do faithfully promise, and by these presents solemnly binde our selves euer more to worshipping that aforesaid only true and euertlasting God, who hath made the Heauens, and the Earth, the Sea, and all that therein is, and that according to those rules that are prescribed in his most holy Word, and euer to continue in that faith into the which wee were baptised in the Church of *England*, and to stand in defence of the same against all Atheists, Papists, Anabaptists, Brownists, and all other Heretikes and Sectaries whatsoever, dissenting from the said Word and Faith.

Secondly, because the keeping of the Sabbath day holy, is, that wherein a principall part of Gods worship doth consist, and as it were the Key of all the other parts thereof, wee do therefore in the presence aforesaid promise, That we will let apart all our owne labours and employments on that day, vntil it be those that be of meere necessity, much more vaine and vnfruitfull practices, and apply our selves to the hearing of Gods Word, Prayer, and all other exercises of Religion in his Word required, to the vttermost of our power.

Thirdly, Seeing the true worship of God and holy life cannot be secured, wee doe therefore promise in the presence aforesaid, That to the vttermost of our power we will lie together in doctrine that which is iust, both towards God and Man, and in particular we will forbear to take the most holy name of God in vaine, in ordinary swearing by it, or any other thing, or by scoffing, or vaine abusing of his most holy Word, or to vse cursing, or filthy speeches, or any other thing forbidden in Gods most holy Word, as also to lye together without stealing one from another, or quarrelling one with another, or slanderling one of another: And to auoide all things that stand not with the good estate of a Christian Church and well gouerned Common-wealth, as also to embrace the contrary, as Iustice, and Peace, Love, and all other things that stand with the good and comfort of Societies.

Fourthly, Whereas we are here together farre remote from our native soile of *England*, and yet are indeed the naturall Subjects of our most Royall and gracious King IAMES of *England*, Scotland, *France*, and *Ireland*, King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Wee doe therefore in the presence aforesaid, solemnly promise euermore to continue the loyal Subjects of our said Soueraigne King, his Heires and Successors, and neuer to revolt from him, or them, vnto any other whatsoever, but euermore to acknowledge his Supreme Gouernment.

Fifthly, Whereas we were sent hither by diuers Adventurers of the Citie of *London*, and other parts of the Realme of *England*, wee doe here in the presence aforesaid promise to vie all diligence for the good of the Plantation, and not to purloine or imbeile any of the prohibited commodities out of the generall estate, but to vie all faithfulness, as it becometh Christians to doe, as also to be obedient to all such Gouernour or Gouernours, or their Deputie or Deputies, as are, or shall be by them sent to gouerne vs, as also to yeild all reuerence towards the Ministry or Ministers of the Gospel, sent, or to be sent.

Sixthly and lastly, Wee doe here in the presence aforesaid promise, the Lord assisting vs, that if at any time hereafter any forraign power shall attempt to put vs out of this our lawfull possession, not cowardly to yeild vp the same, but manfully to fight as true Englishmen, for the defence of the Common-wealth we lie in, and Gospel we profess, and that whilst we haue breath wee will not yeild to any, that shall inuade vs vpon any conditions whatsoever.

I had thought hitherto to haue added a Letter of M. Hughes, written from thence, Dec: 21. 1614. and printed. But our latter intelligence, being more ample, hath caused mee to omit him and others; Yea all things in some, and some things in all. M. Norwood hath bene a diligent

Successor

The first shall bee the Tortoye, which they call a Turtle: which having some similitude and resemblance with Fishes, Beasts, and Fowles, shall serve instead of a Historie of them all. The other shall be that which they call the prickled Pear-tree: which participating in nature, and resembling in some things, herbs and in other Trees; shall likewise serve in stead of the Natural Historie of them both.

And first of the Turckle, not regarding (for brutities sake) the large Discourses of others; I will only write what I have seen and knowne my selfe. They are in the shape of their bodie like a Crab-fish; and have foure finnes: they are as great as three or foure men can carrie: the vpper part of them is covered with a great shell, which wee call a Galley-patch, weighing (as I take it) halfe a hundred weight: the flesh that cleaveth to the in-side of this being roasted against the fire, is excellent meate: almost like the Marrow of Beefe: but the shell it selfe harder then Horne: free hath also a shell on her belly, not so hard, but being boyled it becometh soft, like the linewes or gristle of Beefe; and good meate. These live in the Sea, spending the Spring time, and part of the Summer about these Islands: but the residue of the yeere, we know not where. They are like to Fowle in respect of the smallnesse and fashion of their heads and neckes: which are wrinkled like a Turkeys, but white, and not so sharpe billed. They also breed their young of Egges which they lay. They resemble Beasts, in that their flesh is like Veale, but more hard and solid; and they feed alwayes vpon grasse growing at the bottom of the waters; neither can they abide any longer vnder water, then they hold their breath; which the old onen without coming vp to breathe. Shortly after their coming in, the Male and Female couple, which wee call cooting; this they continue some three dayes together, during which time, they will carce separate though a Boat come to them, nor hardly when they are smitten. Not long after, the Shee-Turckle comes vp by night vpon some Sandie Bay; and further vp then the water vntill to flow, shee digges a hole with her finne in the Sand, some two foote deepe; and there comming vp severall nights, layes her Egges, some halfe a bushell (which are about the biggnesse of a Hennes Egge, and round as a Ball) and each time covers them with Sand very curiously; so that a man shall hardly finde the place. These Egges (as it seemes) are afterwards hatched by heate of the Sunne, and then by the Providence of God (the meanes are yet vnkowne to vs) are brought out of the earth, for wee could neuer perceive that these returnes any more to them, and yet in likelihood they remaine not long in the Earth after they are hatched, because (as I have before said) they cannot live without breathing. We sometimes see of the young ones no bigger then a mans hand, which some fish will deuoure. They grow slowly, and seeme to have a very long life, they will sleepe on the top of the water; and were wont to sleepe often on the Land, till the Countrey was peopled; they will also live out of the water some three weekes, and that without meate, but mourne and pine away; they are very wittie. Being on the Land turned vpon their backes, they can no more without some helpe or advantage recover themselves; by which meanes when they come on shoare to lay their Egges, they are easily taken, as also they are when they are cooting. But otherwise wee take them for the most part by night, making a great light in a Boate, to which they will come: sometimes twimme, and seldome flunne: so that a man standing readie with a staffe in his hand, which hath at one end a socket, wherein is an Iron file then a mans finger, foure-square and sharpe, with a line fastned to it, hee striking this Iron into the vpper shell of the Turckle, it stukes so fast, that after shee hath a little tired her selfe by swimming too and fro, shee is taken by it. They will live, the head being cut off, foure and twentie houres; so that if you cut the flesh with a Knife, or touch it, it will tremble and shrinke away. There is no meate will keepe long either fresh or salt.

But leauing these, we will now come to speake of the Prickled Peares, which are a fruit growing in these Islands, in such places as are scarce fit for any thing else, namely, vpon Rockes and Cliftes, and commonly by the Sea side, as if the salt-water did somewhat helpe to the generation and nourishing of them. The tree seemes to grow certaine yeeres before it beares fruit, and then to continue bearing, very many yeeres, having almost all the yeere long fruit vpon it. And although we call this a Tree, yet hath it scarce any bodie or branches, but consisteth in a manner wholly of leaues and fruit, soft and brittle.

But we will giue you a Larger Historie of the Creatures from Captaine Smith, in the next Chapter.

CHAP. 63

CHAP. XVIII.

Extracts out of Captaine Iohn Smiths Historie of Bermudas, or Summer Islands; touching the English Acts and Occurrences there from the beginning of the Plantation.



Some one hundred and twentie of the Virginian Company bought that Title which the Company might seeme to haue to Bermudas, and obtained Letters Patents of his Maistie, Sir Thomas Smith was elected Treasurer, and Master Richard Moore lent thither with the first Colonie, which found the three men well, Carter, Chard, and Waters, which had found store of Ambergrice, which was the occasion of great strifes betwixt Moore and Kendall, (who was imprisoned) Chard (who was condemned and on the Ladder to be hanged, but reprieved, and all Moors thought did better him. *See was non vobis*, was the conclusion of that Treatise to the finders, howsoever Danies and Kendall are laid to haue licked their fingers well. For the natural Historie thereof I haue added thus much out of him to that which before hath beene delivered by others.

The most troublesome to these Islands are the Winds and Wormes, specially in the Spring and Autumne, rather to awaken indolence then to cause despair.

The Muskates or Flies are very busie, with a certaine Indian bugge called by the Spaniards, *Cacacacach*, which creeping into Chitts by their ill sented dung dele ale, besides their eating, Little Ants are in Summer so troublesome that they are forced to dry their Eggs on high frames, anointing the feete with Tare which stay their passage that els would spoile all. Wormes in the earth are noisome to their Come and Tobacco, causing them great labour euery morning to destroy them; which els would destroy all. Large Lizards haue beene there, now destroyed by the Cats. Spiders are large but beautifully coloured, as if they were adorned with Silver, Gold, and Pearle; their Webs in Summer wouen from Tree to Tree a perfect raw Silke in substance and colour, so strong that Birds like Snites bigger then Black-birds, are snared in their Nets.

There are grey and white Hearn, grey and greene Plover, wild Ducks, and Mallards, Coots, Red-thanks, Sea-wigeons, grey Bitermes, Cormorants, numbers of small Birds, like Sparrowes and Robbins, which haue lately beene destroyed by the Wild Cats, very many Wood-peckers, Crows, which since the Plantation are killed, and seldome seene except in places least inhabited, where they are obserued to take their flight about Sun-set, directing their course toward the North-west, which causeth the coniecture of other Islands. (Yea, the Spaniards say this is not true Bermudas, &c.) sometimes also are seene Falcons, Larfalcons, O'prays, a Bird like a Hobby, holden but a passenger.

The Cobow is so termed of his voice; a night Bird all day hid in the Rockes. The Egge-bird on the first day of May constantly obserued to come, they begin to lay Eggs as big almost as Hens Eggs; so continuing till Mid-summer, so tame you must thrust them off: then permitted to breed (growing weeke) and their young are excellent meate. The Egges of those are white; of the Cobowes speckled, as bigge as Hennes: strict inhibition was made for their sparing being almost destroyed.

The Tropick Bird hath his name of the places where he is most seene. Another Bird of her Cry is called *Pemblico*, seldome seene by day, an vnwelcome Prophet of Tempests by her clamorous crying. Owles are now gone, Pigeons prosper not, Tame Duckes and Geese are there.

Now for Plants there growing, the most remarkable are, the *Poyson-weed*, which is much in shape like our English Iule, with the touch thereof causeth rednesse, itching and blisters, all which after a while passe away of themselves without further hurt.

The *Red-weed* is a tall Plant, whole halke is covered with a red rind; the Roote sleepe, or a small quantitie of the iuyce drunke alone procureth a forceable Vomit, generally vied and effectually against distempers of the stomacke.

A kind of *Wood-bird* is common neere the Sea running on Trees like a Vine: the fruit somewhat like a Beane but flatter, which eaten any way causeth to purge vehemently, yet without further harme.

Another small Tree causeth cosueneesse. There is also a Plant like a Bramble, bearing a long yellow fruit with a hard shell, and within a hard Berrie which stamped and taken inwardly, purgeth gently.

Red-Pepper is a fruit like our Barberies, which beaten, or bruised with the Teeth, sets all the meuch on a heat, for the time terrible; but swallowed whole haue the same operation that blacke Pepper.

The *Sea-feather* is a Plant growing on the Rockes in the bottom of the Sea in forme of a Vine-leave, but farre more spread with veins of a palish red, strangely interlaced and woued into each other: the vertue vnkowne.

clame thy right, which within halfe a yeere fell out accordingly. *Powell* returned with three Frigates, laden with Meale, Hides, and Munition. The *Malter* and *Goumour* contending, both were dispossessed by a stronger power. *Waters*, with twelve men were sent to *Virginia*, and would no more returne to *Summers* Isles.

A. 1618. arrived there the *Diana*, with men and proumon, and the *mtt Maggonet* (a courtle 1618.
Maggonet not
 so proumon as
 intended.

heare not much apphauled by the Planters here, or in *Virginia*, the companies honest care) leeming
 by some others dilhonestic frustrate. This Ship fraught with 20000. weight of Tobacco, gaue by
 the good faile thereof encouragement to the Adventurers. The Gouverneur building a house of
 Cedar in the belt Land appropriated it to himselfe to the griefe of others there, of whom *Mather*
Hughes could not by threats nor imprisonment be so pacified, but that here to the Company here
 to

Two ships sent

Cap-Builer
Gouvern. 1619.

Capitaine Builer, the new Gouvenour arrived in the *Warwick*, the twentieth of October, 1619. The *Redoubt*, a platforme of the Kings Castle, at the same time whiles the New Goutenour and the old Planters were feasting abroad, accidentally was consumed with fire. The next month the *Warwick* was again consumed with fire, and so forcible him, as a patient suiter, the *Garland*, which had come from *England* to tedious, that many both *Seylers* and *Paffengers* died, weekes on the voyage, which proved to be a storme that many great *Trees* were blown up by the roots, the end of November, a more terrible storme that many great *Trees* were blown up by the roots, the *Warwick* call a storme, the *Garland* forced to cut her *Masts* outenore. Not long after happened another as fierce, in which the *Moant*, built by *Ma. Moore* for a Watch-tower, was blowne up by the roots; and their winter crop of Corn blasted.

He began the new year with reformatizing the *Kings Castle*, and minding the *1764* *Articles*; took nine Pieces of Ordnance out of her. He sent the *Garland for England*. He finished the Church begun by Captain *Kendall*, with great coile got three Pieces out of the wrecked *Warwick*, employed a *Dutch Carpenter* of the former *Dutch* wreck to build Boates. A luckie fellow in February, found a piece of *Ambergreece* of eight Ounces, as hee had done twice afore, and according to order of Court (to prevent concealments) had therfore thrice pound an Ounce. Two *Dutch* Frigots arrived, conducted by Captain *Powell*, and much refreshed the Colony with Oyle and Bacon at cheap rates. The Gouverneur made a new platform in place of the burned *Redoubt*, and mounted seven great Pieces on Carriages of Cedar. The Ministers not being conformable to the Church of *England*, nor uniforme with them selves in administration of the Sacrament, and Matrimony. Hee translated the Liturgic Booke of *Garnier* and *Lafse*, void of the pretended scruples which was generally embraced, and in his time practised, and the Sabbath observation proclaimed. They rebuked the *Mount*, and divers Boats was indangered with a *Herican*, one lost. Hee finding a little Crosse erected where *Sir George Summers* his heart and entrals were buried: hee caused a Marble stone brought out of *England*, to bee handsomely wrought, and an Epitaph engraven, in memory of that worthy Soldier, and laid thereon, inruined with a square wall of hewed stone.

On the second of June, began their Alt 228, in which was a general Assembly in manner of a Parliament, at Saint George, duers Articles concluded, and being forthwith, by the Company confirmed, which for brevities omit. The *Magazine* Ship soone after came in waiked at Sea a weeke longer, having cast aboard twenty or thirtie of her people, and had they stayed at Sea a weeke longer, they were likely to have all perished. That are soon mended or ends men in that cafe, and those which died not soone after the landing recovered, not without infection of others there, 70000. weight of Tobacco was prefixed for the freight. Commandment came now to entertaine 10. Ships, but such as were sent from the Company, to the Colonies great griefe, which now were forced to a *Magazine* Monoply, and debarred of occasional reliefe. Cap. *Powell* soone after came thither, employed by the States, desiring admittance for wood and water, which was denied with exceptioning, and murmuring and exclaiming of the Colony. The *Magazine* Ship arrived, her Master dead, Spanish Wrack, and no passengers, the rest sick.

thagena, most of his men slain or hanged, hee wounded died in the Woods, as these *Spaniards* related. Three Bulwarkes were raised at *Southampton* Fort, with two Curtens and two Jaueles. Armes were distributed to all such as were able to vse them.

Weaue's cure,

April and May were spent in building a Prison, and perfecting some Fortifications, and four
Sakers were gotten from the *Spanish* Frigate, and mounted at the Forts. One was hanged for
buggering a Sow, while Cock in the time of his imprisonment vied aloft to tread a Pig, as if it
had been a Hen, till the Pig languished and died, and then the Cock haunted the same Sow. A-
bout the same time two Chickens were hatched, one of which had two heads, the other is said
to have crowed loud and lustily within twelve hours after it was out of the shell. Other Peeces
were got out of the *Spanish* Frigate, and a Saker also out of that of *Sir George Summers*.

By a Barke going to *Virginia*, Captain *Baker*, his time expiring, conceived himself thither, leaving the government to *C. Felgate C. Stokes*, &c. In the Kings Cattle were mounted, or sufficient to furnish the Garrison with *fourteen* Pieces of Ordnance, in *Charles Fort*, two in *Southernmost Fort* he, between which & the Cattle passeth the channel into the Harbor, secured by *twenty three* Pieces of good Ordnance. In *Compelle* is *Pembroke Fort*, with two Pieces. *Saint George* channell is guarded by *Smiths Fort* and *Payets Fort*, in which are eleven Pieces. *Saint Georges* Townes command is by *Smiths Fort*, which has *three* great Pieces, on the Wharfe before the Governours house are *four* more, besides the warning Piece at the *Mount*, and three in *Saint Katherine*, in all renne *Fortresses*, and *fifty two* Pieces of Ordnance sufficient and serviceable. Here left one thousand five hundred persons, and neere one hundred Boates, the Ile replenished with provisions, fruites, poultry, &c.

Malter *John Bernard*, was sent by the Honourable Company to supply his place, who arrived within eight dayes of Captaine *Butlers* departure, with two Ships, and one hundred and forty Passengers, with Armes and all sorts of Munition and other provisions. During his life (which continued but sixe weekes) hee gave good prooffe of his sufficiency in reforming things defective. He and his wife were both buried in one day, and one graue : and Master *John Harrison* chosen Governour till further order came from *London*.

The Worms before mentioned are full troublefome, and make them morning voyagers to fill the them. Caterpillars are pernicious to their fruits, and Land Crabs are as thicke in some places, as Conies in a Warren, and doe much harme. A Ship in which had beene much swearing and blaspheming vied all the voyage, perished; the companies negligence iustly frolicking in their cups, and Tobacco (hauing landed certaine goods) by accident the Powder fired, and blew up the greater Cabbin; some were taken up in the Sea, lying in miserable condition, the others were lodg'd without this, and the Ship alow'd. Barrells of Meale sent for Virginia, and her other provisions lost. The Company haue sent Captain Woodhouse in a Ship called the *Tigre* for that government, a man much commended and hopeful. I haue bene told that there are three thousand persons of all sorts living there, a halfe of which number is able to beare Armes, and exercised to that feruice.

CHAP. XIX.

Briefe intelligence from Virginia by Letters, a Supplement of French-Virginian Occurrants, and their supplantation by Sir SAMUEL ARGAL, in right of the English Plantation.

The late Generation of *Virginia* Government is unknowne to none; and most known of the frequent complaints, both by private Letters, and by Petition to his Majesty. Now least any should hereupon thinke *Virginia* to be unworthy of such our care and cost; I haue out of one of the Planters private Letters transcribed a few words of grievances, and yet a magnifying of the Country, that the *English* may be more blamed for want of Prouidence, then the Region for defect of Natures best gifts. Other things I could alleadge from others, but my meaning is to amend things not to quarrell

quarrell them, and to awaken the care of good men, rather then to recite the faults of the bad. In one Letter, dated Dec. 22. last past, he hath these words:

He mentions
in other letters
3. a pound of
Butter, 6. d. ready
money for a
pint of Milk,
to 20. 12. 6. a
workman (Car-
penter) besides
meate and
lodging.

The intolerable rates we pay here for commodities, at ten pound sterling a hoghead of Meale, sixteen shillings a gallon of Alicant, three pound sterling a Heene and eight Chickens &c. &c. and so according to the rate for every thing else. I lately, by the heavy taxation that are laid upon us free men, for building of Gallies, paying of publicque debts, for the great gathering of Saffraze, &c. so that will come to my share, with that that is paid, and that that is to pay in Corne and Tobacco, so at least twenty or five and twenty pound sterling this year; so that when I have paid this, and paid my fatherless Aquatics their wages, I shall scarce have good Tobacco enough left to buy my self for the next year a pint of French Brandy. Thus you see (I neither warrant, nor except against the truth, but present the worthy quarrelled parlied with the belt) complaints of great prizes of things, not arising from plenty of money as you read before in the conquest of Peru, but from I know not what ill habit and indisposition of that Colony. And least any man should withdraw his heart, hand, or purse therefore from that worthy work, I have out of the same mans Letters delivred a commendation of the Country. The Letters were written, and dated 23. March 1624. and containe for substance none other then what before you have read in others; yet are more suitable to this time and purpose, as later newes and sifter directories to the Philistines of that Estate; that at last the English honour may be vindicated against to bale perils from Saugies, and bafe quarrels from and amongst our owne. God prosper his Maiesties care, and make those which are therein employed not to seek their owne good by hally returns, much less other their fellow adventures cuill by calumnies and underminings, but Virginia prosperity; of which, Natures prosperity is thus related by one quarrels of his owne lilles and crosses. His words are these:

Now concerning the State of the Country, so much as I have observed, I will relate unto you: First the Country is fife, I must confesse it is a very pleasant Land, rich in Commodities, and fertile in foyles, produce all manner of Plants, Herbes, and Fruits. I have scene here my selfe both Carrets, Turneps, Cabbages, Onions, Leeks, Garlick, Turneps, Parsley, Pumpions, Muskmelon, and other melons; rare fruits and exceeding wholesome, there are also Strawberries; I have liewe down in one place in my Corne field, and in the compass of my reach have filled my belly in the place: and for Mulberries, I can when I list goe and gather a bushell at a time: there is also a coole Fruite growing widely on the ground, much resembling a great Walnut with the greene rinde on it, which I referme in to three admirable good tastes, namely 30 of Strawberries, Rosewater, and Sugar, they were an exceeding great comfort to me in my last years sickness, and are admirable good against the bloody fluxe.

English Wheate and Barley will grow here exceeding well; I have scene here growing as good English Wheate as ever I saw in England in all my life. For Timber we have the Oaks, Ashes, Poplar, blacke Walnuts, white Walnuts, Pines, Gumme trees; the Pines here afford admirable good Pitch and Tarre, and serve, split out in small peeces in many places of this Land instead of Candles; but it will smeele one worse then a Link: here are also Pearre trees yearly bring forth Pearre. But there is a tree that passeth all Fruite trees, which we call by the names of a Persimmon tree, which beareth a Plum much about the bignesse of a Pearre plum. I doe thinke it is one of the rarest Fruits in the world; when they are ripe they eat naturally of themselves fower the best Fruite that any person could desire. I have tasted in Eng. 40 land. The Beasts that are better then any I have tasted in France, are in some parts, Beares, Otters, Foxes, Hares, Squirrels, Raccoons, Foxgins, names I knowe to you, yet are they singular good meate the Raccoons, taking as well as Pigges flesh. Indian Dogges here are as good meate with us as your English Lambe. English Cattell here increase and thrive very well, as Kine, Hoggies, Goats, and Poultry. Fowls here are abundance, as Swans, Brants, Geese, Turkeys, Herons, Cranes, Eagles, fishing Hawkes, Buffards, Ducks and Mallards, Sheldrakes, Depchicks, Partridges, Pidgeons, Crows, Blacke-birds, and all manner of small Birds in abundance. Our Rivers here are likewise rich by the abundance of Fish, as Herrings, Shads, Perch, Eels, Pike, Carpe, Cat-fish, Rock-fish, Goe-fish, and Sturgeon. If there were any that would be fishing for Sturgeon an occupation, they might take might to furnish this Land, and also plentifully supply England. I my selfe have scene above twenty Sturgeon leape 30 above water in less then two houres. As for our Graze, I thinke it produceth the plentifullest increase of any Corne in the World; for I have scene one graine of Corne, that by the assistance of growth and time, hath yielded a pint of Corne: we have here also Beanes and Pease.

I confesse here are plenty of all those things I have said before you, but all the craft is in catching them; for be that will get any game, must be a wary and a well eyed shot, and to prop his profession, he must add great care and vigilance, both in defending himselfe and winning his game. It hath beene often scene in this Land, that whilst an Englishman hath beene winning his game, an Indian hath digged him, according to his opportunity by the others discharge to fill him full of Arrows. Since the Majesties they have killed us our owne doore yeelds, and knoweth: those are not my selfe neither at home nor abroad; and (which grieves me to write) our Justice is lessened by our malice one to another, for the worst part altogether neglecting the common enemy. My selfe and my wife are by some secret enemies much wronged for I am fowen so bare, that I have scarce any other Garret, Girdle, Stocking, or Shirt left; all my wearing Clothes likewise are torne and scattered, I can accuse no man, and they that likewise doe it, doe it privately, and which grieves me most of all, they strike by base and insinuating means to clip the wings, as well of

my profession as of my reputation; yet I hope God will give me patience to beare, and in his good time give me a tryall deliverance in the midst of all these miseries. Whilst I was writing these lines, newes was brought me of the killing of one, and the carrying away prisoner of another of my neighbours, by the Indians; one was an old Virginian, and one who for a long time was Sir Thomas Dale his Overseer in this Land, his name was Master Henry Watkins: and but two daies agoe there was another that had his braines beaten out by the Indians, in the next Plantation to us, wherefore with a sad and sorrowfull heart I take my leave of you dear Father, Mother, Sisters, Brethren, and all the rest of my kinde and loving friends; for the safe Islands so with us here, that if wee goe out in the morning, wee know not whether wee shall ever returne; working with our Hoe in one hand, and our Peccor or Sword in the other, &c.

And now from latest intelligence you have notice of the good and cuill, as becometh a faithfull Historian, *nequid non veri audent, nequid non verum audent*; It is good to know the worst, to prevent it: forewarned, forearmed. Eaily you may see that the good things of Virginia are natural and her owne, the bad accidentall and our owne; and consequently if wee amend our selves, Virginia will soon be amended. The body there is found; to cut the haire, aside the excrescences, pare the nailes, wash away sweate and dust, and to cure other like accidents of negligence, or impeminent and unprofitable diligence, is a worke feasible and scile alio to in-diguitous and vnnamorous workemen. One thing touching the French, whose Plantations are before recited) remaineth, that we take away all scruple from feare of suspected neighbours: I shall therefore adde a little more touching them, the conclusion of their Virginian Plantation in a double sense. As for the English right to these parts, the next Chapter will shew, and consequently the Iustice of Sir Samuel Argall's act. The Patents to Sir Henry Gyllbert, and to Sir Walter Raleigh, and their actual possession before their latter Plantations may be alleagued likewise against the French. These things I have collected out of Sir William Alexanders *Encouragement to Colonies*; Les Carbot hath also related them.

The Marquise de la Roche, by a Commission from Henry the fourth, intending a Voyage for Canada, happened by the way upon the Ile of Sablon (which is now comprehended within the Patent of new Scotland) and there (trusting to the strength of the place, where there are no Skirmishes at all) landed some of his men, till he should have found a convenient place within the maine 30 Land fit for a habitation, promising then to returne for them. But it was his fortune, by reason of contrary winds, never to finde the Maine Land, but he was blowne backe to France without doing of them, where he was in the time of the cuill warres (such is the vncertainty of world-ly things) taken prisoner by the Duke of Morcar, and shortly after died, so that his people whom he had left at Sablon, furnished but for a short time, had quickly spent their provisions, having for their maintenance only such things as the place it selfe did without labour freely afford; which hath a race of Cowes, as is thought, first transported thither by the Portugals, that have long continued there: they had likewise there growing wilde, of this which we call Turkey Wheate, and Iundry Rootes fit to be eaten, and every where abundance of Filices, with Venison, and (having no meanes to lue but by sport) as for their Apparell, they clothed themselves with 40 the Skins of fish creatures as they could kill by Land or Sea: so that having liew there for the space of 12. years: when they were presented to King Henry, who had hired a Fisherman to bring them home, as I have heard from them that did live at first before the King, they were in very good health, and looked as well as if they had lived all that time in France: having bin acquainted by the Fisherman, who cunningly concealing that he had bin directed by the King, did bar-gaine with them to have all their Skins for transporting them home, which were of great value, some of them being of blacke Foxes, which have bin sold at fiftie pound sterling a peece and above: for the recovery thereof they intended a Proccesse against him before the Court of Parli-ament at Paris, wherein they prevailed, gaining by that meanes a flooke wherewith to traffique in these parts againe.

Monseigneur de Montes betaking himselfe to trade for Furs, Monsieur Poutrincourt resolving 50 to prolecuete the Plantation at that place sent his sonne Biencourt to France, to bargain with some that would fend them a supply, such as was requisite for establishing of that Colonie.

The first that embraced his propositions were the Jesuites, who as they have ordinarily good wits which made them the rather capable of so advantageous a proiect, so they were the more animated thereunto by vbraiding the laziness of our Clergie, to which with what feruency they travelled to propagate the Gospell, in doing whereof (whether it be ambition or devotion that provokes them) sparing no paines, they have trauelled both to the East and West Indies; and to the admired Kingdome of China. Their society in France, preuailing with all that had any inclination either to zeale or to vertue, did easily gather a voluntary contribution for the furthering of so commendable a purpose. Thereafter they sent away some twenty Fathers of their Company, with a new supply of all things necessary to the Plantation at Port Royal, but shortly after their arrival (their predominant disposition hardly yielding to any request, especially if it be a singular power); they began to contradict Poutrincours in the execution of those decrees which had bin

Cartierella made a voyage to those parts in 1500, and another story: After this his brother died, he bought lost, comes another story: the land was called Terra Cartierella from de St. Lawrence.

that all his created excellence ran out: for neither were the substance or faculties of the foule ex-
 tended, nor his prerogative over the visible creatures (the spiritual creature naturally exceeding the
 body, and the reasonable and living, the sensitive, vegetative and torpid:) they received a
 wound, the other (his spiritual and religious conformitie in thele to God) as a *pure water* of the
 pure life, ran forth irrecoverably; and as our naturall parts were weakened and wounded, so of
 those supernaturall we were utterly robbed; till that good Samaritan vnderooke the restitution
 of that redemption, whereunto in creation he had given first institution, *God hath laid upon him
 the iniquities of us all, and in his stripes we are healed*: our Charter is renewed and now made com-
 plete, that whereas the diuells thought to rob man of Earth and Paradise, *He which subleth the
 plea in his craftinesse* hath restored him: my (that is little) hath added Heauen *Canaanites*; that as
 10 the *Israelites* entred vpon the houses, Cities and possessions of the curd *Canaanites*, so Chri-
 stians into thole Thrones and ecclesiastical Dominions, which thole spiritual Thrones and Domi-
 nions lust, and there laue God himselfe and the Lambe to be their *Temple* and *All in all* vntothem
 for euer, Amen.

Hence is it that Christians (such as haue the Grace of the Spirit of Christ, and not the profes-
 sion of his name alone) haue and hold the world and the things thereof in another tenore, where-
 of Hypocrites and Heathens are not capable. These laue only a *Naturall right*, by the reliques
 of the Law of Nature left in Man, by the Creators goodnesse, for the conseruation of the face of
 the world in the world; the same further improved with a warrantization, *Contra omnes gentes* (or
 nations, diuersely) by the Law of Nations vnto Nations, and Lawes Politicke and Ciuill in each
 20 C. viii. allotting to the members thereof the publike and priuate ciuil rights and tenures, which
 either publike or priuate, persons or corporations, lieth therein.

This tenure comparatively that Christian, is by our Lord himselfe called a *tenure in villegance*,
 that of *fomes*: the *feruants* hath his time and *abides not in the house for euer*: but the *fome* is
 fee simple (*fee simplici*) for euer. Neither yet is it lawfull for Christians, to viurpe the goods
 and lands of Heathens; for they are villans not to vs; but to our and their Lord: nor hath the
 30 sonne in monage power to dispossesse villans: nor are we fomes by nature, but by adoption,
 and a later Evangelicall Charter which not dissimul the former (*the Truth*, or Word of the
 Gospel received by Faith, *makes vs free*) five Tenants to our Lord, not Lordly subuersors of
 others tenures; which may with a good conscience be pitched, all things it toucheth, are *defiled*) and not,
 which others cannot, whose *conscience* we see our owne (*All things to the pure are pure*, 30
 1. Cor. 7. Tit. 1.

My Kingdomes, faith he, *is not of this world*, and therefore properly meldeeth not with propriety
 and ciuill interests. The weapons of our warfare, faith Saint Paul, *are not carnall* but spiritual, and
 the Keyes so much boasted on by *Peters* pretended Successors, are called *Keyes of the King-
 domes of Heauen*; lawfull keyes, not thieueish picklocks; of Heauen, not of Earth. And it is remark-
 able that the Pope nor Anabaptist (the troubles of Israel with worse then Heathenish con-
 ceits in this kind) euer inuerted or interuerted Scepters, till they had denied the very Christian
 40 names which they received in Baptisme; nor dispossesse government till they were twice dead, nor pro-
 nounced this *liberty* to others, till themselves were the *feruants of corruption*. Euen a Malefactor,
 Traytor, a very *Fane*, or *Rauillac*, is permitted to breath, yea is in prison, the Kings house (where-
 soeuer private hand may dispossesse him) maintained at the Kings charge, till judgement haue pas-
 sed on him, which to the world is not till the end of the world, when Christ shall come to iudge
 the quick and dead; who once so respected the iurisdiction of Ethnicks, that himselfe was there-
 fore adiuaged to the worst of fullenies, yea acknowledged that *power* given to Pilate from above. His
 Birth acknowledged Augustus his Edict, his Infancy hel *Herods* tyranny, his Man-hood vnder
 Birth acknowledged Augustus his Edict, his Infancy hel *Herods* tyranny, his Man-hood vnder
 50 *Tiberius* tribute, and his Death was *Roman* both in kind and sentence. Let every soule be subiect to
 the higher powers, yeeled these noble armies of Martyrs in the Primitive Church; the contrary
 wherof hath yielded Maltitudes and Monstres in these last and worst days.

Therefore was *Babels* building in the East (and shall not *Babels* building in the West be)
 confounded that men might be dispersed thow the world, to take possession of their inheri-
 tance: and God which said, *Replenish the earth, hath made of one blood all Nations of men, to dwell on
 all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times and bounds of their habitation*. He gaue *Ar* to
 the children of *Ar*, and the Land of the *Horims* to *Esaus* possention, though not with like con-
 60 sent as *Canaan* to *Israel*: and it was by speciall indulgence, that *Israel* both spoiled the *Egyptians*
 and disherited the *Canaanites*. Let it be enough, that Christ hath giuen vs our inheritance in the
 1. Cor. 3. 1. Cor. 13.

1. Cor. 3. 1. Cor. 13.

1. Cor. 3. 1. Cor. 13.

1. Cor. 3. 1. Cor. 13.

1. Cor. 3. 1. Cor. 13.

1. Cor. 3. 1. Cor. 13.

1. Cor. 3. 1. Cor. 13.

This should be, and in the most A Juenturers I hope is the scope of the *Virginian* Plantation, not
 to make Sauges and wild degenerate men of Christians but Christians of thole Sauges, wild, de-
 generate men; to whom preaching must needs be vaine, if it begins with publike La rocinie.
 And this is sufficient to present scruple of the Popes Bul, which (if *Bajaz* Buis tearing were eui-
 dence) maketh alit against *England*; this being no lesse questionable then *Virginia*, *Panl*, *Pans*, *Gregory*
 10 *Saxus* breathing as much ne against this, as *Alexander* for that. But vnto right can *England*
 then challenge to *Virginia*? I am woe, that we would be loth to begin our right at wrong, either
 to Ethnick or Christian, nor need we haue manifold iust interests. First, as men, we haue
 a naturall right to *replenish the whole earth*: so that if any Countrey be not possessed by other men,
 which is the case of *Summer Islands*, and hath bene of all Countreies in their first habitation) eury
 man by Law of Nature and Humantie hath right of Plantation and may not by other after com-
 mers be dispossessed, without wrong to human nature. And if a countrey be inhabited in some parts
 thereof, other parts remaining vnpeopled, the same reason giueh libertye other men which want
 convenient habit: to so feat themselves, where (without wrong to others) they may prouide for
 themselves. For these haue the same right vnto these latter parts, which the former had to the for-
 mer especially where the people is wild, and holdeth no settled possession in any parts. Thus the
 holy Patriarchs remoued their habitations and pasturages, when those parts of the world were not
 yet replemished: and thus the whole world hath bene planted and peopled with former and later
 20 *Columbes* and thus *Virginia* hath room enough for her own (were their numbers an hundred times
 as many) and for others also which wanting at home, seekke habitations there in vacante place,
 which perhaps better right then the first, which (eing like *Cain*, both Murtherers and Vaga-
 bonds in their whatsoeuer and howsoeuer owne) I can hardly call *Indubitants*. To question this
 right, were to scull a not all Nations which were rooted (for the most part) in no other credit:
 and to dispossesse also the Duine Ordinance of *replenishing the Earth*, whole habitations were
 30 to be like scattered Islands in the Seas, or as the present Spanish Plantations in the *Indies*,
 so dispersed and diuorced that one cannot in any districke spauce another, and therefore are made
 an euer prey to eury Inuader. Another right is that of Merchandise; *Non omnia possumus omnes*,
Nec vno terra ferre omnia omnia possumus: God in manifold wisdom hath diuised eury Countrey
 Countreies commodities, so that all are rich, and all poore; not that *one should be hungry and another*
 40 *drunken*, but that the whole world might be as one body of mankind, each member communicating
 with other for publike good. He hath made this immutable decree in the mutability of the Winds,
 commodities & commodiousness of Seas, and Harbors, varietie of Baies and Riuers, multiplicity of
 all Mens both Necessities and Superfluities, and their vniuersall desires of Nouelties. Thus *Salomon*
 and *Hiram* had right to layle ouer the Ocean, and to negotiate with the *Opbrians*
 for *Gummes*, Gold, Ivory, and other commodities seruicible for his peoples necessities,
 for pompous Magnificence, and for the Temples Holies. And if hee did not plant Colonies
 there, you will remember that the *Iewish* Pale was then standing, which prohibited voluntarie
 50 remote dwellings, where each man was thrice a yeere to appeare before the Lord in *Ierusa-*
lem. Besides, it is a question whether the Countrey peopled so long before, had room for
 40 such a right.

It is therefore vngodly, and inhumane also to deny the world to men, or like *Manger degees*
 (neither to eat hay themselves, nor to suffer the hungry Oxe) to prohibit that for others in-
 habitation, wherof themselves can make no vse, or for merchandise, whereby much benefit ac-
 crewth to both parts. They which doe this, *Tollunt a vna vita societatem*, to vse *Tullius*
 phrase, *ex homine ex homine tollunt*, to borrow Saint *Jerome* in another matter. The *Barbarians*
 themselves by light of nature law this, and gaue Ours kind entertainment in mutual cobitation
 and commerce: and they hauing not the Law were a Law to themselves, practically acknow-
 60 ledging this Law of Nature written by him, which is *Natura naturans*, in their hearts: from
 which if they since haue declined, they haue lost their owne Naturall, and giuen vs another: Na-
 tional right; their transgression of the Law of Nature, which rieth Men to Men in the rights of
 50 *Natures* commons, expelling them (as a forfeited bond) to the chailement of that common
 Law of mankind; and alloo our parts to the leutenie of the Law of Nations, which tyeth
 Nation to Nation. And if they be not worthy of the name of a Nation, being wilde and Sa-
 uage; yet as slaues, bordering rebels, excommunicates and out-laws are liable to the punish-
 ments of Law, and not to the pleasures. So is it with these *Barbarians*, Borderers and Out-
 laws of Humantie. *Arma tenentis, Omnia dat viua iussu negat*, if the Armes be vsed, as in this
 case of vindicating vnnaturall, inhumane wrongs to louing and profitable Nation, entertained
 voluntarily in time of greatest pretended amity. On the quarrell *Dauid* conquered all the King-
 60 dome of the *Ammonites* unless it cost the death of many generations, notwithstanding *Mose*
 had otherwise left a speciall caution for their security, testifying that God had giuen it the
 Ionnes of *Laet*, and prohibiting inuasion to *Israel*. That naturall right of cobitation and commerce
 we had with others, this of iust inuasion and conquest, and many others praeuious to this, we haue
 about others; that *England* may both by Law of Nature and Nations challenge *Virginia* for her
 owne peculiar propriety, and that by all right and rites vsuall amongst men, not those mentioned.

P. 13. 8.
P. 16 & 21.
Ex 1.
The workes of
God, and vi-
sible three from
for his
glorie.

Propagations of
the Gospel: &
rewards thereof

O/e 1.

1. sm. 5. 10.

Obed. ult.
1. Cor. 13. 2.
Matth. 4. 23.

1. Tim. 4. 8.

Answers to
Objections: &
first to the
want of Gold
and Silver
Mines.

Lord, for hee hath commanded and they were created: How much more should the tongue of man be the *Pen of a ready writer*, and as it is called, *The glory of the man*, to employ it selfe in writing forth the glory of God, in his Workes of Creation, Providence, Redemption?

God is a Glorious Circle, whose Center is every where, his circumference no where: to himselfe is Circle and Circumference, the Ocean of Entirety, that very *being*, from whom to whom (the Centre of vnicite) all diversified kinds of varietie issue and returne. And although we whom (the Centre of present Deity, yet the difference of heavenly climate and influence, causing such discording concord of dayes, nights, seasons, such varietie of meteors, elements, aliments, such nouetie in Beasts, Fishes, Fowles; such luxuriant plenty and admirable rarities of Trees, Shrubs, Herbs; such feruile of soyle, intumescence of Seas, multiplicitie of Rivers, 10

Forces, healthfulness of ayre, opportunities of habitation, materials for action, objects for contemplation, haps in present, hopes of future, worlds of varietie in that diversified world; doe quicken our mindes to apprehend, where our tongues to declare, and fill both with arguments of diuine praise. On the other side considering for good a Countrey, to ill bad people, haue little of Humaneitie but shape, ignorant of Ciuititie, of Arts, of Religion; more brutish then the beasts they hunt, more wild and vnnanny then that vnnannyed wild Countrey, which they range rather then inhabit; captiued alio to Satans tyranny in foolish pieties, mad impieties, wicked idleness, burie and bloody wickedness: hence haue wee fit objects of zeale and pittie, to *distan*

from the power of darkness, that where it was said, *Ye are not my people, they may be called the children of the living God*: that Iustice may to proceed in rooting out those murderers, that yet in *indignation* (mistaking Gods dealing with vs) we may remember *Mercy* to such as their owne Innocence shall protect, and Hope shall in Charitie iudge capable of Christian Faith. And let men *learn that hee which converteth a sinner from the error of his way, shall save a soule from death, and shall bring a multitude of sinners. And Saviours shall thus come on Mount Zion to iudge the Mount of Eban, and the Kingdom of (of Virginia) shall be Lord*. Thus shall wee at once overcome both Men and Demills, and *oppose Virginia to one husband, preferring her as a chaste Virgin to Christ*. If the eye of Adversaries were thus single, how loone and all the body should be light! But the loosing our sight more then God hath detained to great blessings from vs to Virginia, and *from Virginia to vs*, *God himselfe hath the promises of this life, and that which is to come*. And if wee be careful to use Gods will, we will be ready to doe ours. 30

All the rich endowments of Virginia, her Virgin-portion from the creation nothing *lefted*; are wages for this worke: God in wisdome haue enriched the Savage Countreies, that those riches might be attractions for Christian livers, which there may *some spirituals and reape temporal*.

But what are those riches, where we heare of no Gold nor Silver, and see more impoverished here then thence enriched, and for Mines we heare of none but Iron? Iron mines! Iron ages of the world! who gave Gold or Silver the Monopoly of wealth, or made them the Almighties darlings? Precious perils, specious punishments, whose originall is neereft bell, whose health is darkness, which haue no eye to see the heavens, nor admit heavens eye (guilty makers) for they them; neuer produced to light but by violence, and conuined, upon records written in blood, the occasions of violence in the World; which haue int'fied the surface of their native earth with deformity and sterility (these Mines being fit emblems of mindes couetous, stored with want, and euer wanting their owne fülle) her bowels with darkness, damps, deaths, causing trouble to the neighbour Regions, and mischief to the remoter! Penurious mindes! Is there no riches but Gold Mines? Are Iron Mines neglected, reiected for hopes of Siluer? What, and who else is the Alchymist, and impolitor, which turns the World, and Men, and all into Iron? And how much Iron-works in Warres and Massacres hath American Gold and Silver wrought throw all *Christendome*? Neither speake I this, as if our hopes were blasted, and growne deplorable and desperate this way, the Countrey being little searched, and the remote in-land-Mountaines vn-

knowne: but to shew the fordid tincture and base alloy of these Mine-minde. Did not the *Spanish Iron* (tell me you that contemne Iron-mines) draw to it the *Indian Siluer* and Gold? I will not be a Prophet for *Spane from Virginia*. But I cannot forget the wily apophthegme of the Pilgrims Boy in the *Cadugeo*, a great Ship laden with treasure taken in the South Sea, by Sir *Francis Drake*; who seeing the *English* Ordnance command such treasure from the *Spanish Cadugeo*; *Our Ship*, said he, *shall be called the Caculapa, and the English may be named the Cadugeo*. I will not be so vnnanny to give you the homely *English*; it is enough that *English* Iron brought home the *Spanish-Indian Siluer* and Gold. But let vs consult with the wisest Counsellour. *Canaan*, *Abrahams* promise, *Israels* inheritance, type of heauen, and ioy of the earth! What were their riches? were they not the Grapes of *Ephod*, the balme of *Gilead*, the Cedary neighbourhood of *Lekane*, the pasture vale of *Leriboe*, the dewes of heauen, fertility of soile, temper of climat, the flowing (not with Golden Sands, but) with Milke and Hony (necessaries, and pleasures of life, not bottomlesse gulches of lust) the commodious situation for two Seas, and other things like (in how many interior?) to this *Virginia*. What gold in Countrey euer nourished with her *annual store* the hundred part of men, in so small a proportion of earth, as *David* there

multiplied;

multeued, being 1100000. of *Israel*, and 500000. of *India*, not reckoning the Tribes of *Leui* and *Beniamin*, all able men for warres? And after him, in a little part of that little *Iehophabab* (More I dare say then the *Spaniards* can finde in one hundred times so much, of their Mine lands, and clothe their belt in *Pera*, *New Spaine*, and the Islands) the Scriptures containing an infallible multiplier-booke of 1600000. able Souldiers in his small territories?

That then is the richest Land which can feede most men, Man being a mortal God, the best part of the best earth, and visible end of the visible World. What remarkable Gold or Silver Mines hath *France*, *Belgia*, *Lombardy*, or other the richest peeces of Europe? what hath *Babylonia*, *Mauritania*, or other the best of *Asia* and *Africa*? What this our fertile Mother *England*?

10 Aske our late Trauellers which saw so much of *Spaine*, the most famous part of Europe for Mynes of old, and enriched with the Mynes of the New World, if an *Englishman* needs to enuy a *Spaniard*, or prefer a *Spanish* life and happinesse to his owne. Their old Mynes made them the servants of *Rome* and *Carthage*: and what their Mynes and mindes doe now I leave them to others. Once, as the Mynes are in barrenest soyle, and couetous men haue least, euen when they are had of most money (medijs by *Tantalus* vnder) so I haue heard that in *Spaine* is lesse Gold and Silver, then in other parts of Europe, (I dare not mention the proportions) from both *Spanish* and *English* relation: their viliat money alio (to meddle with no more) is of base metall, and their great summes compend by *Maneda* lesse then our later tokens: except which (deified for poore-tyes of the poore) *England* of long time knowes no base monyes; and hath leene plenty of

20 Siluer and Gold, of Wine and Oyle which (grow not in her) when *Spaine*, which produceth these, is fed with glads and drinke water, helped now and then with Hogge-kinne vnauoury Wine. The *Indian* Fountaines runne with golden and siluer streames (as *Job* non vobis) not to themselves, but into that *Spanish* Cistern; and these Cisternes are like those of the *London* Water-houle, which hath the Conduit Pipes alway open in the bottom, so that a thousand other Cisternes hold more water then it: it may be said of the other; it is not *Concho* but *Cannula*, a Pipe rather then Cistern, a Cash-keeper rather then Owner; and (which is spoken of better things) remaining poore, makes many rich. To proceed, are not Mynes the most miserable of Slaues, royled continually, and vnto manifold deaths tired for others, in bringing to light those Treasures of darkness, and luring (if they lue, or if that be a lue), in the lubots of Hell, 30 to make others dreame of Heauen? Yea Paradise, the modell of heauen, had in it no Minerals, nor was *Adam* in his innocency, or *Noah* after the Worlds recovery, both Lords of all, employed in Mines, but (in those happy workes which *Virginia* inuiterh *England* vnto) in Vines, Gardening, and Husbandry. Neither let any man think that I please against the fourtenesse of the Grapes, like the Foxe which could not reach them: but I seriously thinke that they are calves and not men, which adore the golden Calfe, or *Nabuchadnezzars* great golden statue, as if the body were not more then raiment, and those things to be preferred to money, for whose sake many (the creature of many base Idolatry where the Creator worships his creature!) was first ordained, and still hath both life and being.

40 Doe we not see in this respect, that the Silkes, Calicos, Drugges, and Spices of the East swallowed vp (not to mention the *Belgian* whirlepole) all the Mines of the West? and that one Carriack carrieth more Rials thither, then perhaps some whole Region in *Spaine* retaineth for vulgar vie? And whence are *English*, *Portingals*, or *Dutchmen* fitted for that commerce? as if *America* had ominously (for other iust reason there is none) beene called *India*, as if the West were but drudge and factor for the East. And what hath dispoiled the New World, nor leaving in some places one of Millions, but *Aurifera* famas, others killing them in the Mines, or they killing themselves to prevent the Mines? Let it be riches enough, that Sir *Thomas Dale* testified by Letters from thence, and after his returne to me that foure of the best Kingdomes of *Christendome* were not for naturall endowments comparable to *Virginia*; and which I haue heard of one which hath travelled in all the best Regions of Europe, and hath seene more of *Virginia* then perhaps any man else, and which needs not speake for any gaine there or thence gotten, as no reputed fauourite or fauourer of that Society and their actions; that he hath seene no Countrey to be preferred for soile, nor for commodious Rivers to be compared,

And if successe hath not bene correspondent to *English* hopes: who seeth not the causes of those disasters?

Disunion that taile-headed *Amphibian* and many-headed monster, deformed issue of that deformed old Serpent, in some of the Colony there & Company here, hath from time to time thrust in her forged venomous tongue, whereby they haue swolne with deadly poison of great thoughts of heart (only by pride does men make contention) with blinde-flaring eyes of self-love abounding in their owne sense: whence suspitions, ialousies, factions, partialities to friends and dependants, willfull ob-

60 tinacies, and other furious passions haue transpored men from *Virginia* good and their owne. Couetousnesse hath distorted others to minde earth and not heauen, in baseness of more then speedy returne and present gaine, forgetting that *Godliness* is the best gaine, and that they are a *Tim. 6*, planting a Colony, not resping a haruett, for a publike and not (but in subordinate order) priuate wealth. A long time *Virginia* was thought to be much encombered with *Englands* excrements,

M m m m m m m 3

some

* Compare
1 Sam. 24. with
1 Chron. 21. It
seems that
there were a-
bout two mil-
lions of men
besides women
and children.

Virginia high
valuation.
Gap. 16b. Smith

Answers to the
objected ill
successes and
causes thereof.
Iud. 5. 16.
Prov. 23. 10.

[illegible]

Now that I may shew *Virginia* worthy those princely, honorable and industrious thoughts, I have adventured briefly to point out, rather then to paint out her beauty and attractive ornaments.

First Religion (as is before obserued) inuited vs thre to seeke the *Kingdome of God first*, and all other things *shall be minnistr'd to vs*, and added as aduantage to the bargaine: seeke the Kingdome of God, and see an earthly Kingdome in recompence, as the earnest, and the heavenly Kingdome for our full payment. Of glorifying God in his word and workes in this designe is already spoken.

Secondly, Humanity and our common Nature forbids to *turne our eyes from our evill self; yet*
 t. Humanity. commands vs to love our neighbours as our selves, and to play the good Samaritan with their
 our neighbours (though of another Nation and Religion, as the wounded Jew was to him)
 to recover them if it be possible, as by Religion, *from the power of Satan to God;* so by hu-
 manity and civility from Barbarisme and Savageſſie to good manners and humane polity.

[illegible]

4. Honour of the King-ly-
Fourthly, we may reckon the Honour of our King, and his Royall Personage, which time *Virginia* may performe as much with equal manuring, as *Spain*, *Prussia*, and *Ireland* could promise when first they began to cultivate the then call'd *Woods*. And were not compansions offered, I am sure I heard Sir *Thomas Dale* confidently and Ierously exulting in private conference with me, in the hopes of future benefitts from *Virginia*, to the English Crowne. And if the wife King wisely laid, the honour of a King is in the multitude of his Subjects, loe here the way to preferre, employ, encrease the number of his Majesty, to reach his long royall realms to another World. The Roman Empire pow'd *Roman Colonies* through the *World*, as the most natural and fruitful way to grow and hold the World *Romane*.

Fifthly, the honour of the Kingdomes, thus growing and multiplying into Kingdomes; that as *Scotland* and *England* seeme fitters, so *Virginia*, *New England*, *New found land* in the Continent already planted in part with *English* Colonies, together with *Bermuda*, and other tiny lands may be adopted and legal *Daughters of England*. An honorable designe, to which Honor stretcheth her faire hand, the five fingers whereof are adorned with such precious Rings, each enriched with innumerable Jewels of Religion, Humanity, Inheritance, the King, the Kingdomes; *Honori alit artes, omnesque incrementis et magna gloria.*

And if Honour hath prevailed with honorable and higher spirits, we shall come laden with as-
 gments of profit to prelle meaner hands and hearts to the service of *Virginia*. Onely I desire that
 men bring their hearts first, and consider that the very names of a Colony and Plantation doe im-
 port a reasonable and feasible culture, and planning before a Haruest and Vintage can be ex-
 pected: which if they here exercise our Faith and Hope both for earth and heauen, where all
 things are prepared; let vs not in ruder and cruder foundations and beginnings there, precipitate
 vnto hasty faile.

to vainly fails.

And before we come to *Virginia* particular probabilities for this Kingdoms good, we need not far fetched speculations, we have evidence from experience. *Califfe* (a Kingdome which now flooeps to none, and which some of her flatterers advance above all, making it Catholike without 10 floops to none, sixth) grew from an almost nothing out of the *Maori* deluge, to be a pettie Empire, in comparison of others in *Europe*, till *Ferdinando* time who sent *Columbo* to *America*. And how poore abilities or probabilities had they for it, when *Columbo* upon tall grounds having conceived strange, strange-hopes of the *Ethere* Indies, tumbled upon a Weiberne World whereof he neuer dreamed, which therefore he called *India*, and *Hispania* *Opa* (the name of a Queen) Expedition (neither founded on found reason, nor experience of things, or of people, or of the place) the Mariners Arre was but crept out of the Cradle, and blessed only in the Event) the flating of *Califfe* was as poorely founded. It seems, eyther with money or credit, the *Queene* pawning part of her Jewels for *Duckets*, to set *Columbo* forth with three poore *Carsuels* for this 20 *Discoverie*. Little was it then imagined, that in *Hispania* should be found (which happened in the taking of *Domingo* by Sir *Francis Drake*) a Spanish Scutchion with a Horle, whole lundered feetrol on the Globe, his first frace prancing as it he would fott our another World (like *Alexander* hearing *Philophers* discouffe of other Worlds, weeping that hee had not yett finished the conquest of this) haing this Motto annexed, *Non sufficit Orcus*. Yea, but they found *Gold* and *Siluer* in abundance: the Pockes they took of the land and plaques of the sea, the great oyes, with the small confounding *America* and *India* did not doo. *Gold* and *Siluer*, how poore were the proportions till the *Califfe* was discovered. Almost thirty years after the first planting of this Kingdom, and who knows what *Virginia* in that space may produce by better 30 husbandry of it, and further Discouery of parts adioyning, whereof we have ten thousand times more pregnant hopes, then they had in their first Expedition by knowledge gathered from their *Duckeyes*.

[illegible]

Now if any shall thinke that the many transplants of people into these, would ex-
haust *Spaine*, *Spaine* will answer that point also, now in these dayes employing no more
60 fearfull of people (notwithstanding their many and long *Wares* in no parts of *Europe*, ex-
cept the expulsion of the *Mooris* and *Morians*, have caused it) then when first they undertooke
these continuing vast Enterprises, not of a *Urginia*, but of a World. And yet what in compari-
son is *Spaine* for multitudes of people, whose valuerie is said to *yield* (the King, Dukes, Mar-
quesses and *Barres* only with their retinue excepted) from eighteen yeeres of age to fiftie, be-

6. Argument of profit, generally pronounced:

Illustrated by
the *Castilian*
greatness;

Upon less
probabilities:

See *Oviedo* in our Sixth Book

Their great benefit in commodities not in Mine to the common people

by The Earle
purposed :

ed Berkeley with
at Garrison to
hold it, but
great sickness
and mortu-
consuming

men, he was
forced to leave
the place, and
bring home his
ships.
I found this

Ports, shipping
Cities, Me
&c. of Sp
which som
times bel

gentleman Mr. Burrough Controller of the Navy.

1125390. men of all sorts, as I have seen in an Extract of the Royall Muster-booke, which how much is exceeded by the numerous excess of people in this land, straitned in farre lesse room, and wanting necessary employments, which almost exacteth a *Virginian* vent and adventure. For how much more convenient is a transmigration, into a fruitful, large and wholesome Region, where the Country hath need of a Colonie to cultivate it, as well as those *Colons* and Inhabitants have need of a Country to inhabit rather then to breed a fulnes in This *Bode*, which without some such evacuation either breeds matter for the pestilence and other Epidemical Diseases, or at least for Dearth, Famine, Divisions, quarrelling, and the weather, oppressing the poorer, disquieting both themselves and others, that I mention not the fatal hand of the Hangman? And thus you have *Virginias* hopes in general propounded by *Spanish* example virged and enforced by our necessity of seeking vent to such home-fulnes.

But looke upon *Virginia*: view her lovely lokes (howsoever like a modest *Virgin* she is now veiled with wild Coverts and shade Woods, expecting rather rauidment then Marriage from her Native Saugues) lurray her Heavens, Elements, Situation; her diuisions by armes of Bayes and Rivers into to goodly and well proportioned limmes and members; her *Virgin* portion nothing empai'd, nay not yet improued, in Natures best Legacies; the neighbouring Regions and Seas so commodious and obsequious; her opportunities for offence and defence; and in all these you shall see, that she is worth the wooing and loves of the best Husband, Firft, for her Heavens and Climate, the with her *Virgin* Sisters hath the same (being extended from 30. to 45. degrees of North latitude) with the best parts of *Europe*, namely the lat of *Grecia*, *Thracia*, *Spain*, *Italy*, *Morcia*, *Sicilia*, (and if we will looke more Northward to the height of *France* and *Britaine*, there her Sisters *New England*, *New Scotland*, and *New-found-land*, promise hopefull and kinde entertainment to all Adventurers. If you looke Southwards, you may parallel it with *Babaria*, *Egypt*, and the fertilest parts of *Africa*; and in *Asia* small that *Chersonesus*, sometime the seat of four thousand Cities, and so many Kingdomes, now called *Naxos*, with her Neighbours *Antiochia*, and other Regions of *Syria*, *Damascus*, *Lebanus*, with *Babylonia* and the glorie of the East; and Types of Heavens, *India*, and *Paradise*, the Silken Countries also of *Perfia*, *China* in her best parts, and *Japan* are in the elevation; and *Virginia* is Daughter of the same Heavens, which promise no lesse portion to this *Virgin*, then those Matrons had for the foundation-foyle of their wealth and glory.

Secondly, this Climate as it promifeth wealth, so it doth health also, enjoying the temper of the most temperate parts, even of that which *Adam*, *Abraham*, with the Prophets and Apostles were bred in, and received as in their Patrie privilege; and in which Christ conuerfed in the flesh. And thirdly for extension, if coastounesse gape wide, ten *Indias*, and a hundred *Paradises*, may be equalled for quantitie in *Virginia*, whole mid-land Regions are wholly unknowne, till we arrive at that *Nova Albion*, which yielded it selfe *Englisb* before the first *Virginian* plantation.

Fourthly for commodious diuisions, the Lands and Seas contended by fresh Rivers and Armes of the Sea fo to diuersifie the foyle as if in luxuriant wantonnesse they were alway engendering manifold Twines of Commodity and Comodioufnesse, Profit and Pleasure, Hunting and Fishing, Fruits and Merchandizing, Marinerfhip and Husbandry, *Opus* and *Vitæ*, Meate and Drinke, Wares and Portage, Defending and Offending, Getting and Keeping, Mountains and Valleys, Plains and Hills, Rivers Navigable and shallower Fords, Islands and Land-iles (or *Peninsules*) Woods and Marishes, Vegetables and liuing creatures maruellously diuersified. Looke on the Map, and tell me if any Country in the World promifeth more by the lookes then it is. Yes I have obserued in the Letters of greatest Malcontents from thence, for and friend and themselves are blamed rather then the Country, the least finger of *Virginian* hand (I meane the least of five Rivers, for as *Maister Alexander Whistler* (yet relatively), the least of (seuen) in a small part of that great Country, is bigger then the first borne of *Britaines* waters, the famous *Thames*, all Navigable, some one hundred miles, some one hundred and fixtie, receiving Tributes by the way of innumerable Springs, Brookes, Riuerets (such as that of *Ware*, and fit for portage of Wares in smaller Barkes, of which kind *Lanes* Riuer hath five Attendants in ordinary) the fall of every one of the five is within twentie or fifteen miles of some other: and not above fifteen miles in some places is the Great Riuer of *Roanoke* laid to be distant from some of those which fall into *Lanes* Riuer, yielding a commodious intercoure twixt: those Southerly and these more Northerly parts of the Country. I know not how Nature hath here also wantonized and danced a *Leais* in de-part in the winding of those Streames, which seeme willingly againe and againe to embrace that beloued Soile, and to prevent her with rich Collers of siluer Eiles, murmuring that they must leaue to fresh and fertile a Land, of which at last with Salt teares they take their leaue, but contrasting with their New Sea Lord to visit their old Land-lord and former Loue every Flood, make whiles those many impetuous clippings and sweet embraces, teaching refugees every way make them as if they would meet together in consolation, and agree on some Consipience, which howe-foewer disappointed, yield neuertheless many conueniences of entertainment and easier portage, each Riuer coming within foure, eight, ten miles, more or fewer in diuers places of another. All these

Arg. 7. from necessity is by our multitudes

Arguments of particular commodities and commodiousness.

1. The Time climate with best Counters

2. Temperate.

3. Large extension.

4. Commodious diuision of Lands and Rivers.

these Rivers runne into a faire Bay, on which the Earth every way is a greedie gazing Spectator, except where the Ocean runneth in to raiuid her beauties, flowing neere two hundred miles into it, and forcing a Channell one hundred and fortie, of depth betwixt seuen and fiftie fathome, and ten or foureteen miles in ordinary breadth. The Earth yett vndermining it by lands, and mustering those Riuer Captaines and innumerable Springs and Brookes, maintaineth his fresh challenge with continuall Wares, forcing backe the Ocean every Ebb to retire, which yett loth to lole fo sweete a possession returneth within few hours, freshly flowing with Salt re-enforcements.

Firrhly, the foile is blessed, every Element bellowing a rich portion on her. The first hath treasures laid vp to maintain her towell unto prodigality (yes which feldome meete, a thrifite prodigality) for many yeeres. Her store of waters you haue heard, but not her watery flood of silkes nor incedibility in kinds, goodnesse, numbers. The *Ad* is no lesse luxuriant in the Fowles of Heauen. But the Earth (fruitfull Mother of Mankind) she is prodigiously prodigall, in fatnesse of the foile; talnesse, sweetnesse, strength, varietie, numberlesse numbers of her Trees: her Oakes no lesse excellent then frequent, many of them bearing two foote and an halfe square of good Timber twenty yards long: of which also are diuers kinds. Elmes and Alkes (of which *Sophas* are made) Wal-nuts in three sorts, Cyresses (or much resembling them) Cedars and other sweet smelling Timbers, Chelnuts, Plummes of diuers sorts, Cherries and other Trees, &c. reckoned by *Virginian* Relators, I omit. But most remarkable and promising are the Mulberie and the Vine, the one to the backe, the other to the belly, yielding Silkes and Wine.

As for Silke, how great profits are raised thereof to the *China* and *Perfia*? Yea to come neerer, in *Naples* and other parts of *Italy*, which haue prouoked *France* to a general imitation. And how vnuisable are the expences of this Kingdom for that materiall, *Us matrone in pulchro luccant*? Likewise for Wines from *France*, *Spain*, *Germany*, and other parts how many thousands are yearly expended to the profits of Strangers, that I say not to enemies, or at least to suspected friends: It hath pleased his Maestie to take these two into his Princely confederation and by his Letter to the Right Honorable the Earle of *Southampton*, and the Company of *Virginia* to commend and command this care to them.

The Country it selfe naturally produceth Vines in great abundance, and some of a very good sort: diuers plants also haue bene sent thither of the better kinds of Chusfendome, with eight Vignerons procured from *Languedock* for the husbanding of that commodity. The Soyle is no lesse naturally happy in Mulberie Trees of the best kind and some Silke-wormes also: and general order hath bene taken for the abundance planting of them in all places inhabited: large supply also of Silke-wormes-feed from his Maisties store, and men skilfull in that kind for the well ordering of that businesse haue bene sent. In a word, the very prosperity and pregnant hopes of that Plantation made the Deul and his lims to enuy, teares and hate it, Hence that cloudy Malice which caused almost a sudden Chaos to the hindrance of those affaires, by the conuulsions, combustion, and almost confusion of that Body and their Designs: whereas yett we hope not only a recovery but greater aduantage, the greatest danger from the Saugues, growing out of our mens confidence, which that terrible stroke (except a stupid Deuill possesse vs) hath cut off; which likewise requires that ferule natures be feruly viced; that future dangers be prevented by the extirpation of the more dangerous, and commodities also raised out of the ferulefnesse and fruske-benefits of the rest.

As for Saffra, Silke, *Terra Lemnia*, Gummes and other profitable Drugges I shall not neede speake: nor of their Silke-graffe naturally growing, besides a kind of Hemp or Flaxe, yielding most excellent Cordage. Pot-ashes, *Sopha*-ashes, Pitch and Tarre haue bene the employment of *Palerats* sent thither.

In foure yeeres (pace before the Massacre (the Iron Ore of *Virginia* being found very good and very plentifull) about five thousand pounds were spent, and one hundred and fiftie persons sent for that employment; which being brought in manner to perfection, was interrupted by that fatal accident, since which the restitution is with all possible diligence (as it is said) ordered and furthered.

There haue bene also sent skilfull men from *Germany*, for setting vp of Saw-mills: *Virginia* yielding to no place in the knowne World for Timbers of all sorts, commodious for strength, pleasant for sweetnesse, specious for colours, spacious for largenesse, victuall for Land and Sea, for housing and shipping: in which Timber vies *England* and *Holland* alone are said to disturbe about 300000 sterling yearly. And the defects at home, where the Hearth hath climbed into the Roofes, where back-tewell hath deuoured our buildings in the Woods, and belly-tewell hath deuoured the Woods, and conuerted them to arable: where so many ships are employed for provisions of and for shipping, *Virginia* by diuine bounty is *Magna* *belli* *Africana*. Herein we may verifie the old Proverb, That he which lieth longell, shall fetch his wood furethell; but so, as he shall be paid for the fetching with great aduantage.

And if an land needs wooden Walls to secure it against others, to enrich it from others, *Virginia* offers her seruice herein, and will looke so much more cheerefully on you, how much more you

Bay of Chesapeake.

5. Ferule foile.

6. Trees for timber and other uses many.

7. Specially for Silkes.

8. And for Wine.

July 9. A.D. 1609. See Chap. 11.

9. Inlaid aduantage from the Saugues to make life of their Sabours.

10. Drugs, and diuers other commodities.

11. Iron mine.

12. Timbers for all uses.

13. More especially for building both houses & ships.

you shall disburthen her in this kind : yea, as *England* hath wooed and visited *Virginia*, so herein *Virginia* will be glad and reioyce to visit *England*, in her there-built ships, and to dwell here with vs in thence-brought Timbers, and esteeme her selfe aduanced to adorne our Townes, and take view of our Pumps and Spectacles.

12. The minis-
trall materials
for shipping.

All touching shipping and the materials thereof; Timbers, Pitch, Tarre, Cordage, Sayles, Anchors, &c. nec. sitis of the times exacteth in our defects at home, for securitie from enemies abroad, employment of Mariners, Merchants and our numerous multitudes, offending our Offenders, defending our Allies, that ladde not the Riches of the World, and glory of Exploits, all which depend on Navigation. Hence *Tyrus* and her Daughter *Carthage* of old (*Mare pulchra filia pulchrior*) hence the *Egyptian Alexandria* and many Nations since, have reaped wealth and honour. Hence the *Lumbards* and *Eastenders* sucked out the sweeties of this Kingdome in former times, whiles we like children were fed by their hands, and they were enriched by the Importation and Exportation of Merchandise to and from vs: which when that glorious *Elizabeth* altered, and sought to stand in the Seas on her owne legs, and to sit ouer them with her owne wings, it not only wanne her renowne but dread abroad, and such strength at home, that notwithstanding her manifold wars offensive and defensive, and motherly protection of her Neighbours round about with Men and Monies; her Customs, her Naue, and the wealth of her people is thought to haue recieued in her time a fuenfold aduancement. And what hath to long vpholden and enuanced the *Hanse* Townes? What hath rayled the rich and glorious States of *Venice* and *Genoa*? What hath since freed, and doth still fulfill the *Hollanders*, but their meeting of Magazines and Castles, their strength and magnificence being (by a Miracle in State) hertly met, wherein it is least, in their Sea-forreits; Nature denying that to their Soyle, which Art hath imperabundantly supplied by shipping, to their Lands, to their Seas, for vile, for admiration; hence hath the *Abassine* or *Presler* *Iohn* lost his estate, the *Turke* not encreased his by (swallowing) the rest of Christendome, the *Perfian*, the *Mogull* and other mighty *Asian* Potentates haue not bin mighty, howsoever limnamed *Grea*; haue bene so long awed, and as it were, imprisoned within, in their owne shores, there also braued, assaulted, forced to recieve Lawes and conditions; yea to pay Customes for their owne ships, and prohibited Trade with others by a handfull of *Portugalls*. Hence the *Portugalls* themselves crept out of their Straites and obscuritie, and hence the *Castilian* colours haue been so far displayed, and the rest of the World in this present *Maze*: Hence our *Edgar*, *Edward* the Third, and Great *Elizabeth*, haue left such memories of them, after thence haue all Maritime States and Kings haue receiued encrease or diminishing; as their Naues haue bene, so haue they. Yea, without a Naue, *Salomon* had not bene so meet a Type of Christ, so glorious in Domestical, Political or Ecclesiasticall magnificence.

15. Stuing of
excesses and
freeing from
damages in for-
eigne Coun-
tries.

16. Impley-
ment and
building of
Mariners.

17. Many pro-
hibitions by
transplantation
of castles,
buries, &c. ex-
emplified by
Spaniards.

18. The Coun-
treys, cattell
& beasts not on-
ly for victuals
but Merchand-
ize.

* Cap. Smith
rels of 1600.
Ballees as a
draw the M.
Ruff of 5000.
the least of two
foot long, 100
as big as Cod,
by Sir T. Dale.

Haile then, al-haile *Virginia*, hope of our decayed Forrests, Nursery of our Timbers, second supply to our shipping, the *succentrata copia* in distresse of Nauall materials: and those independent on forreine States, disburthened of Taxes, Customes, Impositions, and Suspensions of forreine Princes: yea gainfull not in the ships alone, but in Shipmen and Mariners trained vp and multiplied by that employment, with mutual intercourse of Wares and manifold Commodities. Hee that looks on the best Come-fields soone after the sowing, seeth expence and labour without any profit but in expectation. Now is our Seed-time; and if cost and industry wane no, *Virginia*, in her Soyle and Climate not only promisheth these materials, there also to be made at eaier rates; but infinite other Commodities also which may be transplanted from these and other parts, as the *Spaniards* in their *Indies*, haue giuen vs example. These haue referred Wines and Oyle, as Staple Commodities to be carried from *Spain* (that these *Americans* may fill haue need of *Spanish* Commodities) which else would eailey grow there. They haue againe furnished these parts both from *Spain* and many other Countries, with Figs, Oranges, Limons, and fruits for present vie and for Merchandize, with Sugar-canes, Gingers, Cattell and other Commodities, yielding exceeding summes of Treasure to the Planters. And I know not but in a settled *Virginian* Plantation, Sugars, Gingers, Hides, &c. may there proue as gainfull, as they haue in the *Spanish Indies*, that is, beyond all conceit of ordinarie valuation, and as good as many Mines.

Now for the Cattell and Fowles, I might here present their Deere of all sorts, reported to haue three or foure Fawnes at a time, and none vnder two (which some impute to the qualitie of that Country, hauing happened likewise to the Goats transported from hence) and were it not for this increase, eyther they must faile, or the Nations (theiciparing neither old nor young, not old with young, nor obleruing any rule of Season or Reason therein) I might adde Shag-haired Oxen-kene by Sir *Samuell Argoll*, Beavers, Otters, Foxes, Wilde and Ciuet Cats, Muske Rats, and many Beails which beare good Furres; their large Turkeyes, Cranes, Herons, Partridge, and innumerable other Fowles: fish also of innumerable numbers and manifold kinds, Surgeons, Por-pole, Bale, Rock-fish, Carp, Shad, and the rest. It seemeth vs incredible, which is related of the both numbers * and excellencie at one draught taken. As for the varietie of Corne, the excellencie also and multiplication to 1500. or 2000. for one flake of Maiz, the vnspeakable, their exceeding-exceeding Hauells, their Roots, Herbs, Pulse, and the rest, I referre to all the Writers in that

that Argument, and to as many as haue bene Eye-witnesses themselves to be Relaters.

Weite it but a fishing trade, yet his vnderstanding is contemptible, that thinks contemptibly of it. He that should reade Doctor *Dees* relations of so many hundred Buttes, and *Flemish* fishing on the *English*, and *Spanish*, on the *Irish* coasts: or what Master *Gentleman* hath related of the Commodities raised that way by the *Hollanders*, summed to millions of pounds in *Herring*, Cod and Ling; and that which others relate of 3600. faine of Fishermen in *Holland* and *Zeland*, with other things of like nature gathered together by Captaine *Smith* in his *New England Trials*, with the experiments of that coast also (part of our *Virginian* subiect) shall see, as great bodie composed of least parts, so great summes raised out of least and meanest meanes, that being dundant in tall, which seemeth wanting in weight. Once, the impregnable walls of the vnited Prouinces are their Ships (whereof some reckon small and great of all sorts 20000,) and their principall and most generall Trade is Fishing, which is the Seminary of their Mariners of which some haue reckoned about 100000, and summed their returns thence growing to 7000000. pounds in a yeare. I am none of *Neptunes* Secretaries; yet know this, that there is no fishing to the Sea, and no Country so strong by Seas as that which findeth most employment in this kind, where no exportation of treasure, no custome, no consumption and exhausting of commodities can be querrelled. Thus then, whether we consider Wines, Silkes, and other the appurtenances of our pleasures, as Dyes, Drugges, Gummes, Sugars, Ginger, Furies, and the like, which cost this Kingdome yearly some hundredths of thousands of our pounds: or whether we reckon thole 20 more staple and necessary commodities for Shipping, and all sorts of Timber, Cordage, and other like, no less costly, *Virginia* inueth our hopes, and couenanteeth to bestow them on the industrious: for that she shall haue thole treasures and costs that way expended, shall leile depend on other Nations, leile feare imbarquing, detention, impolis; yea, shall from other Nations raise by returne of our excess in these kindes great Summes, besides the turning of the Kingdome with greater encrease of Shipping, Mariners, and innumerable employments, and the securing and enriching the Ports, both of *Ireland* and *England*. As for Tobacco, I haue said leile of it, because it is so generally known, (which yet is said to be worth to *Spain* 100000. pounds yearly; and that I grieue to speak it from the same some froth-spirits of *England*) & the abundance brought from *Virginia* and *Summer Islands* (*insuper nos copia fact*) exceedeth the Market: and because so many by immoderate vie thereof are corrupted here at home, and the present benefit thereby increasing in quick returne, hindreth designs of better consequence there. And thus much of *Virginia* present or very probable Commodities: to which we may adde the hopes in future times by finding there as good vent for our Wools and Clothes, both to the *English* and *civilized Indians*, as the *Spaniards* doe in their *Indies* by their *Indian* plantations for the continuance and necessitie of commerce with *Spain*. And who seeth not the exceeding benefit which may arise by compleat commerce, in venting our owne superfluities of Men of others, and especially the principall of *English* Commodities, Cloth and Wool, with the Gospel of our Lord Iesus; and returning from thence, Clapboard, Pipe-staves, Canars, Oade, Madder, Salt, Cordage, Pitch, Tarre, Sopel-alhes, Pot-alhes, Cotton-wools, Gaules, Furies, Hops, Hides, Gummes, Dyes, Gingers, Sugars, Silkes, Wines, Iron, Timbers, Fish, Ships, Mariners, Merchants, and a World of the Worlds most viefel good things throu an open Sea, obnoxious to no forreine Potentate, from and to known and secure Ports and Harbours?

It is also not only viefull at all times, but necessary to these times, as to transport superfluous numbers from hence to *Virginia*, so to cure the diseases of the times caused by the wants of Monies (the life of trading, and finewes of a great State) attended with wants of file for the Merchant; and consequently of Clothiers and other subordinate professions; want of worke for Spinners, Weauers, and innumerable poorer Trades and Handicraftsmen; want of trading for Citizens; neither hath such a general breaking bene euer knowne, in so many shops in the principall limmes and freets of this Citie, yea, in Cheapside the faire face, yea, in the eye of that beauteous face, the Gold-Smiths Row (where besides so many shoppes conuerted to other Trades, I haue told this last Winter betwixt Winter-freet and Bread-freet the third part that vp) want of employment for decayed Gentlemen, both the elder Vnthrists and younger Gallants; which want of monies and more of wants thence issuing, is in great part caused by the Merchandizes sought and bought in other Countries, whereby our Moneys fall into forraine Whirl-pools without hopes of recovery; whereas if our Trade lay (as we see the *Spanish*) with our owne Colonies and Plantations else-where, wee should hold them still current in our owne Nation, and draw others to bring to vs both Wares and Moneys from other Regions for the Commodities aforesaid. And thus should the Vices of the Times be remedied, and the vices of men or vicious men hinde from Tobacco, Silkes, Wines and other excesses (like the sting of Scorpions from the Oyle of Scorpions) a cure thence, when they receiued their wounds; and so many ruptures should eyther be prevented or healed: prouisions also procured for employment of honest and humble pouertie at home, and the inordinate parts of others tamed by the Sea, and trained at labour to better Discipline.

19. Benefits by
fishing.
D. D. Brit. Mus.
manche.

Et que non pro-
fuit ipsius
multa inueni.

20. Tobacco.
A Booke pre-
sented to the
Parliament by
Master Bennet.
It is said
that some ma-
liciously faile
all their bad
Tobacco on
Virginia and
hence to
tho go a com-
pensation, in
Spain to
the House of
clothes &
other *English*
commodities.

21. Manifest
necessities
of these times.

ments, and could Muster more motives and more necessarily concluding for *Virginia* advancement, if that which we desire not be enforced on vs, then I have already numbered in plantation and commerce: Yea almost all those former arguments are pressed of necessity, or offer their service voluntarily, some more, others no less serviceable that way, then to publick peace and traffique, which also are securest when they neede not feare a Warre.

The honour of Religion defended by the *Defender of the Faith*, of our Nation, King, Kingdomes; the Materials of Ships, Mariners, Armes, Victuals; Fishing, Merchandise, and Prize subienture to each Voyage, that one may supply if the other fail; in crossed Voyages a convenient receptacle for refreshing; fit place of stay in not fitting and unfavourable seasons: a safe repository for spoiles gotten in expectation of greater purchase: a redresse to weatherbeaten and storme-distressed Ships: a refuge to such as the enemy hath battered and endangered: an Hospitall for sick, wounded, and presently vnrecoverable Mariners and Soldiers: a storehouse to repaire Timbers, Tackling, and other provisions to Ships and Men: a fit means (in supplying vs from thence with necessities) to keepe those Monies in our owne hands, whereby we are destitute of the principall foun-
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Three *Spanish* witnesses, *Acosta*, *Oviedo*, and *Herrera*, have related this, in describing the course of that Navigation; yea, all experience, the Heavens also and Elements subscribe to it. For such is the statute of the winds, which all Shipping in that Sea must obey: they must go one way and returne another. To the *Indies* the course from *Europe* is by the *Cantaries*, and thence entering the *Tropike*, they meete with the *Brisles*, which are perpetuall Easterne winds, or I know not what impetuosity by the motion of the heavens breathed into the lower aire betwixt the *Tropikes*, and pressing all vapours and exhalations vnto that service in one or other point Eastwardly, which force the Ships to returne nearer the *American* coast there to seeke as it were some ally to that impetuous motion (even as you see Water-men in the *Thames* rowing against the tide, to cooer neere the shoare where the tide is weakest) and thence passing the *Tropike* to seeke Westerly winds, which from twenty seven to thirty seven degrees there vntually remaine, as we see in Eddies caused by stronger motions. Thus the *Spanish* Ships on the South Sea make one way from *Acapulco* to the *Philippines*, which is the *Tropike*; and another without in the height of *Japan*, to returne. And thus in the *Atlanticke* the Ships from their severall ports come to the *Havana* in *Cuba*, and thence must take their course neere to *Virginia* and *Summer Islands*, to finde the *Acres*: in which way from thence it is easie for *English* Ships (not far from their owne home or Ports) to disperse themselves in expectation of a surprisall.

The want of such helps in Queene *Elizabeths* glorious times, enforced our men of Warre still

Acosta, *Oviedo*, *Herrera*,
 1577
Oviedo Summa-
 ry of Gen. hist.
 l. 2. Herrera
 De rect. of Ind.
 l. 2. 3.
 The brisles and course of Navigation.
 Eddy winds.

to awaite both for the *Indian* Garricks, and all *American* Ships, hovering about the *Acres* Islands subject to the *Spanish* Crowne, when they neither had harbour in stormes, nor could in any lands refresh themselves with water, victuals, or other provisions; but by force; where a greater and stronger Armada of the enemy waited to waite home their Ships returning; where it often hapned that the Ships could not so soone be desired, but they gat either into some Port, and vnder that Port which secured the rest, so to sacrifice to *Nepsons* or *Ulcians*, rather then permit it to *English* hands. Neither had the *English* any neere Port where to supply themselves in any distress, or exhaustion of provisions, but must necessarily returne home for *England*, if not as sometimes, by the way, with little or perhaps no prize attained. Likewise in long Voyages, as to the East *Indies*, and to the South Sea, having no harbour to refresh, yea these proud mortall to their Voyage, and forced at last to returne, that is, a miscarrying of the designe, if not of themselves; whereas, such a refuge as *Virginia* and *Summer Islands* might either have recovered the Voyage intended, or refreshed and enabled them to make as good a purchase upon the enemy, making him to pay their charges, perhaps with more gaine then the first intents could have produced. Examples will make this more euident.

And first to begin with the first of our great Discoverers, Sir *Sebastien Cabot*, and Sir *Thomas Terr*, were let forth by King *Henry* the eight (as before is mentioned) in a Voyage of *American* Discovery, a Ship of which Fleet comming from the coast of *Brazil* to *Domingo* (*Oviedo* mentions it in the *Spanish* stile, branding them with Piracy, yet lieth nothing to their charge; but discovery and offer of trade, paying with Pewter dishes for what they rooke) was thence repelled *Anno* 1517, and obtained some provisions at Saint *John*, from whence in their returne to *England*, *Oviedo* thinks they perished: at least the Voyage miscarried, as appeareth by Master *Thomas* and Master *Edmund* testimony thereof, for want of provisions. The like happened to Master *Hore* Voyage, described in Master *Hakluyt* *Anno* 1536, when want of victuals made them eate one another, and at last to steale a *French* Ship, in which they returned.

Anno 1564, Sir *John Hawkins* having made a profitable Voyage by sale of *Negros* on the coast Townes of *America*, was driven to seeke reliefe of the *French* (then planted in *Florida*, rooted thence not long after by *Spanish* butchery) And in another Voyage 1567, incurred by perfidious treachery of the *Spaniards*, a most lamentable disaster. He then sailed in the *Jesus of Lubbeck*, having in his consorts, the *Minion*, the *William* and *John*, the *Indub*, the *Angell* and the *Swallow*. Having gotten *Negros* in *Guinnee* and made his market in the *Spanish* *Indies*, he put in for reliefe at Saint *John de Vitoria*. Whiles his Fleet was there, the *Spanish* Fleet came thither with their new Victory, which he could easily have kept out of the harbour, but there being then no Warre betwixt *England* and *Spain*, certaine Articles were concluded betwixt them; from which the Victory perfidiously refusing, with close treachery (contrary to his faith plighted) assailed the *English* with a strong power on the sudden: the issue whereof was the firing, drowning, taking many of the *English*, whom they put also to execrable tortures. Only the *Minion* and *Indub* of that whole Fleet escaped, it being an escaping to auoid *Scylla* and rush on *Charibdis*. For they were so shaken in fight first, after with stormes, lastly and worst of all, with famine, that they were forced to expole a hundred and foureteen men to the mercy of cruell enemies, crueller Sauiages, crueller *Spaniards*, who exercised in the Inquisition with bondage, racks, whips, fires, famillments, & plurima mortis imago, what the other had spared; so that of a hundred and foureteen not about the odde foure, and those foure after *Odysses* of wandrings, and *Ilades* of miseries returned home from the foure corners of the World. Had Sir *John Hawkins* had a *Virginian* opportunity of refreshing, the first danger should not have needed, and the last had not proved worse then the first: that exposing being not farre from the *Virginian* shoare, and the current fitting to carry him thither. Sir *Francis Drake* was then Captain of the *Indub*, and repaid that courtesie to the *Spaniards* after, who to thew the feibleness of such refreshing *Anno* 1585, having sacked Saint *Iago*, *Domingo*, *Caribagens*, and Saint *Augustine*, returned by *Virginia* to relieue the Colony there planted by Sir *W. Raleigh*.

Anno 1591, Captain *George Raymond* in the *Penelope*, Captain *Foxcroft* in the *Merchant* *Royal*, and Captain *Lancaster* in the *Edward Bonadventure*, let forth a Voyage intended for the East *Indies*. Their Company were so weakened with sicknesse, that the Viceadmirall was sent backe from *Solomon* with sickle men. The Admirall was lost, the Rereadmirall returned, and for want of provisions put out from Saint *Helena* to *Trinidad*, in hope of reliefe. Yet being there disappointed, they intended to get to *Newfoundland*, but being creft with stormes in the way, and forced backe to Port *Rico*, the Ship was driven away and lost not far from *Mona*, whiles the famillied Company were seeking refreshing (which how easily had a *Bermuda* or *Virginia* supplied, had an *English* plantation flourished there?) Sir *James Lancaster* and the rest being forced to returne after 1596, in *French* Ships for *France*, and thence home.

Anno 1605, the *Beare*, the *Beares* *Whelp*, and the *Benjamin*, were let forth for *China* vnder the command of Captain *Benjamin Wood*. Frier *Joan de Santos* mentions both the two former of *Raymond* and *Lancaster*, and two also of which heene on the coast of *Mozambique*. *Barstow*: *Lancaster* and *Lancaster*, and two also of which heene on the coast of *Mozambique*. *Barstow*: *Lancaster* and *Lancaster*, and two also of which heene on the coast of *Mozambique*. *Barstow*

nardo de Argenfólan his Locke, printed at Madrid 1669. hath published the Letter of the Chinese Vintitor of Chuenchee, in which he writteth to Don Pedro de Acemá, Governour of the Philippine, that the King of China had done two *Sangleyes* to death, for shewing the hauben to thefe two English Ships : and *Acemá* recabries that the English were *Pirates*, &c. after the *Sangleyes* went. These Ships were ahead of England, untill a Letter of *Alcazar de Villa Ferner*, Auditor of *Domingo*, went to the King his Master, being by an English Ship intercepted, gave intelligence of one of thefe two Ships which distressed for want of necessities, by mortality had foure men only left alive, the other which seeking reliefe, put themselves into their Boats, and coming on shore in the Island *Puac*, not farre from *Domingo*, with Jewels and great riches, confided that they had obtained seven Portuguese prizes. The *Spaniards* at first recused them on good conditions, but became when seeing their wealth, murdered them, for which this Auditor had sentenced *Redondo de Twenter*, with others, as his Letter to the King of *Spain* importeth. Now had there then been a *Virginian* or *Bermudan* Plantation, how easily might they have attained thereto (the Boat at least) and escaped that butchery : I could hither add infractions from the English Indian Ships 1604. and 1608. from Captain *Fenton* 1582. from the Earle of *Cumberland* Voyages before related, in the yeares 86.80. 91. 92. 96. 97. and from Master *Candish*, Master *Davis* and others.

But we haue made too long a *Virginian Voyage*, having no better freight then Arguments, which the Times doe now promise, if not worthy wife mens approbation, yet good mens indulgence; where in a weake body, and manifold weighty imployments, the willingness of a heart truly *English*, sincerely *Christian*, may seeme tolerable, if not commendable; pardonable if not playfable.

Another labour remains to fet down rules and projects of belt fecibility and accomplishing this noble worke, but I am only a Freeman, no Councellour of the Plantation, and haue neither Lands there, nor other aduantage therein, but this of my loue and credit, which with the allegiance to my Soueraigne, and desire of the publicke good of this Kingdome, is more to me then all the treasures of *America*. I feele the good of this worke, and to many rights in *Virginia*, right naturall, right naturall right by first discovery, by accepted trade, by poffeffion furrendred voluntarily, continued constantly, right by gift, by birth, by bargain and fale, by ceffion, by forfeiture in that late damnable treachery and malfare, and the fatal poffeffion taken by fo many murthered *Englyfhe* Gols

bounty before his iustitio now hath giuen vs *Virginia*, that we should in our iudgement remember
 mercy, as to giue *Virginia* againe to God, in *Christian* acknowledgement of his goodnesse and
 mercy, of his word and workes, and in our owne more meritorious acknowledgement of his
Virginia. God goeth before vs in making this designe, that we should be Religious, to Humanity, to our
 Ancients, to our King, to our Country, to our Religion, to our Country, to our Religion, to our
 Portion, to our King, to our Country, to our Religion, to our Country, to our Religion, to our
 following a vent: in ending *Virginia* with more to large a iointure, to temperate, so commodious for
 the climate compared to other Countries, beyond other Countries in her diuersified Land,
 Seas, Riues; in so fertile a foyle, in so strong, sweete, flately decayed Woods and Timbers, in her
 Iron, and probability aliother Mines; in the bodies of Nations for her Shipping and other buildings: God
 goeth before vs in offering that more to our Mariners, to train vp Souldiers, to exercise labourers, by trans-
 ferringe Countries, *English* and *European* creatures to plant our *England* in *America*, enriched with
 the best things of *Europe*; to giue vs *Fife*, *Tobacco*, and other prelent improvements as earnest of
 further better hopes; and that in these times, which haue so manifold necessities thereof, and
 of monies, men, and trades decayed, in regard of neare continuall want of such necessities, and
 South-Sea glory, and in the case of obtruded ignorance of our way to absolute necessity, and includ-
 ing and concluding every way to our way in miraculous fire and cloudy pillars; as when *Isaiah* went to
Caldees in the day of refection, and right consequence of arguments; come into vs and hills
 with the spirit of wisdom and vnderstanding, the spirit of counsell and of fortitude, the
 spirit of knowledge, and the feare of the Lord (I may adde the spirit of vinity

The end of the ninth Booke.



10 ENGLISH DISCOVERIES AND PLANTATIONS IN NEW ENGLAND AND NEWFOVNDLAND; WITH THE PATENT AND VOYAGES TO

20 NEW-SCOTLAND: Relations also of the
Fleets set forth by Queene Elizabeth
against the Spaniards.

THE TENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

*A briefe Relation of the Discoverie and Plantation of New-England:
and of sundry Accidents therein occurring, from the yeere of our
Lord 1607. to this present 1622. Published by the
President and Councell, and dedicated to
the Princes Highnesse here ab-
breviated.*



When this Designe was first attempted, some of the present Company were therein chiefly interested; who being careful to have the same accomplished, did lend to the discovery of those Northern parts a brave Gentleman, Cap. *Henry Chollins*, with two of the Natives of that Territorie, the one called *Manday*, the other *Ajcomet*. But his misfortunes did expose him to the power of certain strangers, enemies to his proceedings, so that by them, his Company were seized, the ships and goods confiscated, and that Voyage wholly overthrowne.

This life, and unfortunate beginning, did much abate the rising courage of the first Adventurers; but immediately upon his departure, it pleased the Lord to send the Chiefe Iuftice, *John Totham Knight*, to the Noble Countesheriffeship, wherein *Captayne Thomas Hanam* went forth with all neceffary fupplies, for the fecounding of *Captayne Thomas Hanam*; who arriving at the place appointed, and not finding that *Captayne there*, after they had made fome Difcouverte, and found the Cofts Hanens, and Harbours unwearable to our desires, they returned. Upon whose Relation the Lord Chiefe Iuftice, and we all waxed to confident of the bufineffe, that the yeere following every man of us formerly interefed in it, was willing to joyne in a ftronger and more folid Plantation.

Hereupon Captaine *Popham*, Captaine *Ranley Gilbert*, and others were sent away with two ships, and an hundred Landmen, Ordnance, and other provisions necessary for their sustentation and defence: untill other supply might be sent. In the meane-while, before they could returne,

1. *Ca. Chalieu*
2. *Cap. Haw*
sent by Lord
Chief Justice
Popham.

3. Cap. Popham
& Cap. Givens.

Sir John Pap-
ham's death.

it pleased God to take vs from this worthy member, the Lord Chief Justice, whose sudden death did so astonish the hearts of the most part of the Adventurers, as some grew cold, and some did wholly abandon the business. Yet Sir Francis Popham his Sonne, certaine of his private friends, and other of vs, omitted not the next yeere (holding on our first resolution) to buyne in sending forth a new supply, which was accordingly performed.

Captaine Pop-
ham's death.

But the ships arriving there, did not only bring vncomfortable newes of the death of the Lord Chief Justice, together with the death of Sir John Gilbert, the elder Brother unto Captaine Rowley Gilbert, who at that time was President of that Council: But found that the old Captaine Popham was also dead; who was the only man (indeed) that died there that Winter, wherein they endured the greater extremities; for that, in the depth thereof, their Lodgings and stores were burnt, and the thereby wonderfully distressed.

Death of the
Plantation.

This calamity and cruel newes, together with the resolution that Captaine Gilbert was forced to take for his owne returne (in this he was to succeed his Brother, in the Inheritance of his Lands in England) made the whole Company to resolve upon nothing but their returne with the ships; and for that present to cause that Countrey againe, having in the time of their abode there (notwithstanding the coldness of the season, and the small helpe they had) built a prettie Barke of their owne, which served them to good purpose, as eating them in their returnings.

Sir Fr. Popham.

The arrival of these people here in England, was a wonderfull discouragement to all the first undertakers, in so much as there was no more speech of setting any other Plantation in those parts for a long time after: only Sir Francis Popham having the ships and provision, which remayned of the Company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the Coasts for Trade and fishing; of whose losse or gaines himselfe is best able to give account.

Frenchmen
plant there.

Our people abandoning the Plantation in this sort as you have heard; the Frenchmen immediately tooke the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits; which being heard of by those of Virginia, that discreetlyooke to their consideration the inconveniences that might arise, by suffering them to harbour there, they dispatched Sir Samuel Argall, with Commission to displace them, which he performed with much discretion, judgement, valour, and dexterity. For having seized their Forts, which they had built at Mount Mansell, Saint Croix, and Fort Real, he carried away their Ordnance; he also surprised their Ship, Cattle, and other Provision, which he transported to the Colonie in Virginia, to their great benefit. And hereby he hath made a way for the present hopeful Plantation to be made in Nova Scotia, which heare his Majesty hath lately granted to Sir William Alexander Knight, one of his Most Excellent most Honorable Council of the Kingdome of Scotland, to be held of the said Crowne, and that not without some of our privities, as by approbation vnder writing may and doth appaare. Whereby it is manifest that were we so farre from making a Monoply of all those Lands belonging to that Coast (as hath bene scandalously by some objected) That we wish that many would undertake the like.

Sir Sa. Argall.

Nova Scotia.

In this Interim there were vs who apprehended better hopes of good that might ensue by this attempt, being therunto priviledged, both by the Relations of our people that had endured the many difficulties wherunto such actions are subjected, chiefly in the Winter Season; and like wife by the informations given them once more to trie the verities thereof, and to see if possibly in their hands; whereof we resolved once more to trie the resolution to prosecute a Worke so pious and so honourable. And thereupon they dispatched Captaine Hobson, of the Ile of Wight, together with Captaine Herley, Master Iohn Mathew, Master Sturton, with two Sauges, the one called Egerton, the other Manomet, with Commission and directions fit for them to observe and follow, the better to bring to passe what was expected. But as in all humane affaires, there is nothing more certaine, then the vncertainty thereof; so fell it out in this; for a little before such times as they arrived upon the Coast with the forelaide Sauges, who were Naturals of those parts, it happened there had bene one Hunt a worthless fellow of our Nation; set out by certaine Merchants for love of game, who, not content with the commoditie he had by the fish, and peccable Trade he found among the Sauges, after he had made his dispatch, and was ready to let layle more Sauges-like then they; seized upon the poore innocent creatures, that in confidence of his honestie had put themselves into his hands. And flowing them vnder hatchets, to the number of twentie foure, carried them into the Straits, where he sought to sell them for slaves, and sold as many as he could get money for. But when it was vnderstood from whence they were brought, the Friers of those parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian Faith; and so disappointed this unworthy fellow of the hopes of game he conceived to make by this new and Devilish proiect.

Cap. Hobson
employed with
Capt. Herley
Oct. 1611.

This being knowne by our two Sauges, formerly spoken of, they presently contracted such an hatred against our whole Nation, as they immediately studied how to be reuenged; and continued with their friends the best meanes to bring it to passe; but Manomet dying in a short time after the shippes arrival there, and the other observing the good order, and strong guard our people

Hunt's Sauges
hunting of Sa-
uages.

Friers charity.

Wicked effects
of wickedness.

people kept, studied only how to free himselfe out of our hands, and thereupon laid the plot very orderly, and indeed effected his purpose, although with so great hazard to himselfe and friends, that laboured his rescue, that Captaine Hobson and his whole Company imagined hee had bene flaine. And though in the recovery of his bodie they wounded the Master of our ship, and divers other of our Company, yet was not their Designe without the slaughter of some of their people, and the hurts of other, compassed, as appeared afterward.

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Hereupon Captaine Hobson and his Company, conceiving the end of their attempt to bee frustrate, resolved without more adoe to returne, and so those hopes, that charge and Voyage was loit all. For they brought home nothing but the newes of their euill success of the unfortunate cause thereof, and of a Warre now new begun betwixt the Inhabitants of those parts, and vs. A miserable comfort for so weak meanes as were now left, to pursue the conclusion of so tedious, an Enterprize.

While this was a working, we found the meanes to send out Captaine Iohn Smith from Plimouth, in a ship, together with Master Dummer, and diuers others with him, to lay the foundation of a new Plantation, and to try the fishing of that Coast, and to seeke to settle a Trade with the Naturals: But such was his misfortune, as being scarce freed of our owne Coast, he had his Ship shaken out-board by stormes and tempests, his ship wonderfully distressed, and in that extreme forced to come backe againe; so as the season of the year being almost spent, we were of necessity enforced to furnish him with another ship, and taking out the provision of the

first, dispatched him away againe, who coming to the height of the Western lands, was chased by a French Pirate, and by him made Prisoner, although his ship in the night escaped away, and returned with the losse of much of her provision, and the overthrow of that Voyage, to the ruine of that poore Gentleman Captaine Smith, who was detrayed Prisoner by them, and indeed to suffer many extremities, before he got free of his troubles.

Notwithstanding these Disasters, it pleased God so to worke for our encouragement againe, as he sent into our hands *Teliquantum*, one of those Sauges that formerly had bene betrayed by this unworthy Hunt before named, by whose means there was hope conceived to worke a peace betwixt vs, and his friends, they being the principall Inhabitants of that Coast, where the fire was kindled. But this Saauge *Teliquantum*, being at that time in the *New-found-land* with

Captaine Mafson, Gouernour there for the undertakers of that Plantation; Master Dummer (who was there also, and sometimes before employed as wee have said by vs, together with Captaine Iohn Smith) found the meanes to give vs intelligence of him, and his opinion of the good vie that might bee made of his Employment, with the readinesse of Captaine Mafson, to further any of our Attempts that way, cyther with Boates or other provision necessary, and resolving himselfe to goe from thence, aduised vs to send some to meete with him at our v-full place of fishing; to ayde him in his induour, that they ioyning together, might be able to doe what he hoped would be very acceptable vnto all well-wishers of that business. Vpon this newes, we dispatched the next season Cap. Rocaft, with a company for that purpose, in hope to haue met with Captaine Dummer; but the care and discretion of Cap. Mafson was such, finding

Captaine Dummer's resolution to goe beyond his meanes, that he perswaded him first to go for England, that providing himselfe there, as was requisite, he might proceed in time expedient, which counsell he observed (as fit it was) although our expectation of his ioyning with Captaine Rocaft was thereby disappointed. Yet so it happened, that Captaine Rocaft at his arrival in those parts, met with a French Barke that lay in a Creeke a fishing, and trading, which hee seized on, and sent home the Master and Company in the same ship which hee went out in.

With this Barke and his owne Company, he meant to keepe the Coast that Winter quarter, being very well fitted both with Salt, and other necessities for his turne; but as this was an Act of extremity (the poore man being of our owne Religion) so succeeded it accordingly. For in a short time after, certaine of this Captaine's Company, conspired together to cut his thoroate, and to make themselves Masters of the whole spoyle, and so to secke a new Fortune where they so could bekk make it. This Conspiracie being discovered to the Captaine, he let it out, till the time that it should haue bene put in execution, when hee caught them in their owne traine, and so apprehended them in the very instant that they were purposed to begin their Malface.

But after hee had prevented the mischief, and seized vpon the Malefactors, hee tooke to his consideration what was best to bee done with them. And being loth by himselfe to dispatch them as they desired, hee resolved to put them a shoare, thinking by their hazard, that it was possible they might discouer something, that might aduance the publicke; and so giuing them some Armes for their defence, and some victuall for their sustentation, vntill they knew better how to provide for themselves, hee left them a place called *Sawmasteek*, where they remayned not long, but got from thence to *Menchighon*, an Island lying some three leagues in the Sea, and fifteene leagues from that place, where they remayned all that Winter, with bad lodging, and worse fare, yet came all life home faue one sickely man, which dyed there, the rest returned with the Shippe wee lent for Rocaft's supply and provision, to make a Fishing Voyage.

Cap. J. Smith

Cap. Mafson
Gouernour in
New-found-land
Plantation.

Cap. Rocaft.

French seized;

Conspiracies.

Conspirators
left Saw-
masteek
Meeting.

wife a great bunch hanging downe vnder his throat, and is of the colour of our blacker sort of fallow Deere, his legs are long, and his feet as big as the feet of our Oxen, his taile is longer then the Single of a Deere, and reacheth almost downe to his Huxens, his skinn maketh very good Buffe, and his flesh is excellent good food, which the Natives vie to Ierkin and keepe all the yeere to serue their turne, and so proues very seruiceable for their vse. There haue beene many of them secue in a great lland vpon the Coast, called by our people *Mount Manfill*, whither the Saueges goe at certaine seasons to hunt them; the manner whereof is by making of feuerall fires, and setting the Country with people, to force them into the Sea, to which they are naturally addicted, and then there are others, that attend them in their Boates with Bowes and weapons of feuerall kindes, wherewith they flye and take at their pleasure. And there is hope that this kind of Beasts may be made seruiceable for ordinary labour, with Art and Industry.

The knowne Commodities of that Country are Fish of feuerall sorts, fish Furras, as Beuours, Otters, Martins, Blacke Fox, Sables, &c. There are likewise plentie of Vines, of three kinds, and those pleasant to the taste, yet some better then other. There is Hempe, Flax, Silkegalls, feuerall veins of Ironstone, commodities to make Pitch, Rolen, Tarre, Deale-boards of all sorts, Spices, Malts, for Ships of all burdens; in a word, there comes no commodity out of *France, Germany*, or the *Sauad*, but may be had there with reasonable labour and industry.

Further, wee haue teled at this present feuerall Plantations along the Coast, and haue granted Patents to many more that are in preparation to bee gone with all conuenience. Those of our people that are there haue both health and plenty, so as they acknowledge there is no want of any thing, but of industrious people, to reape the commodities that are there to be had, and they are indeed so much affected to the place, as they are loth to bee drawne from thence, although they were directed to returne to giue satisfaction to those that sent them, but chole rather to performe that office by Letters, together with there excuse for breach of their duty in that behalf. And thus you see there is no labour well employed, but hath his reward at one time or other. These encouragements haue inboldned vs to proceed to the ingaging of our selues for the building of some Ships of good burden, and extraordinary mould, to lye vpon the Coast for the defence of Merchants and Fishermen that are in payed there, as also to wait the Fleets, as they goe to and from their Markets; and wee purpose from henceforth to build our shipping there, where wee find all commodities fit for that seruice, together with the most opportune places that can be desired.

Lastly, finding that we haue so far forth preuailed, as to wind our selues into familiaritie with the Natives (which are in no great number) along the Coast, for two hundred Leagues together, wee haue now dispatched some of our people of purpose, to dye into the bowels of the Continent, there to search and finde out what Port, or Place, is most conuenient to settle our mayne Plantation in, where wee meane to make the Residence of our State and Government, as also to bee assured what other commodities may bee rayled for the publicke, and priuate benefit of those that are dealers in that business, and willing to bee interred in any the Lands there: Which is gone this yeere already, for Trade and Fishing only, a thirte Sort of the better sort of Ships, longing to the Westerne parts, besides those who are gone for transportation of the Planters, or supply of such as are already planted, whose returne (as is supposed) will amount (at the least) to thirty thousand pound, the greater part whereof comes home in Bullion. And therefore as touching the third happinesse of these parts, which is the Sea, there needeth no other greater commendation, then this benefit of Fishing assured vnto vs by common Experience; although it affords many other hopes, both in regard of the facilitie of the Navigation, the boldnesse of the Coast, the conuenience of Roades, Hauens and Harbors, for performance of all manner of employments; yet is there also found Showes of Pearle, Ambregreece, great numbers of Whales, and other merchantable meane to raise profit to the industrious Inhabitants or diligent Traders.

CHAP. II.

The Voyage of M^r HENRY CHALLONS intended for the North Plantation of Virginia, 1606. taken by the way, and ill vsed by Spaniards: written by JOHN STONEHAM Pilot.



ON Tuesday the twelfth of August, 1606. M^r Henry Challons Gentleman se forth- 60
from *Plimouth*, in our small Ship of the burthen of fiftie five Tunnes or there-
about, called the *Richard of Plimouth*. Wherein went twentie nine *Englishmen*,
and two of the five Saueges (whose names were *Mannido* and *Assacum*) which
were brought into *England* the yeere before out of the North parts of *Virginia*,
from our goodly Ruer by him thence discovered, called in the Latitude

of 43. degrees, 20. minutes were employed for a farther discovery of these Coasts: And if any good occasion were offered, to leaue as many men as we could spare in the Country. Being victualled for eleuen or twelue monthes, at the charge of the honorable Sir *John Popham* Knight, Lord chiefe Iustice of *England*, Sir *Parvinsando Gorges* Knight, Captaine of the Port of *Plymouth*, together with diuers other worshipfull Knights, Gentlemen and Merchants of the West Countrey, *John Stoneham* of *Plymouth* being Pilot, who had bene in the forlaid parts of *Virginia* the yeere before, with *George Waymouth*: The Maisters name was *Nicholas Hine* of *Cockington*, neere *Dartmouth*.

The last day of August we fell with the Ile of *Madera*, where we watered and refreshed our felues, and stayed three dayes, being very kindly vsed by the Inhabitants. The third day of September we departed from thence, passing betweene *Gomora* and *Palma*, two of the *Cenary* Iles, and from thence were driuen by contrary winds, to take a more Southerly course then we intended, and so spent more then sixe weekes before wee could recover any of the Ant-Iles. The first that wee could recover, was the Ile of *Saint Lucia*, in the Latitude of 14. degrees, 20. minutes, where we refreshed our felues with Wood and Water. And saw certaine of the Saueges there, about fortie or fiftie, came vnto vs at our Ship in one of their Canoes, bringing vnto vs Tobacco, Potatoes, Plantains, and *Cassia* Bread, the which Saueges had laine more then fortie of our Nation, the yeere before 1605. as after wee vnderstood by *Philip Glasco*, and *Miller Pett*, being two of Captain *Nicholas*, *Saint Johns* company, which was there treacherously laine a- 30
mong the rest.

Having layed here three dayes, about the two and twentieth of October we departed thence to the Northwestward. And in passing by the Ile of *Dominica*, wee chanced to see a white Flag, put forth on the shoare, wherewith maruelling, wee supposed that some Christians had sustained shipwreck their. And forthwith a Canoe came off from the shoare towards vs, which when they came neere, being very little wind, we layed our Ship by the lee and stayed for them a litle, and when they were come within a litle distance of the Ship, we perceived in the Canoe a Friar, who cried aloud in the Latine tongue, saying, I beseech, as you are Christians, for Christ his sake to shew some mercy and compassion on mee, I am a Preacher of the Word of God, a Friar of the Order of *Franciscus* in *Smill*, by name *Friar Blasius*. And that hee had bene there sixteen 30
moneths a Slaue vnto those Saueges; and that other two Friars which were of his company they had murdered and throwne into the Sea. We demanded of him then, how he got to much fauour to preferre his life, his Brethren being murdered: Hee answered, because hee did shew the Saueges how to fit them Sayles for their Canoes, and so to ease them of much labour often in rowing, which greatly pleased the Saueges as appeared, for wee law them to vie sayles in their Canoes, which hath not bene seene before.

Then we demanded of him where they had this Linnen Cloth to make those Sayles: hee answered, That about two yeeres before that, three Gallions coming to the West Indies were cast away on the Ile of *Guadalupe*, where abundance of Linnen Cloth and other Merchandise was cast on shoare. We demanded farther, what was the cause of his being in this place, and how he came thither: hee answered, That the King of *Spain* did euery yeere, send out of euery great Monastery certaine Friars into the remote parts of the *Indies*, both to seeke to conuert the Saueges, as also to seeke out what benefites or commodities might be had in those parts, and also of what force the Saueges were of, and what number of them were in the seuen Ant-Iles, viz. *Saint Vincent*, *Guadalupe*, *Saint Lucia*, *Mattalina*, *Dominica*, *Guadalupe*, *Aisly*. The which said *Friar Blasius* said hee had diligently noted and obserued, and did hope to make perfect relation of such great benefites and riches as was to be drawne from thence, as hee doubted not but would be greatly accepted of his King, if hee might liue to returne to declare it: For, said hee, I haue seene in one Ruer descending from the Mountains in the Ile of *Dominica*, the Sand to glitter like Gold or find Copper, whereupon I tooke some of it, and shewed it betwene my teeth, and found it perfect Metall, the Saueges noting mee, began to haue some lealousie of mee, so as I durst not take any farther notice of it, neither would they suffer him forward to come neere to that place. And farther hee said, That if the great plentie of diuers Fruits and Roots fit for mans sustenance were perfectly knowne, together with the Sugar-canes that they haue in those Iles, and the fertilitye of the soyle he thought it would be very thorly inhabited; and as for the number of Saueges there, as neere as we could vnderstand, was scarce one thousand of all sorts of men, women, and children in all the said seuen Iles.

Now, being moued with pitee at the lamentable complaint, and humble suit of this distressed Friar, we tooke him into our Ship, and sent away the Saueges much discontented. And from thence we sayled to the Ile of *Saint John De-porto-rico*, where on the nine and twentieth of October, we arrived on the Southside, and forthwith lent the Friar on shoare, and deliuered him to two Headmen, which most thankfully receiued him, and of their courtesie brought vs a fat Cow, and preferred vs more with Hogs, Calues, or any thing else that they could procure vs in recompence of the good deed done to the Friar.

We departed from thence, and sayled out betwene the Iles of *Saint John De-porto-rico*, and

Madera.

Saint Lucia.

Fortie English
slaine by Saue-
ges, 1605. See
the storie, p.
p. 1255.

Dominica.

Friar Blasius
his request.Three gallions
lost at Guade-
lupe.Guafores yeer-
ly sending of
Friars out of
Spain.Gold in *Dominica*.They lent the
Friar on Port
Rico.

Hijanaula standing away to the Northward, and leaving the great shoals called *Abrino*, on our Larboard side, being in the Latitude of 21, and 22 degrees, from thence Westward, our course North North-west, and North-west and by North, vntill we were in the Latitude of 27 degrees or better, and about one hundred and eighty leagues from *Saint John de Port Rico*.

In this place having had a very great storme of Wind and Raine continuing fixe houres and more before on the tenth day of November, about ten of the clocke in the morning, suddenly we found our selves in the middle of a Fleet of eight Sayle of ships in a very thicke fogge of mist and raine, so as we could not see them before they were very nere, and within three of them, when three of them were on the wind-ward of vs, on a third and fourth more to leeward, thole at the wind-ward came vnto vs, and thot at vs, requiring vs to speake with their Admirall. When we saw that by no means we could avoid them, but that they would speake with vs, we put abroad our Colours, and went toward the Admirall, before we came vnto him, he likewise strooke downe our Sayle, and came vnder his lee, demanding his pleasure: the other ship which firht vs, all our Sayles being downe, and thot our mayne Sayle in pieces lying on the Decke.

And forthwith the Admirall came on board of vs, with two and twentie men in their ships Boate with Rapers, Swords, and halfe-pikes, we being all in peace flood readie to entertaine them in peace. But as soon as they were entered on board of vs, they did most cruelly beate vs all, and wounded two of our Company in the heads with their Swords, not sparing our Captayne nor any. Also they wounded *Ajacemont*, one of the Sauges aboard, most cruelly in severall places in the bodie, and thrust quite through the arme, the poore creature creeping vnder a Cabin for feare of their rigor: and as they thrust at him, wounding him, he cried still, *King James, King James, King James* his ship, *King James* his ship. Thus having beaten vs all downe vnder the Decks, presently they beat vs vp againe, and thrust vs out of our Boate, and so sent vs on board of the Admirall ship. Neither would they suffer any of vs to speake a word, to shew the cause of our passing the Seas in these parts. Neyther regarded they any thing with the Company which the Captayne held forth vnto them in his hand: vntill that the Admirall with the Company of foure other of the ships, had rifled, spoyled, and deliuered all the Merchandizes and goods of the ship among them, which being done, they also diuided vs being thirtie persons in all into the said five ships, by seven, six, five, and foure to a ship.

Three of the former eight Sayle made Sayle away, and neuer came nere vs, neither were partakers of our spoyle. Then they also repayred our Maine Sayle which was torne with the shot as aforesaid, and put their men into her. And after because they could not make her to sayle well, they tooke two of our men, and put into her to helpe them, the other five ships and our ship kept company two or three dayes together. After this they separated themselves either from other, not through any tempest or storme, but through wilfull negligence or simple Ignorance, by taking contrary courses the one from the other. So as not two of them kept company together. My selfe and fixe more of our company in the Vice-Admirall (of the burthen of one hundred and eighty tonnes, called the *Peter of Siml*, the Captaynes name was *Andreas Barber*) being alone, and having lost the company of the Fleet, continued our course vntill the middle of the cember: at which time being about twentie leagues off from the Ile of *Santa Maria*, one of the Iles of the *Azores*, the Vice-Admirall and the whole company diuiling the great Ignorance of the Pilot, because he had told them ten dayes before that he was very nere the land, and had waited all this time, and could find any of them, entreated me very earnestly to shew my skill. And the Pilot himselfe brought mee his Instruments, whereunto by there much importunitie yielded. And by Gods assistance on Christmas Eve, after our English account, I brought them safe to the Barre of *Saint Lucas*, being the first ship of the whole Fleet that arrived there.

One of the ships of this Fleet, by the great Ignorance of the Spanish Maisters, Pilots, and Mariners was driven beyond all the Coast of *Spain*, into *Burdaxus* in *Gascogne*. In which shipp the Officers of the Admiraltie of *France*, finding foure of our Englishmen prisoners vnder the Decks in hold: to wit, Maister *Daniel Tucker*, who was our Cape Merchant, *Pierce Gliddon* and two others, did very friendly let them at libertie; and the said *Daniel Tucker* presently arrested the Spanish ship and goods being of great value, which of long time remayneth vnder arrest.

The good Duke of *Medina* hearing of the arrivall of certaine English prisoners taken here, the Count of the West *Indies*, sent command to the Captaynes of the Spanish ships, to bring foure of the chiefeest to be brought before him. Whereupon my selfe, Maister *Thomas Saint John*, *John Walvend* our Steward, and *William Stone* our Carpenter were brought before him. The ship wherein Maister *Challous* was, was not yet come.

Maister *Daniel Newell* an Englishman dwelling in *Saint Lucas*, was appointed our Interpreter. And then the Duke required me vpon my oath to yeld a true and faithfull answer, according to the whole state and manner of our Voyage and proceedings, which I did, according to the former Relation afore written, whereupon his Excellencie replied vnto the Spanish Captaynes

which had brought vs, saying, it is thus true which this Englishman affirmeth, you have greatly wronged these men. And so commanded them to provide meate, drinke, and lodgings for vs, and to bring vs againe the next day before him. They sent vs nevertheless to *Siml*, where we were brought to a Dutchmans house, called *Siguer Petre*, where we were reasonably lodged, and entertained that night.

Thernext morning being New years day we were brought before the President of *Siml*, at the Contradiction, who hearing of our coming, and not vouchsafing to speake with vs, sent foure Quisers to vs, and call vs into Prison. Where for the space of five dayes we had publike allowance, but such as poore men which were these Prisoners, also did of their merite bring on vs a plough after many humble Sutes, and earnest Petitions ex hibited to the President, we had a Raskall Plate allowed to each man a day, which is fixe pence English, which by reason of the dearth of all sorts of victuall in those parts, will not goe for far as three pence in England.

And last fearefull times, within one month after eleven more of our Company were committed to Prison, as they came home, whereof our Captayne was one. Notwithstanding that the good Duke of *Medina* had discharged both him and all thole of his Company, which came in good *Spain* with him, and willed him to goe home to the Court of England, to the Court of *Spanes* where he thought to haue best reliefe for his poore imprisoned Company. Whereupon *Nicolas Hinc* our Maister, and two more of our men wildly forgetting what was like to bee the issue, made halfe away out of the Citie, and to goe passage and escaped into England.

Before the coming of our Captayne to *Siml*, my selfe and eleven more of my Company were examined before the President of the Contradiction: who finding no iust cause of offence in vs, did then earnestly examine me of the manner and situation of the Countrey of *Virginia*, together with the Commodities and benefit thereof. And after the coming of our Captayne, they likewise examined him to the same purpose. We answered both to our purpose, according to our Contribution in writing, which the Spaniards at our taking at Sea, had preferred and deliuered vnto the hands of the President. Within few dayes after, they gave our Captayne and Maister *Thomas*, *Saint John*, libertie of mayne Prison, vpon the security of two English Merchants, which were Maister *William Rapier*, and Maister *John Perkeford*, whereof the later is dwelling and married in *Spain*. The rest of the Company being one and twentie in Prison, continued still in miserable

chaine. About two months after, *Robert Cook* of London one of our Company fell sick of a Flux, whereof he languished three months and more, and by no means that we could make, though he hath to bee cured, although we spent more then sixtie Rials in Supplices and Sires to get him out. At length being dead, they cauled his bodie to bee drawne vp and downe the Prison by the heeles, naked, in most contemptible manner, crying, Behold the *Lutherans*, as fue others of our Company being then in Prison beheld: and so laid him vnder the Conduit, and powred water into his dead bodie. This done, they cut off his Eares, Nose and Members, as the Spaniards themselves confessed vnto vs, and so conveyed his bodie we could neuer learne whether, although we proffered them money to haue his dead corps to burie it.

Shortly after *Nathaniel Hamfrise* our Boatwaine was stabbed into the belly with a Knife by a Spaniard, which was a flue in the Prison, and fourteen dayes after dyed, who being dead I went vnto the Keeper of the Prison, desiring to buy his dead bodie to burie it, and for twenty Rials I bought his bodie, and buried it in the held. Then we besought the President for Iustice on this flauie which had flaine our Boatwaine: he demanded what we would haue of the flauie. And we were quitted, that had flaine our honest and worthy man of ours causeless, that he might die for it according to the Law. The President answered no, but if we would haue him condemned for two or three yeares more to the Gallies he should. For further, The King of *Spain* willed vs give the life of the worst Slave that he hath, for the best Subject the King of England had, and so sent vs away with this answer. Whereupon being out of all hope of Iustice with the President, we repaired vnto the Regent being an Ecclesiasticall man, one of the chiefeest Iudges of the Citie, desiring likewise Iustice on the Murderer as aforesaid: who in kind termes promised vs Iustice, and so willed vs to retaine counsell and Attornies to procure our Sute; which we did accordingly, and so after two months Sute, and the cost of more then two hundred Rials on Lawyers, Scribes and other Officers at length we had him hanged by the fauour of the Regent, which otherwise we had neuer obtained.

And now I may not omit to shew how I got the libertie to haue the scope of the Citie for my Race to come, and go. Having bene three months in cloie Prison with our poore company as aforesaid. At length I got the fauour of two Englishmen inhabiting in *Siml* named *Constantine Collins*, and *Henry Roberts* who did ingage themselves for me. The Spaniards were very desirous to haue me to serue their State, and proffered me great wages, which I refused to doe, affirming, that this imprisonment which I had in hand, was not yet ended vntill which time I would not determine any.

Then the *Alcadie mayor* of the Contradiction House and diuers others Merchants persuaded me to make them some descriptions and Maps of the Coast and parts of *Virginia*, which I also refused to doe. They being discontent with me, sent mee againe to Prison, where I continued

They by a happy hap fall among the Spanish ships.

They are boarded, taken and abused.

King James his name little respected by Spaniards.

Their imprisonment.

Hard hearted Spaniard.

Cruell imprisonment.

Spanish Prefecture respect to the English.

Honest Spaniards.

French countess.

A Plantation
in New Eng-
land.
Prof 11. 1612

Vpon these inducements, some few well disposed Gentlemen and Merchants of London and other places piousd two Ships, the one of one hundred and sixtie Tuns, the other of fuentie; they left the Coast of England the three and twentieth of August, with about one hundred and twentie persons, both the next day the lesser Ship sprung a leak, that forced their returne to *Plymouth*, where discharging her and twentie Passengers, with the great Ship, and a hundred perious besides Sailors, they set saile againe the sixth of September, and the ninth of November fall with Cape *Lamer*, most of them grew very weak and weary of the Sea, then for want of experience ranging to and againe fixe weekes before they found a place they liked to dwell on, forced to lie on the bare ground without couerture in the extremitie of Winter, fortie of them dyed, and fixtie were left in very weak estate at the Ships comming away, about the fifth of April following, and arrived in England the sixth of May.

Prof 11. 1612

Immediately after their arrival from London, they sent another of fiftie five Tuns to supply them, with thirtie seuen persons, they set saile in the beginning of July, but being crossed by Westerly winds, it was the end of August ere they could passe *Plymouth*, and arrived at *New Plymouth* in *New England* the eleuenth of November, where they found all the people they left in April, as is said, lully and in good health, except fix that dyed. Within a moneth they returned here for England, laded with Clappboard, Waincoor, and Walnut, with about three Hogheads of Beaver skins, and some Saxeifras, the thirteenth of December, and drawing neere our Coast, was taken by a Frenchman, set out by the Marquis of Cera Gouverneur of *Ile Den*, on the Coast of *Poyton*, where they kept the Ship, imprisoned the Master and Companie, tooke from them the value of about five hundred pounds; and after fourtene dayes sent them home with a poore supply of Victuall, their owne being decured by the Marquis and his hungry servants; they arrived at London the fourteenth of Februarie, leaving all them they found and feruants to *New England*, well and in health, with victuall and Corne sufficient till the next Harvest.

The Copie of a Letter sent by this Ship.

A Letter from
New Plymouth.

Loving Cousin, at our arrival at *New Plymouth* in *New England*, we found all our Friends and 30
Planters in good health, though they were sick and weak with very small meanes, the Indians round about vs peaceable and friendly, the Country very pleasant and temperate, yielding naturall of its selfe great store of fruits, as Vines of diuers sorts in great abundance; there is likewise Walnuts, Chest-nuts, Small-nuts and Plums, with much varietie of Flowers, Roots, and Herbs, no lesse pleasant then wholesome and profitable: no place hath more Goose-berries, and Straw-berries, nor better; Timber of all sorts you have in England, dash cover the Land, that affords Beasts of diuers sorts, and great flocks of Turkeys, Quailles, Pigeons and Partridges: Many great Lakes abounding with Fish, Fowle, Beavers, and Otters. The Sea affords vs as great variety of all excellent sorts of Sea-fish, as the Rivers and Iles doth varietie of wild Fowle of most usefull sorts. Mynes we find to our thinking, but neither the goodnes nor qualitye we know. Better Graue cannot be then the Indian Corne, if we will plant it upon as good ground 40
as a man need desire. Wee are all Free-holders, the rest daye hath not trouble vs, and all the good blessings we have, of which and what wee list in their seasons for taking. Our company are for most part very religious honest people; the Word of God sincerely taught vs every Sabbath: so that I know not what a contented mind can here want. I desire your friendly care to send my Wife and Children to mee, where I wish all the Friends I have in England, and so I rest

Your loving Kinsman William Hilton.

Prof 13. 1622

From the West Country went ten or twelue Ships to Fish, which were all well fraughted; those that came first at *Bilham*, made fuentene pounds a single share, besides Beaver, Otters, and Martins skins; but some of the rest that came to the same Ports, that were already furnished, so glutted the Market, their price was abated, yett all returned so well contented, they are a prepa-
ring to goe againe.

For this yeere
1622.

There is gone from the West of England onely to fish, thirtie five Ships, and about the last of April two more from London, the one of one hundred Tuns, the other of thirtie, with some fixtie Passengers to supply the Plantation with all necessary provisions. Now though the *Turke* and *French* had beeve somewhat too bold, would all the Christian Princes but bee truly at vnitie, as His Royall Maiesty our Soueraigne Lord and King desireth, fuentie saile of good Ships were sufficient to fire, the most of his Coasts in the *Leuant*, and make such a guard in the Straits of *Hellispoint*, as would make the Great *Turke* himselfe more afraid in *Constantinople*, then the smallest Red Crois, crosses the Seas would be, either of any French, *Pisicaron*, or the Pyrates of *Argiers*. 60

An Abstract of Letters sent from the Colony in New England, July sixtene, 1622.

Since the newes of the Massacre in Virginia, though the Indians continue their wonted friend-
ship.

are we more wary of them then before, for their hands haue bene embred in much English blood, onely by too much confidence, but not by force.

Here I must intreat a little your fauours to digresse. They did not kill the English, because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare nouelties; but now they feare we may beat them out of their Dens, which Lions and Tygers would not admit but by force. But must this be an argument for an Englishman, or discourage any either in Virginia or New England? No: for I haue tried them both. For Virginia, I kept that Country, with thirtie eight, and had not to eate but what we had from the Sauges. When I had ten men able to goe abroad, our Common-weal-th was very strong; with such a number I ranged that vnkowne Country fourteen weekes; I had but eighteen to subdue them all, with which great Army I stayed fixe weekes before their greatest Kings habitations, till they had gathered together all the power they could; and yet the Dutchmen sent at a needlesse excessive charge did helpe *Powhatan* how to betray mee.

Of their numbers wee were vncertaine; but those two honourable Gentlemen, Captaine George Percie, and Captaine Francis West, two of the *Plittplaces*, and some other such noble Gentlemen and resolute spirits bore their shares with me, and now liuing in England, did see me take this murdering *Opechanamough*, now their Great King by the long lock on his head, with my Pistoll at his breast, I led him among his greatest forces, and before wee parted, made him fill our Barke of twentie Tuns with Corne. When their owne wants was such, I haue given them part againe in pity, & others haue bought it againe to plant their fields. For wronging a Soldier but the value of a penny, I haue caused *Powhatan* send his own men to *Lanes Town* to receive their punishment; as my satisfaction. It is true in our greatest extremity they shott me, three of my men, and by the folly of them that fled tooke me prisoner; yet God made *Powhatan* the Kings Daughter she meanes to deliuer me; and thereby taught mee to know their treacheries to preferre the rest. It was also my chance in single combat to take the King of *Paspalegh* prisoner, and by keeping him, forced his subjects to worke in Chaiues, till I made all the Country pay contribution, hauing little else whereon to liue.

Twice in this time I was their President, & none can say in all that time I had a man slain; but for keeping them in that feare I was much blamed both there and heere: yet I left five hundred behind mee that through their confidence in fixe monethes came most to confusion, as you may read at large in the description of Virginia. When I went first to those desperate designs, it cost me many a forgotten pound to hire men to goe; and procreation caused more runne away then went. But after the Ice was broken, came many braue Voluntaries: nowwithstanding since I came from thence, the Honorable Company haue bene humble Suters to his Maiestie to get Vagabonds and condemned men to goe thither; nay, so much scorned was the name of Virginia, some did chule to be hang'd ere they would goe thither, and were: yet for all the worst of pities, laceration and discouragement, and this lamentable Massacre, there are more honest men now futers to goe, then euer haue been constrained knaues; and it is not vnkowne to most men of vnderstanding, how happy many of those Gallumners doe thinke themselves, that they might bee admitted, and yet pay for their passage to goe now to Virginia: and had I but meanes to transport as many as would goe, I might haue choiced of ten thousand that would gladly bee in any of those new places, which were to be fully contented with vngatefull bad minds.

To range this Country of New England, in like manner I had but eight, as is said, and amongst their brute conditions I met many of their lilly countenances, and without any hurt, God be thanked: when your West Country men were many of them wounded, and much more tormented with the Sauges that assaulted their Ship, as they did lay themselves, in the first yeare I was there 1614, and though Master Hunt then Master with me, did most busely in fessling some Sauges from that coast to sell, when he was directed to haue gone for *Spain*, yet that place was so remote from *Capanawick*, where *Epenew* should haue fraughted them with Gold Ore, that his fault could be no cause of their bad luckes, however it is alledged for an excuse. I speake not this out of vain glory, as it may be some gleaners, or some was neuer there, may censure mee: but to let all men be assured by those examples, what those Sauges are that thus strangely doe murder and betray our Country men. But to the purpose.

What is already writ of the healthfulness of the ayre, the richness of the soyle, the goodnes of the Woods, the abundance of Fruits, Fish, and Fowle in their season, they fill asforme that haue bene there now neere two yeeres, and at one draught they haue taken one thousand Barrells in one night twelue hog-
heads of Herring. They are building a strong Fort, they hope shortly to finish, in the interim they are well provided: their number is about a hundred persons, all in health, and well neere fixtie Acres of ground well planted with Corne, besides their Gardens well replenished with usefull Fruits; and if their Adven-
60 tures would but furnish them with necessities for fishing, their wants would quickly bee supplied. To supply this sixtenth of October, is going the Paragon, with fixtie seuen persons, and all this is done by private mens persns. As to conclude in their owne words, should they write of all plenties they haue found, they thinke they should not be beleered.

For the twentie fixe soyle of Ships, the most I can yet understand is *N. Ambrose Tennens* of London, and

Opechanamough
taken in the
middle of his ar-
mie, as *Asaba-
pas* was by *Pi-
saris*.

and Master Abraham Iennens of Plimoth sent (their Abraham) a Ship of two hundred and twenty Tuns, and the Nightingale of Portsmouth of a hundred: whose Fish at the first poyse came to 350 pounds: in all they were five and thirty saile: and wherein New found Land they shared fixe or seven pounds for a common man, to New England they shared foureteen pounds; besides six Dutch and French Ships made wonderfull returns in Partes.

Thus you may see plainly the yearly successe from New England (by Virginia) which hath bin so costly to this Kingdome, and so deare to me, which either to see penill or but bleed, pardon me though it pationate me beyond the bounds of modesty, to have bin sufficiently able to perseue it, and had neither power nor means how to prevent it. By that acquaintance I have with them, my Duty, and in total my best content, as indifferent to my heart as my left hand to my right: and not withstanding all those miracles of disasters have crossed both them and me, yet were there not one Englishman remaining (as God be thanked there is some thousands) I would yet begin againe with as small means as I did at the first; nor for that I have any secret encouragement from any I protest, more then lamentable experiences: for all their Discoveries I can yet heare of, are but Pigs of my owne Sowe; nor more strange to me then to heare one tell mee he hath gone from Billinggate and discovered *Greenwich, Cranefind, Tisbury, Quinbaron, Lee and Margit*, which to thole did never heare of them, though they dwell in England, might be made seeme some rare secrets and great Countries unknowne, except the Relation of Master Damer. To returne: It is certain, from *Canada and New England* within these fixe years, hath come neere 20000 Beaver Skins. Now had each of those Ships transported but some small quantity of the most increasing Beasts, Fowles, Fruits, Plants and Seades, as I protested, by this time their increase might have bin sufficient for a thousand men. But the desire of present gaine (in many) is so violent, and the endeavors of many undertakers so negligent, every one regarding their private gaine, that it is hard to effect any publicke good and impossible to bring them into a body, rule, or order, wile both authority and money assist experiences. It is not a worke for every one to plant a Colony: but when a House is built, it is no hard matter to dwell in it. This requireth all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence and experience to doe but nere well: your home-bred ingreiving preiectors shall finde there a great difference betwixt saying and doing. But to conclude, the Fishing will goe forward if you plant it or nowherely: a Colony may be transported with no great charge, that in a short time might provide such fraughts to buy of vs there dwelling, as I would hope no Ship should goe or come empty from New England.

The charge of this is only Salt, Nets, Hookes, Lines, Kniues, Trish Rugs, course Cloth, Beades, Glasse, and such like trash, only for fishing and trade with the Sauges, beside our owne necessary provisions, whose endeavors will quickly defray all this charge: and the Sauges haue intreated me to inhabit where I will. Now all these Ships, till this last year, have bin fished within a square of two or three leagues, and not one of them all would adventure any further, where questionlesse five hundred saile may have their fraught better then in *Island, New found Land*, or else where and be in their markets before the other can have their fish in these Ships, because *New 40 England* fishing begins with February, the other not till mid May: the progression hereof tends much to the advancement of *Virginia* and the *Bermudas*: whose empty Ships may take in their fraught there, and would be a good friend in time of neede to the Inhabitants of *New found Land*, &c.

CHAP. IIII.

A Relation or Iournall of a Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England, and proceedings thereof; Printed 1622. and here abbreuiated.

Sept. 1620.

No. 9. Cape Cod.



Ednesday the sixt of September, the Winde comming East North-east, a fine small gale, we looked from *Plimoth*, hauing bin kindly entertained and courteously visited by duers friends there dwelling, and after many difficulties in volentier storms, at length by Gods prouidence pouer the ninth of November followings, by breake of the day we espied Land, which we deemed to be *Cape Cod*, and so afterward it proved. Upon the eleuenth of November, we came to an anchor in the Bay, which is a good harbor and pleasant Bay, circled round, except in the entrance, which is about foure miles ouer from land to land, compassed about to the verie Sea with *Oakes, Pines, Juniper, Sassafras*, and other sweete Wood: it is a harbour wherein 100, saile of Ships may lately ride, there were relieved our felces with Wood and Water, and refreshed our people, while our Shallop was fitted to coast the Bay, to search for an habitation: there was the greatest store of Fowle that euer we saw.

And euerie day we saw Whales playing hard by vs, of which in that place, if wee had instruments and meanes to take them, we might haue made a verie rich returne, which to our great grieue we wanted. Our Master and his Mate, and others experienced in fishing, protested, wee might haue made three or foure thousand pounds worth of Oyle; they preferred it before *Greenland* Whale-fishing, and purple the next winter to fish for Whale here: for God we affirmed, but found none, there is good store no doubt in their season. Neither got we anie fish all the time we lay there, but some few little ones on the shoare. We found great Muscles, and verie fat and full of Sea Pearle, but we could not eate them, for they made vs all sicke that did eate, as well sailers as passengers; they cauled to cast and scoure, but they were soone well againe. The Baie is so round and circling, that before we could come to anchor, we went round all the points of the compass. We could not come neere the shoare by three quarters of an English mile, because of shallow water, which was a great prejudice to vs, for our people going on shoare were forced to wade a Bow shoote or two in going aland, which caused manie to get colds and coughs, for it was manie times freezing cold weather.

This day before we came to harbour, obseruing some not well affected to vnitie and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an allocation and agreement, that we should combine together in one bodie, and to submit to such gouernment and Gouernours, as we should by common consent agree to make and chooe, and let our hands to this that follows word for word.

IN the name of God, Amen. We whose names are vnderwritten, the loyall Subjects of our dread Soueraigne Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having vnderaken for the glorie of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our King and Countrey, a Voiage to plant the first Colonie in the Northerne parts of *Virginia*, doe by these presents solemnely and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine our felces together in a cunill bodie politique, for our better ordering and preferuation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equall Lawes, Ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie: unto which wee promise all due submition and obedience. In witness whereof we have here vnder subscribed our names. *Cape Cod* eleuenth of November, in the year of the raigne of our Soueraigne Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland, 18, and of Scotland 54. Anno Domini 1620.

The same day to soone as we could we set ahoare fiftene or sixteen men, well armed, with some to fetch Wood, for we had none left; as also to see what the Land was, and what Inhabitants they could meete with, they found it to be a small necke of Land: on this side where we lay is the Bay, and the furthest side the Sea: the ground or earth, sand hills, much like the Downes in *Holland*, but much better: the crust of the earth a Spits depth, excellent blacke earth: all wooded with *Oakes, Pines, Sassafras, Juniper, Birch, Holly, Vines*, some *Ash, Walnut*; the Wood for the most part open and without vnder-wood, fit either to goe or ride in: at night our people returned, but found not anie person, nor habitation, and laded their Boate with Iuniper, which smelled verie sweete and strong, and of which wee burnt the most part of the time we lay there.

Munday the thirteenth of November, we vnshipped our Shallop, and drew her on land, to mend and repaire her, hauing bin forced to cut her downe in bestowing her betwixt the decks; and she was much opened with the peoples lying in her, which kept vs long ther, for it was sixteen or seuentene daies before the Carpenter had finished her: our people went on shoare to refresh themselves, and our women to wash, as they had great neede: but whilest wee lay thus still, hoping our Shallop would be readie in five or six daies at the furthest, but our Carpenter made slow worke of it, so that some of our people impatient of delay, desired for our better furtherance to trauaile by Land into the Countrey, which was not without appearance of danger, nor hauing the Shallop with them, nor meanes to carrie prouision, but on their backs, to see whether it might be fit for vs to teate in or no, and the rather because as we failed into the Harbour, there seemed to be a Riuer opening it selfe into the maine Land; the willingness of the persons was liked, but the thing it selfe, in regard of the danger was rather permitted then approued, and so with cautions, directions, and instructions, sixteen men were set out with euery man his Musket, Sword, and Corlett, vnder the conduct of Captaine Miles Standish, unto whom was adioyned for counsell and aduice, *William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins*, and *Edward Tilley*.

Wedneslay the fiftenth of November, they were set a shoare, and when they had ordered themselves in order of a single File, and marched about the space of a mile, by the Sea they ordered five or six people, with a Dogge, comming towards them, who were Sauges, who when they saw them, ran into the Woods and whistled the Dogge after them, &c. First, they luppoted them to be Master Iones, the Master and some of his men, for they were a shoare, and knew of their comming: but after they knew them to be Indians, they marched after them into the Wood.

Sight of Sauges.

Squidlers
op. ned.

Two houses.

Household
furniture.Third discom-
fort.

Extreme cold.

Grampian Bay.
Thy young
Grampies
dead, two in
eachs thicke of
fear, and five or
six paces long.

Mat, and under that a faire Bow, and there another Mat, and under that a Board about shal-
lowers, long, finely cauled and painted, with three, Types, or broches on the top, like a Crowing
also between the Mats we found Bowles, Trays, Dishes, and such like Trinkets; at length we
came to a faire new Mat, and under that two Bundles, the one bigger, the other lesse, we opened
the greater and found in it a great quantity of fine and perfect Red Powder, and in it the bones
and skull of a man. The skull had nine yellow hair still on it, and so we of the flesh unconsumed
there was bound up with a Knife, a Packneille, and two or three old Iron things. It was bound
up in a Saylers Canvas Calafack, and a payre of Cloth Breaches; the Red Powder was a kind of
Emballment, and yedded a strong, but no offensive smell; It was as fine as any Flower. We opened
the lesse bundle likewise, and found of the same Powder in it, and the bones and head of a
little childe, about the legges, and other parts of it was Bound string, and Bracelets of fine white
Beads; there was also by it a little Bow, about three quarters long, and some other odd knicknacks
we brought sundry of the prettiest things a way with vs, and couered the Corps vp againe. After
this, we digged in sundry like places, but found no more Corne, nor any things else but graues.
While it we were thus ransing and searching, two of the Saylers, which were newly come on
the shoare, by chance espied two houses, which had bene lately dwelt in, but the people were
gone. They hauing their Peeces, and hearing no body, entered the houses, and took out some
thing, and went not they but came againe. I told vs, to some feuen or eight of vs went with some
thing, and found how we had gone within a fighthe of them before. The houses were made with
long young Sapling Trees bended, and both ends flucke into the ground; they were made round,
like unto an Arrow, and couered downe to the ground with thicke and well wrought Mats, and
the doore was not ouer a yard high, made of a Mat to open: the Chimney was a wide open hole
in the top, for which they had a Mat to couer it close when they pleased, one might stand and
goe vp into them; in the midst of them were foure little Truiches knockt into the ground,
and small tickles laid ouer, on which they hung their Pots, and what they had to teeth: round
about the fire they lay on Mats, which are their Beds. The Houses were double matted, for as they
were matted without, so were they within, with newer and fairer Mats. In the Houses we
found Wooden Bowls, Trays and Dishes, Earthen Pots, Hand-baskets made of Crab-shells,
wrought together, also an English Paylauer Bucket, it wanted a Buile, but it had two Iron Eares:
there was also Baskets of sundry sorts, bigger, and some better, finer, and some coarser: some were
curiously wrought with Blacke and White in prettie workes, and sundry other of their household
stuff: we found also two or three Deeres Heads, one whereof had bene newly killed, for it was
full fresh: there was also a company of Deeres Feet, flucke vp in the Houses, Hares Hornes, and
Eagles Clawes, and sundry such like things there was: also two or three Baskets full of parched
Acornes, pieces of Fish, and a piece of a broyled Herring. We found also a little Silke Grass, and
a little Tobacco Seed, and some other Seeds which we knew not: without was sundry bundles
of Flags, and Sedg, Bull-rubbes, and other stuffe to make Mats: there was thrust into an hollow
Tree, two or three pieces of Venison, but we thought it fitter for the Dogges then for vs:
some of the best things were rooke away with vs, and left the houses standing still as they were:
Much dispute fell out about the place where we should abide, and a Company was chosen
to goe out vpon a third Discouery (whichd forme we employed in this Discouery,) it pleased
God that Misters White was brought a bed of a Sonne, which was called Peregrine.)

We did play the fix of December we set out, being very cold and hard weather, we were a long
while after we lanchd from the Ship, before we could get cleere of a Sandy Point, which lay
within lesse then a furlong of the same. In which time, two were very sicke, and Edward Truick
had like to haue founde with cold the Gunner was also sicke vnto Death (but hope of trucking
made him to goe) and to remained all that day, and the next night: at length we got cleere of
the Sandy Point, and got vp our Sayles, and within an houre or two we got vnder the weather
shoare, and then had smoother water and better sayling, but it was very cold, for the water freeze
on our clothes, and I made them many times like coats of Iron: we layd fire or seven leagues by
the shoare, but few neither River nor Creeke, at length we met with a tongue of Land, being
flat off from the shoare, with a Sandy point, we bore vp to gaine the Point, and found there a
faire Income or Rode, of a Bay, being a league ouer at the narrowest, and some two or three in
length, but we made right ouer to the Land before vs, and left the diuicer of this Income till
the next day: as we drew nere to the Land, we espied some ten or twelue Indians, very buile
about a blacke truck, what it was we could not tell, till afterwards they lay vs, and ran to and
fro, as if they had bene carrying something away, we landed a league or two from them, and
had much ado to put a shoare any where, it lay so full of the Sands: when we came to shoare,
we made vs a Baricado, and got fire Wood, and sent out our Sentinells, and betooke vs to our lod-
ging, such as it was, we lay the smoke of the fire which the Sauges made that night, about
four or five miles from vs: in the morning we diuided our Company, some eight in the Shallop,
and the rest on the shoare went to discouer this place, but we found it only to be a Bay, with that
either River or Creeke coming into it. This place the most were minded we should call,
Grampian Bay, because we found many of them there: we followed the tract of the Indians bare

feet a good way on the Sands, at length we saw here they strucke into the Woods by the side of
a Pond, as we went to view the place, one said, he thought he saw an Indian-house among the
Trees, so went vp to see: and here we and the Shallop lost sight one of another till night, it
being now about nine or ten a clocke; so we lite on a path, but saw no house, and followed a
great way into the Woods, at length we found where Corne had bene fit, but not that yeere;
anon we found a great burying place, one part whereof was incompaied with a large Palizado,
like a Church-yard, with young spires foure or five yards long, lie at close one by another as they
could two or three foot in the ground; within it was full of Graues, some bigger and some lesse,
some were also palld about, and others had like an Indian-house made ouer them, but not matted:
those Graues were more sumptuous then those at Corne-hill, yet we digged none of them vp,
only viewed them and went our way: without the Palizado were Graues also, but not so costly.
We went ranging vp and downe till the Sunne began to draw low, and then we hafted out of the
Woods, that we might come to our Shallop. By that time we had done, and our Shallop come
to vs it was within night, and we fed vpon such victuals as we had, and betooke vs to our rest af-
ter we had let out our watch. About midnigh we heard a great and hideous cry, and our Sentinell
called, Arme, Arme. So we belidred our selues and shot off a couple of Muskets and noise ceased:
we concluded, that it was a company of Wolves & Foxes, for one told vs he had heard such a noise
in New-found-land, About five a clocke in the morning we began to be stirring, vpon a sudden we
heard a great & strange cry which we knew to be the same voices, though they varied their notes;
one of the company being abroad came running in and cried, They are men, Indians, Indians;
and withall, their Arrows came flying amongst vs, our men ran out with all speed to recouer their
Armes. The cry of our enemies was dreadfull, especially, when our men ran out to recouer their
Armes, their note was after this manner, *Wach wach ha ha ha wach wach*: our men were no sooner
come to their Armes, but the enemy was ready to assault them.

There was a lustie man, and no whit lesse valiant, who was thought to be their Captain, stood
behind a Tree within halfe a Musket shot of vs, and there let his Arrows flye at vs; hee flood
three shots off a Musket, at length one tooke as he said full syme at him, after which he gaue an
extraordinary cry and away they went all, we followed them about a quarter of a mile,
but wee left fixe to keepe our Shallop, for we were careful of our business. Wee tooke
vp eighteen of their Arrows, which wee had sent to England by Masters Iones, some where-
of were headed with brasse, others with Harts borne, and others with Eagles claws; many
more no doubt were shot, for these were found were almost couered with leaues: yet by the spe-
ciall providence of God, none of them either hit or hurt vs. On Monday we found a very good
Harbour for our shipping, we marched also into the Land, and found diuers corne Fields and little
running Brookes, a place verie good for situation, so we returned to our Ship againe with good
news to the rest of our people, which did much comfort their hearts.

This Harbour is a Bay greater then Cape Cod, compassed with a goodly Land, and in the Bay
two fine Islands vnhabited, wherein are nothing but Woods, Oakes, Pines, Walnut, Beech, Sassa-
fras, Vines, and other Trees which we know not. This Bay is a most hopeful place, innumerable
store of Fowle, and excellent good, and cannot but be of Fish in their seasons: Skote, Cod, Turbot
and Herring, we haue tasted of, abundance of Mullet the greatest and best that euer we saw; Crabs
and Lobbers, in their time infinite: it is in fashion like a Gible or Fish-hooke.

The eighteenth we went along the Coast in the Woods, found many or eight mile, but saw not
an Indian, nor an Indian house, others we found where formerly had beene Inhabitants, and
where they had planted their Corne: we found there only one Navigable River, but foure or five small
running Brookes of very fresh water, that all run into the Sea. The Land for the cruell of the earth
is a spits depth, excellent blacke mould and fat in some places; two or three great Oakes, but not
very thicke, Pines, Walnuts, Beech, Alder, Birch, Halseil, Holley, Asp, Sassafras, in abundance, and
Vines euery where, Cherry-trees, Plum-trees, and many other which we know not; many kinds
of Herbs we found here in Winter, as Strawberry leaues innumerable, Sorrell, Yarrow, Carrell,
Brook-lime, Liver-wort, Water-creffes, great store of Leeks and Onyons, and an excellent strong
kind of Flax and Hempe. Here is Sand, Grauell, and excellent Clay, no better in the World, ex-
cellent for Pots, and will wash like Sope, and great store of Stone, though somewhat soft, and the
best water that euer we drunke, and the Brookes now begin to be full of Fish: that night many
being weary with marching, we went aboard againe.

The nineteenth of December, after our landing and viewing of the places, so well as we could
we came to a conclusion, by most voyces, to set on the Maine Land, on the first place, on an high
ground, where there is a great deale of Land cleared, and hath bene planted with Corne three
or foure yeeres agoe, and there is a very lyeet Brook runs vnder the hill side, and many diuers
60 Springs of good water as can be drunke, and where we should we may harbour our Ship, and locate
exceeding well, and in this Brook is much good Fish in their seasons. On the further side of the
River also much Corne ground cleared, in one Field is a great Hill, on which we went point to make a
plat-forme, and plant our Ordnance, which will command all round about, from thence we may
see into the Bay, and far into the Sea, and we may see thence Cape Cod.

P P P P P P P

Saturday

let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the Sauges, on the opposite side of the River, for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged, especially the one being about three-score: These two spying a company of men entering the River, ran very swiftly and low in the grass to meet vs at the Banks, where with shrill voices and great courage, standing charged upon vs with their Bowes, they demanded what we were, supposing vs to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage on vs in the water: but seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of Beads on them. Thus fare we were the Tide ebbs and flows.

Having here againe refreshed our selves we proceeded in our Journey, the weather being verie hot for trauell, yet the Country for well watered, that a man could scarce be drie, but hee should have a Spring at hand to clothe his thirst, beside small Ruers in abundance: But the Sauges will not willingly drinke, but at a Spring head. When we came to any small Brooke, where no Bridge was, two of them offered to carrie our Peeces, also if we would lay off any of our clothes, we would be wearie, and as the one of them had found more speciall kindeesse from one of the Messengers, and the other Sauger from the other; so they shewed their thankfulness accordingly in affording vs help, and furtherance in the Journey.

As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the River, but had beene inhabited, by reason whereof much ground was cleere, full of weeds which grew higher than our heads. There is much good Timber, both Oaks, Walnut-tree, Firre, Beech, and exceeding great Chestnut-trees.

After we came to a Towne of *Massajoyts*, where we eat Oysters and other Fish. From thence we went to *Packnackek*, but *Massajoyts* was not at home, there we waited, he being sent for: when newes was brought of his coming, our guide *Tisquamut* requested that at our meeting, we would discharge our Peeces, but one of vs going about to charge his Pecee, the women and children thoughtfear to see them take up his Pecee, ran away, and could not be pacified, till he laid it downe againe, who afterward were better informed by our Interpreter. *Massajoyts* being come, we discharged our Peeces, and saluted him, who after their manner kindly welcomed vs, and tooke vs into his house, and set vs downe by him, where having deloured our Message and Presents, and having put the Coat on his backe, and the Chain about his necke, he was not a little proud to behold himselfe, and his men also to see their King so brauely attired. For answer to our Message, he told vs we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that Peace and Friendship which was betwixt him and vs: and for his men they should no more pecke vs as they had done: Also, that hee would lend to *Pamet*, and would helpe vs with Corne for Seed, according to our request.

This being done, his men gathered nere vnto him, to whom hee turned himselfe, and made a great Speech; they sometime interposing, and as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was (as far as we could learne) thus: Was not hee *Massajoyts* Commander of the Country about them? Was not such a Towne his and the people of it? and should they not bring their skins vnto vs. After this manner, he named at least thirte places, and their answer was as aforesaid to euery one: so that as it was delightful, it was tedious vnto vs. This being ended, he lighted Tobacco for vs, and fell to discoursing of *England*, and of the Kings Maiesteie, maruelling that hee would live without a Wife. Also hee talked of the *Frenchmen*, and said vs not to suffer them to come to *Narobiganets*, for it was King *I. A. M. S.* his Country, and hee also was King *I. A. M. S.* his man. Late it grew, but vsduals he offered none; for indeed he had not any, being he came to newly home. So we desired to goe to rest: he laid vs on the bed with himselfe and his wife, that at the one end and we at the other, it being only plankes laid a foot from the ground, and a thimbe Mat vpon them. Two more of his chiefe men for want of roome prelied by and vpon vs; so that we were worse wearie of our lodging then of our Journey.

The next day being Thursday, many of their Sachims, or pettie Gouvernours came to see vs, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of Games for Skins and Knives. There we challenged them to shoot with their Skins: but they durst not: onely they desired to seee one of vs shoot at a mark, who shooting with Haile-shor, they wondred to see the mark so full of holes. About one a clocke, *Massajoyts* brought two Fishes that he had shot, they were like B-eame, but three times bigger, and better meat. These being boyled there were at least three looked for there in them, the most eate of them: This meale onely we had in two or three days, and had not one of vs bought a Partridge, we had taken our Journey fasting. Very much fortunate hee was to haue vs stay with them longer: But we were desired to keep the Sabbath home, and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleepe, for what with balling home, the Sauges barbarous singing (for they vfe to sing themselves asleep) Live and Flies withing, and Musketoes without, we could hardly sleepe all the time of our being there; for want much fearing that if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength. So that on the Friday morning before Sun-rising, we tooke our leave and departed.

Massajoyts being both grieved and alhamed, that he could not better entertaine vs; and retaining *Tisquamut* to tend from place to place to procure trucks for vs: and appointing another, called *Tekumshims* in his place, whom we had toad faithfull before and after vpon all occasions.

The eleuenth of Iune we set forth toward *Nauset*, the weather being very faire: but ere we had bin long at Sea, there arose a Storme of winde and raine, with much lightning and thunder, info much that a pout arose not farr from vs: but God be praised, it durd not long, and we put in that night for Harbour at a place called *Commaguid*, where we had some hope to finde the Boy. Two Sauges were in the Boat with vs, the one was *Tisquamut* our Interpreter, the other *Tekumshims*, a speciall friend. It being night before we came in, we anchored in the middle of the Bay, where we were dry at a low water. In the morning we elapsed Sauges seeking Lobsters, and sent out two Interpreters to speake with them, the channell being between them; where they told them what we were, and for what we were come, willing them not at all to feare vs, for we would not hurt them. Their answer was, that the Boy was well, but he was at *Nauset*; yet since we were there they desired vs to come ashore and eate with them: which as loone as our Boate boated we did: and went sixe ashore, hauing foure pledges for them in the Boate. They brought vs to their Sachim or Gouvernour, whom they call *Iyanough*, a man not exceeding twenty sixe yeares of age, but very personable, gentle, courteous, and faire conditioned, indeede not like a Sauger, farr for his attyre: his entertainment was unwearie to his parts, and his cheare plentifull and various.

One thing was very grieuous vnto vs at this place: There was an old Woman, whom we iudged to be no lesse then an hundred yeares old, which came to see vs because shee neuer saw *English*, yet could not but breaking forth into great passion, weeping and crying exceedingly. We demanding the reason of it, they told vs, shee had three Sonnes, who when *Master Hunt* was in these parts, went aboard his Ship to trade with him, and he carried them Captiues into *Spain* (for *Tisquamut* at that time was carried away also) by which meanes shee was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. We told them we were sorry that *English* should giue them that offence, that *Hunt* was a bad man, and that all the *English* that heard of it condemned him for the same: but for vs, we would not offer them any such injury, though it would giue vs all the Skins in the Countrey. So we gaue her some small tridles, which somewhat appeased her.

After dinner we tooke Boate for *Nauset*, *Iyanough* and two of his men accompanying vs. Ere we came to *Nauset*, the day and tide were almost spent, in so much as we could not goe in our Shallops: but the Sachim or Gouvernour of *Commaguid* went ashore and his men with him, we all sent *Tisquamut* to tell *Asinet* the Sachim of *Nauset*, wherefore we came. After Sun-set *Asinet* came with a great traine, and brought the Boy with him, one bearing him through the water: he had not lesse then an hundred with him, the halfe whereof came to the Shallops side vntained with him, the other stood aloofe with their Bowes and Arrows. There hee desired the Boy, being with Beades, and made peace with vs, we bestowing a Knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the Boy and brought him thither. So they departed from vs.

Here we vnderstood that the *Narobiganets* had spoiled some of *Massajoyts* men, and taken him. This strake some feare in vs, because the Colony was so weakely guarded, the strength thereof being abroad: But we set forth with resolution to make the best halfe home we could; yet the winde being contrary, hauing scarce any fresh water left, and at least sixteen leagues home, we put in againe for the shoare. There we met againe with *Iyanough* the Sachim of *Commaguid*, and the most of his Towne, both men, women and children with him. Hee being still willing to gratifie vs, tooke a runlet and led our men in the darke a great way for water, but could finde none good: yet brought such as there was on his necke with them. In the meane time the women loyned hand in hand, singing and dancing before the Shallops, the men also shewing all the kindeheartedness they could, *Iyanough* himselfe taking a Bracelet from about his necke, and hanging it vpon one of vs. By Gods prouidence we came safely home that night.

A Voyage made by one of our men of the Kingdome of *Nauset*, to seek a Boy that had lost himselfe in the Woods, with such accidents as beell vs in that Voyage.

The Boy is: a Boord.

CHAP. V.

Good newes from New England: Or, A Relation of things remarkable in that Plantation; written by E. W. I. N. S. L. O. V. V. and here abbreviated.

The good Ship called the *Fortune*, which in the Month of November 1621. (blessed be God) brought vs a new supply of fure and thirty perions, was not long departed our Coast, ere the Great people of *Nausetiganet*, which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breath forth many threats against vs, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with vs in the fore-going Summer. Inasmuch as the common talke of our neighbour *Indians* on all sides was of the

Royal entertainment.

Games.

Hungry fare.

60

60

Snakes skin
debates.

preparation they made to come against vs. In reason, a man would thinke they should haue now more cause to feare vs than before our supply came: but though none of them were present, yet vnderstanding by others that they neither brought Armes nor other provisions with them, but wholly relied on vs, it occasioned them to flight and brava vs with so many threats as they did. At length came one of them to vs, who was sent by *Conanacus* their chief. *Sachem* or King, accompanied with one *Tokanabomam* a friendly *Indian*. This Messenger inquired for *Tisquantum* our Interpreter, who not being at home, seemed rather to be glad then sorry, and leaving for him a bundle of new Arrows lapped in a rattle Snakes skine, desired to depart with all expedition.

When *Tisquantum* returned, and the Arrows were delivered, and the manner of the Messengers carriage related, he signified to the Gouverneur, that to send the rattle Snakes skine in that manner, imported enmitie, and that it was no better then a challenge. Hereupon, after some deliberation, the Gouverneur stuffed the skin with Powder and Shot, and sent it backe, returning no lesse defiance to *Conanacus*, assuring him if he had Shipping now present thereby to send his men to *Nanabigantset* (the place of his abode) they should not neede to come so farre by Land to vs: yet withall, shewing that they should neuer come vnwelcome or vnlooked for. This message was sent by an *Indian*, and delivered in such sort, as it was no small terror to this Sauage King, inasmuch as he would not once touch the Powder and Shot, or suffer it to stay in his Houle or Countrey. Whereupon the Messenger refusing it, another took it vp, and hauing bene polled from place to place a long time, at length came whole backe againe.

Towne im-
ped.

In the meane time, knowing our owne weaknesse, notwithstanding our high words and boistie looks towards them, and fill lying open to all casualty, hauing as yet (vnder God) not their defence then our Armes, we thought it most needfull to impale our Towne, which with all expedition we accomplished in the month of February, and some few dayes, taking in the top of the Hill vnder which our Towne is seated, making foure Bulwarkes or ieries without: the ordinary circuit of the Pale, from whence we could defend the whole Towne: In three whereof are Gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captaine *Standish* diuided our strength into foure squadrons or companies, appointing whom he thought most fit to haue command of each. And at a generall Muster or Training, appointed each his place, gaue each his Company, giuing them charge vpon euery alarm to resort to their Leaders to their appointed place, and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his Company to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their Muskets. After which they brought their new Commanders to their houses, where againe they greeted them with their shot, and departed. Fearing also lest the enemy at any time should take any advantage by firing our houses, Captaine *Standish* appointed a certaine Company, that whensoever they saw or heard fire to be cryed in the Towne, should only betake themselves to their Armes, and should inclose the house or place so endangered, and stand aloofe on their guard, with their backs towards the fire, to prevent treachery, if any were in that kinde intended. If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwise, without speciall command.

Long before this time we promised the people of *Massachusetts* in the beginning of March to come vnto them, and trade for their Furs, which being then come, we began to make preparation for that Voyage. In the meane time, an *Indian*, called *Hobbamock*, who had lived in the Towne, told vs, that he feared the *Massachusetts* or *Massachusets* (for they so called the people of that place) were ioynd in confederacie with the *Nanabigantsetts*, or people of *Nanabigantset*, and that they therefore would take this opportunity to cut off Captaine *Standish* and his Company abroad: but howeouer in the meane time, it was to be feared that the *Nanabigantsetts* would assault the Towne at home, giuing many reasons for his ialousie, as also that *Tisquantum* was in the confederacie, who we should thinke would vie many periuasions to draw vs from our Shallops to the *Indians* houses for their better advantage.

Notwithstanding the forenamed Captaine with ten men, accompanied with *Tisquantum* and *Hobbamock*, set forwards for the *Massachusetts*: but we had no sooner turned the point of the Harbour, called the *Gurnets nose* (where being becalmed we let fall our grapnell, to let things to rights, and prepare to row) but there came an *Indian* of *Tisquantums* family, running to certaine of our people that were from home with all eagernes, hauing his face wounded, and the blood still fresh on the same, calling to them to repaire home, oft looking behinde him, as if some others had him in chase, saying that *Namafchet* (a Towne some fiftene miles from vs) there were many of the *Nanabigantsetts*, *Massachusetts* our supposed friends and *Combatants* our feared enemies, with many others, with a resolution to take advantage on the present opportunity, to assault the Towne in the Captaines absence, affirming that hee received the wound in his face for speaking in our behalf, and by slight escape, looking off backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed againe to the Gouverneur, whereupon he gaue command that three peeces of Ordnance should be made ready and discharged, to the end that if we were not out of hearing, we might retorne therrat. Which we no sooner heard, but we repaired homeward with

all convenient speede, arming our selues, and making all in readinesse to fight. When we entered the Harbour, we saw the Towne like wife on their guard, whither we hailed with all convenient speede. The newes being made knowen vnto vs, *Hobbamock* said flatly that it was false, assuring vs of *Massachusetts* faithfulltie; howeouer he presumed he would neuer haue undertaken any such act without his priuacie, himselfe being a *Pose*, that is, one of his chiefs Champions or men of valour, it being the manner amongst them not to undertake such enterprizes without the aduice and furtherance of men of that ranke.

The Gouverneur caused *Hobbamock* to send his wife with all priuacie to *Packenock*, the chief place of *Massachusetts* residence (pretending other occasions) there to informe her selfe, and to vs, of the right state of things. When she came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had bene intended, she told *Massachusetts* what had happened at *Plimoth* (so they called *Paxuxet*) which when he vnderstood, he was most offended at the carriage of *Tisquantum*, returning many thanks to the Gouverneur for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him, that according to their first Articles of peace, hee would lend word and gaine warning when any such business was towards.

Thus by degrees we began to discouer *Tisquantum*, whose ends were only to make himselfe great in the eyes of his Country-men, by means of his needernes and fauour with vs, not caring who fell, so he stood. In generall, his course was to persuade them hee could lead vs to peace or warre at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the *Indians*, sending them word in a priuate manner, we were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby he might geue gifts to himselfe: to worke their peace, inasmuch as they had him in greater esteeme then many of their *Sachims*: yet, they themselves fought to him, who promised them peace in respect of vs; yet, and procreation also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas diuers were wont to relye on *Massachusetts* for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leaue him, and seeke after *Tisquantum*. But when we vnderstood his dealings, we certified all the *Indians* of our ignorance and innocency therein, assuring them till they began with vs, they should haue no cause to feare. And if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars and leekers of their and our disturbance, which gaue the *Indians* good satisfaction on all sides.

After this we proceeded in our Voyage to the *Massachusetts*, where we had good store of Trade and (blessed be God) returned in safety, though diuised from before our Towne in great danger and extremity of weather. At our returne, we found *Massachusetts* at the Plantation, who made his seeming iust Apologie for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and injured against *Tisquantum*, whom the Gouverneur pacified as much as he could for the present. But not long after his departure, he sent a Messenger to the Gouverneur, intreating him to giue way to the death of *Tisquantum*, who had so much abused him; But the Gouverneur answered; Although he had deserved to dye both in respect of him and vs; yet for our sakes he desired he would spare him, and the rather because without him he knew not well how to vnderstand himselfe, or any other the *Indians*. With this answer the Messenger returned, but came againe not long after, accompanied with diuers others, demanding him from *Massachusetts* their Muster, as being one of his subjects, whom by our first Articles of peace we could not retaine: yet because hee would not willingly doe it without the Gouvernors approbation, offered him many Beavers skins for his consent thereto, saying, that according to their manner, their *Sachim* had sent his own: Kisse, and therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him. To which the Gouverneur answered: It was not the manner of the *English* to sell mens liues at a price, but when they had deserved iustly to die, to put them to their reward, and therefore retuled the Beavers as a gift: but sent for *Tisquantum*, who though he knew their intent, yet offered not to flye, but came and accused *Hobbamock* as the author and worker of his ouerthrow: yeelding himselfe to the Gouverneur to be sent or not according as he thought meete. But at the instant, when our Gouverneur was ready to deliuer him into the hands of his Executioners, a Boate was seene at Sea to come before our Towne, and fall behinde a head-land not farre off: whereupon, heeling head, many rumours of the French, and not knowing whether there were any combination betweene the Sauaiges and them, the Gouverneur told the *Indians*, hee would first know what Boate that was ere he would deliuer him into their custody. But being mad with rage, and impatient at day, they departed in great hate.

Here let me not omit one notable (though wicked) practise of this *Tisquantum*, who to the end he might possesse his Countreymen with the greater feare of vs, and to consequently himselfe, told them we had the plague buried in our store-houles, which at our pleasure we could lend forth to what place or people we would, and destroy them therewith, though we desired not from home. Being vpon the forenamed brables sent for by the Gouverneur to this place, where *Hobbamock* was & some other of vs, the ground being broke in the middle of the house (whereunder certaine busks of Powder were buried, though vnknowne to him) *Hobbamock* asked him what it meant? To whom he readily answered; That was the place wherein the plague was buried, whereof hee formerly told him and others. After this *Hobbamock* asked one of our people whether such a thing were, and whether we had such command of it? Who answered no; but

Tisquantum
treachery.

Play conceit.

A Plague.

Note.

Honest Sa-
vages.

promised not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great kiffeboe to be amongst the *Indians*, not unlike the Plague, just the same. They rented their complaints to our Gouernour, against that other Plantation. The *Indians* were ouerthrowne in that place, they giuing as much in dedde the trade both for Furrer and for Beanes as was ouerthrowne in that place, they giuing as but for a quart of Corne, as we used to doe for a Beauers skin; so that little good could be there done. From thence they returned into the bottom of the Bay of Cape Cod, to a place called *Nesbit*, where the *Sacchin* visited the Gouernour very kindly, and where they bought eight or ten hog-headers of Corne and Beanes. Allot a place called *Mattacheiff*, where they had like kinde entertainment and Corne also. During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent furies, as the Ship was much endangered, and our Shallop cast away, so that they had now no way to carry the Corne aboard that they had bought, the Ship riding by their report well near two leagues from the fame, her owne Boate being small, and so leakie (hauing no Carpenter with them) as they durst fetch fetch wood or water in her. Herupon the Gouernour caused the Corne to be made in round flacke, and bought Mats, and cut Sedge to couer it, and gave charge to the *Indians* not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermine aloft from it, which he vnderooke, and the *Sacchin* promised to make good. In the meane time, according to the Gouernours request, the *Sacchin* sent men to seek the Shallop, which they found buried all moft in sand at a high-water mark, hauing many things remaining in her, but vniuerable for the present; whereof the Gouernour gave the *Sacchin* speciall charge that it should not be further broken. And hauing procured a Guide, being no less than fiftie miles to our Plantation, let forward, receiving all respect that could be from the *Indians* in his journey, and came safely home, though weary and furbated, whether some three dayes after the Ship also came. The Corne being diuided which they had got, *Master Wetton* Company went to their owne Plantation, it being further agreed, that they should returne with all convenient speed, and bring their Carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the Corne, and save their Shallop.

At their return Captaine *Standish* being recovered and in health, tooke another Shallop, and went with them to the Corne, which they found in safety as they left it; also they mended the other Shallop, and got all their Corne aboard the Ship. This was in January, as I take it, they being very cold and stormy, infromsuch as the harbour of Borne and (so loit them both a second time. But the storme cut both the Shallops from the Ships and Borne, and so loit them both a second time. But the storme being over, and seeking out, they found them both, not having received any great hurt. Whilst they were at *Nauich*, having occasion to lye on the Shore, laying their Shallop in a Creeke not farre from them, which when the Captaine misde, heooke certaine of his company with him, and went to the *Sachem*, telling him what had happed, and requiring the same againe, or the party that tooke them (who was knowne to certaine of the *Indians*) or else he would reuenge it on them before his departure, and so tooke leave for that night being late, refusing whatofer kindness they offered. On the morrow, the *Sachem* came to their randeuou, accompanied with many men, in a fately manner, who saluting the Captaine in this wife: He thrust out his tongue, as if he might see the roote thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the finger end, withall bowing the knee, striving to imitate the *English* gesture, being instructed therein formerly by *Tisquamus*: his men did the like, but in rude and Savage a manner. The Captaine could scarce forbear to breake out in open laughter. After salutation, he desired the *Indians* other things to the Captaine, laying, he had much beaten the party for doing it, causing the women to make Bread, and bring them, according to their desire, (seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled, so they departed, and came home in safety; where the Carue was equilly diuided, as before.

equally divided, as before.

After this, the Governour went to two other inland Townes, with another Company, and from *Nas-30*
Namakeit bought Corne likewise of them, the one is called *Namakeit*, the other *Massomet*. Amongst them,
Massomet *maiket* was brought home partly by *Indian* women; but a great sickness arising from them, our
owne men were enforced to fetch home the rest. That at *Massomet* the Governour left in the
Sabamis custody: this Towne lieth on vs South well nere twenty miles, and stands vpon a
fresh Riuer, which runneth into the Bay of *Namackiganet*, and cannot be lesse then sixty miles
from thence. It will beare a Boat of eight or ten ton to this place. Either the *Dutch*, or *French*,
or both vie to come. It is from hence to the Bay of *Cape Cod* about eight miles; out of which
Bay it floweth into a Creeke some six miles almost direct towards the Towne. The heads of the
Riuer, and this Creeke, are not farre distant. This Riuer yeeldeth thus hush, Oysters, Mussels,
Clams, and other Shell-fish, one in shape like a Beane, another like a Clam, both good meate; and
great abundance at all times; besides it aboundeth with diuers sorts of fresh fish in their seasons. 60
The Governour of *Sabamis* of this Towne, was called *Canamook*, who had formerly, as well as many
others (yea all with whom as yet we had to doe) acknowledged themselves the Subiects of our
Soueraigne Lord the King. This *Sabamis* vied the Governour very kindly, and it seemed was of
good respect and authority amongst the *Indians*. For whilst the Governour was there, within
night

CHAP. 5. *Tobacco and Beades. Abundance of Basse. Colonie.*

1859

night: in bitter weater, came two men from *Manamick*, before spoken of, and having fet aside their Bowes and Quivers, according to their manae, laid down by the fire, and tooke a pipe of Tobacco, not viny any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained silent expecting when they would speake: At length they looked toward *Cannich*, and one of them made a short speech, and deliuered a pregent to him from his *Sachin*, which was a basket of Tobacco, and many Beades, which the other receiued thankfully. After which, he made a long speech to him, the contents hereof was related to vs by *Hobbamock*, (who then accompanied the Gouverneur to his Guide) to be as followeth: It hapned that two of their men fell out as they were in game (for they vie gaming as much as any white, and will play away all, euen their skin from their backs, yea and for their wiues skins also, though it may be theyare many miles distant from them, as my teile haue teenc) and growing to great heat, the one killed the other. The Actor of this fact was a *Powah*, one of special note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well misse, yet another people greater then themselves threatned them with warr, if they would not put him to death. The partie offending was in hold, neither would their *Sachin* doe one way or other till their returne, reiting vpon him for aduice and furtherance in to weighte a matter. After this there was silence a short time; at length men gaue their indgement what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked *Hobbamock* what he thought: Who answered, he was but a stranger to them, but thought it was better that one should die then many, since he had deleried it, and the rest were innocent: whereupon he passed the sentence of death vpon him.

Sauages great
gamblers.

21. Not long after, during no great quantity of Corrie left, Captaine *Shallap* went againe with a
Shallop to *Masschieff*, meetinge all with the like extremities of weather, both of Wilde Snow,
and Frost, inasmuch as they were frozen in the harbour the first night they entred the lame.
Here they pretended they wanted loode, and spared them a good quantitie of Corrie to confirme
the faine: Strangers also came to this place, pretending only to see him and his Companie, whom
they newe law before that time, but intending to ioyne with the rest to kill them, as after ap-
peared. But being forced through extremities to lodge in their houses, which they much pre-
ferred, God possessed the heart of the Captaine with such devout, giving thankes to God
for his mercie, and for the preservation of his Companie, that he would not suffer any one
one part of his Companie to see, the rest should wake, the first thing he thought to them which
he vnderlookt, whereas he could make no good construction. Some of the *Indians* spying an op-
portunitye to bolden the *Bacales* also from him, which he no sooner perceived, hating not above 10
30 persons with him, drew them all from the Boate, and let them on their guard about the *Sachins*
house, where most of the people were, threatening to fall upon them without further delay,
if they would not forthwith restore them, signifying to the *Sachin* especially, and to some of them
all, that as he would not offer the least iniurie, so he would not receive any at their hands, which
should elape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the *Sachin* besetired him to
hide out the partie, which when he had done, caused him to returne them againe to the Shallop,
and came to the Captaine, defining him to search whether they were not about the Boate, who
suspecting their knaueerie, sent one, who found them lying in wait about the Boate ready to
appeale his name, they brought him to the Captaine, who immediately as hee led his Shallop, and
40 departed. This accident augmented their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against
him. But through the good mercy and providence of God they returned in safetie. At this
place the *Indians* get abundance of Baile both Summer and Winter, for it being now February
they shrouded with them.

Just jealous!

Base Summer
and Winter[illegible]

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CUI

The Messengers were now returned, but finding his stomache come to him, he would not haue the Chickens killed, but kept them for breede. Neither durst we giue him any physicke which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions, neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recovery, if he were careful. Many whilest we there were came to see him, some by their report from a place not lesse then an hundred miles. Vpon this his recovery, he brake forth into his speeches; Now I see the *English* are my friends and loue me, and whilest I live I will neuer forget this kindnesse they haue shewed me. Whilest we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers. At our coming away, he called *Hobbsmucke* to him, and privately (none hearing lue two or three other of his *Peeces*, who are of his Council) revealed the plot of the *Massachusetts* before spoken of, against Master *Westons* Colony, 10 and to agauit vs, saying that the people of *Nasiet*, *Pawmet*, *Succonec*, *Mattachisset*, *Manowet*, *Agawam*, and the Ile of *Capauack*, were ioynd with them; himselfe also in his sicknesse was earnestly sollicitud, but he would neither ioyne therein, nor giue way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the liues of our Countreinen, and our owne after-safety, he aduised vs to kill the men of *Massachusetts*, who were the authors of this intended mischief. And whereas we were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first began; if said he vpon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them when their Countreinen at *Wichagwasset* are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recouer their liues, nay through the multitude of aduersaries that shall with great difficulty procure their own, & therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thoroughly to acquaint me by the way, that I might informe the Governour thereof at my first coming home. Being fitted for our returne, we tooke our leave of him, who receiued many thankses to our Governour, and also to our felowes for our labour and loue: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

He receaueth
the recovery of
the *Massachusetts*.

That night, thorow the earnest request of *Combatant*, who till now remained at *Sawam* or *Packanuck*, we lodged with him at *Mattapisset*. By the way I had much conference with him, so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry iests and quibs, and neuer better pleased then when the like are returned againe vpon him. Amongst other things he asked me, in case he were thus dangerously sicke, as *Massachusetts* had beene, and should send word to *Patnet* for *Masket*, that is, Physicke, whether then Master Governour would send it? and if he would, whether I would come therewith to him? To both which I answered yes; whereas he gaue me many ioyfull thankses. After that, being at his house, he demanded further, how we durst being but two come so farre into the Country? I answered, where was true loue there was no feare, and my heart was so vpright towards them, that for mine owne part I was fearelesse to come amongst them. But, said he, if your loue be such, and it bring forth such fruits, how cometh it to passe, that when we come to *Pawmet*, you stand vpon your gages, with the mouthes of your *Peeces* presented towards vs? Whereupon I answered, it was the most horrible and repulsive entertainment we could giue them; yet being an order amongst vs so to respect our best respected friends: and as it was vied on the Land, so the Ships obserued it also at Sea, which *Hobbsmucke* knew, and had seene obserued. But shaking the head, he answered, that he liked not such salutations.

Further, offering vs to craue a blessing on our meate before we did eate, and after to giue thankses for the same, he asked vs what was the meaning of that ordinary cume? Hereupon I tooke occasion to tell them of Gods workes of Creation, and Prelerution, of the Lawes and Ordinances, especially of the ten Commandments, all which they hearkned vpon with great attention, and liked well of; only the fourth Commandment they excepted against, thinking there were many inconueniences in it, that a man should be tied to one woman: about which we reasoned a good time. Also I told them, that whatsoever good things we had, we receiued from God, as the Author and giuer thereof, and therefore craued his blessing vpon that we had, and were about to eate, that it might nourish and strengthen our bodies, and hauing eaten sufficiently being fatished therewith, we againe returned thankses to the same our God for that our refreshing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well, and said, they beleeued almost all the same things, and that the same power that we called God, they called *Kiessum*. Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no lesse delightful to them, then comfortable to vs. Here we remained only that night, but neuer had better entertainment amongst any of them.

Their names
of God.

The day following, in our iourney, *Hobbsmucke* told me of the priuate conference he had with *Massachusetts*, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith (as I shewed before) which hauing done, he vied many arguments himselte to moue vs thereunto: That night we lodged at *Namakeet*, and the day following about the mid-way betweene it and home, we met two *Indians*, who told vs that Captaine *Standish* was that day gone to the *Massachusetts*: but contrary windes againe draue him backe, so that we found him at home; where the *Indian* of *Parmer* thall was, being very importunate that the Captaine should take the first opportunity of a faire wind to goe with him, but their secret and villanous purposes being through Gods mercy

now

now made knowne, the Governour caused Captaine *Standish* to send him away without any dilbste or manifestation of anger, that we might the better effect and bring to passe that which should be thought the most necessary.

Before this iourney we heard many complaints both by the *Indians* and some others of bitt detest amongst Master *Westons* Colony, how exceedingly their Company abused themselves by vndirect meanes, to get victuals from the *Indians*, who dwelt not farre from them, fetching them wood & water, &c. and all for a meales meate, whereas in the meane time, they might with diligence haue gotten enough to haue serued them three or foure times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the *Indians* store, for which they had bene publicly flocked and whipt, 10 and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February, at which time they had spent all their Bread and Corne, not leauing any for Seede, neither would the *Indians* lend or sell them any more vpon any termes. Hereupon they had thought to take it by violence, and that spiked vp euery entrance into their Towne (being well implied) four one, with a full resolution to proceede. But some more honestly minded, aduised *Iohn Sanders* their Ouer-see first to write to *Plimoth*, and if the Governour aduised him thereto, he might the better doo it. They sent, and our Governour writ duers reasons of dislike. With these Letters we dispatched the Messenger; Vpon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, refusing to shist as they could, till the receipt of *Iohn Sanders* from *Mashiggen*, who first comming to *Plimoth*, notwithstanding our owne necessities, the Governour spared him some Corne to carrie them to 20 *Mashiggen*. But not hauing sufficient for the Ships store, he tooke a Shallop, and leauing others with instructions to ouer-see things till his returne, set forward about the end of February, so that he knew not of this conspiacie of the *Indians* before his going, neither was it knowne to any of vs till our returne from *Sawam* or *Packanuck*: at which time also another *Sachim* called *Wassipinewat*, brother to *Obiakieff* the *Sachim* of the *Massachusetts*, who had formerly smarted for partaking with *Combatant*, and fearing the like againe, to purge himselfe, reucaled the same thing.

The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearly Court day, the Governour hauing a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being vnjertake warre without the consent of the body of the Company: made knowne the same in publique Court. We came to this conclusion, That Captaine *Standish* should take to many 30 men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the *Indians* in the *Massachusetts* Bay; & because (as all men know that haue had to doe in that kinde) it is impossible to deale with them vpon open defiance; but first goe to the *English*, & acquaint them with the plot, & the end of his owne coming; that comparing it with their carnages towards them, he might better beare it if it were possible till such time as he could make sure *Wassipinewat*, that bloudy & bold villain before spoken of, whose head he had order to bring with him, that hee might be a warning and terrour to all that disposition. Vpon this, Captaine *Standish* made choice of eight men, and 40 would not take more because he would preuent leaslie, knowing their guilty consciences would be vexed thereunto: but on the next day before he could goe, came one of Master *Westons* from *Combatant* by land vpon vs, with his packe at his backe, who made a boldnesse increased aboue their lamentable and weakes estate, and of the *Indians* carriages, whose boldnesse increased abundantly, in somuch as the victuals they got, they would take it out of their Ports and eate before their faces, yea if in any thing they got, they would take it out of their faces; and if they got their clothes for victuals, because they would not take paines to bring it home: that they had fold their clothes for Corne, and were ready to starue both with cold and hunger also, because they 50 could not indure to get victuals by reason of their nakednesse: and that they were dispersed into three Companies, scarce hauing any Powder and Shot left. As this Relation was griuenous to vs, so it gaue vs good encouragement to proceede in our intendments, for which Captaine *Standish* was now fitted, and the winde comming faire, the next day set forth for the *Massachusetts*.

The *Indians* at the *Massachusetts* mist this man, and suspecting his coming to vs, as wee that conceiue, sent one after him, and gaue out there that he would neuer come to *Packanuck*, but that conserue Wolues or Beares would eate him: but we know not by our owne experience, and the report of others, that though they finde a man sleeping, yet so little, and missing him passed by the towne 60 feare and thum him. This *Indian* mist him but very little, and missing him passed by the towne and went to *Manowet*, whom we hoped to take at his returne, as afterward we did. Now was our Fort made fit for seruice and some Ordinance mounted; and though it may seeme long worke it being ten moneths since it begun, yet we must note, that where so great a worke is begun with such small meanes, a little time cannot bring to perfection: beside those workes which tend to the

Indians in the
lence.

infecta fuerint. Sed cum & alia nonnulla regna, & hac non ita pridem nostra Anglia laudabiliter sua nominis nomis terris acquisitis sed in se subactis inderunt, quam numerosa & frequens damno beneficio hac gens, hac tempestate si nobiscum reputantes, quamque bonis & vtili cultu communi se exercere in deteriora ex ignavia & otio probatur excedat plerisque in novam deducenda regionem quam Colonij complent, operamur ducimus qui & animi promptitudine & alacritate corporumque robore & viribus quovisque difficultatibus, si qui alij mortalium spiritum se audiat opponere, hunc canatum hunc regno maxime idoneum inde arbitramur quod, verorum tantummodum quod & mulierum iumentorum & fumentis, non etiam pecunie transuentionem posulas, neque incommotum ex ipsum regni mercibus retributionem hoc tempore cum negotio adeo immutata, possit reponere. Hic de causis suis & propter bonum fidele & gratum dilecti nostri consilij Domini Wilhelmi Alexandri equitis jernisium nobis patissimum & prestandum, qui propriis impensis ex nostrorum primo externam hanc colomiam ducendam conatus sit, diversisque terris infra designatis limitibus circumscriptis incolendas expectetur. Nos igitur ex regali nostra ad Christianam religionem propagandam & ad opulentiam, prosperitatem, pacemque naturalium nostrorum subditorum dilecti regni nostri Scotia acquirendam cura, scilicet alij Principes extraneis in talibus casibus habitum fecerunt, cum amissionem & consensum predicti nostri consanguinei & consilij Joannis Comitiss de Mary Domini Erigene & Garrische summi nostri Theaurarii computorum rotulorum collectoris & Theaurarii novarum nostrarum augmentacionum huius Regni nostri Scotie, ac reliquorum dominorum nostrorum Commissionariorum eiusdem Regni nostri, dedimus concessimus & dispoimus, tenoreque presentis charte nostre damus concedimus & disponimus prefato Domino Wilhelmo Alexandro, heredes suis vel assignatis quibuscunque hereditarie omnes & singulas terras continentis ac insulas sinuatus & saccates in America, intra caput seu promontorium communiter (Cap. de Sable appellatum) iacentes prope latitudinem quadraginta trium graduum aut ab eo circa, ad equinoctiali linea versus septentrionem, a quo promontorio versus litum maris tendenti ad occidentem ad stationem Sancte Marie narium (vulgo S. Maries Bay) & deinceps versus septentrionem per directam lineam introitus sine ostium magna illius stationis narium traicientem qua excurrit in terra orientalem plagam inter Regionis Sarriguorum & Ezechemorum (vulgo Sarriguos & Ezechemones) ad finem vulgo nomine Santa Cruce appellatum: Et ad scaturiginem remotissimam (sive fontem ex occidentali parte eiusdem que se promum predicto sinui immiscet, unde per imaginariam directam lineam qua pergere per terram seu currere versus septentrionem concipitur ad proximam narium stationem, finium vel scaturiginem in magno sinu de Cannada sese exonerantem. Et ab eo perpendo versus orientem per maris oras laterales eiusdem sinui de Cannada ad finem stationem narium portum aut litum communiter nomine de Gachepe vel Gachpe notum & appellatum, Et deinceps versus Euronotum ad insulas Bacalos vel Cap. Briton vocatas Relinquendo easdem Insulas a dextra & voraginem dilecti magni sinui de Cannada sine magno stationis narium & terras de New-fenn-land, cum insulis ad easdem terras pertinentibus a sinistra. Et deinceps ad Caput sine promontorium de Cap. Briton predictum iacentes prope latitudinem quadraginta quinque graduum aut eo circa. Et a dicto promontorio de Cap. Briton versus meridiem & Occidentem ad predictum Cap. Sable ubi incipit perambulatione includenda & comprehendenda intra dictas maris oras laterales ac earum circumferentias a mari ad omnes terras continentis cum fluminibus torrentibus, fontibus, litoribus, insulis aut maribus iacentibus prope infra sex loca ad aliquam earundem partem ex occidentali boreali vel orientali partibus eorum lateralem & proximam 40 earundem. Et ab Euronoto (vulgo Cap. Briton) & ex australi parte eiusdem ubi est Cap. de Sable omnia maria ac insulas versus meridiem intra quadraginta leucas dictarum orarum lateralem earundem magnam insulam vulgariter appellatam Ile de Sable vel Sabilon includen, sacen, versus earum vulgo Somb Somb-est, circa triginta leucas a dicta Cap. Briton in mari & existen, in latitudine quadraginta quatuor graduum aut eo circa. Quae quidem terre predictae anni tempore affluunt nomine Nova Scotia in America & debeant, Quae etiam prefatus Dominus Wilhelmus in partes & portiones sicut et usum suum dividit sicut, nemina pro beneplacito imponet. Una cum omnibus sedibus item regalibus auri & argenti quamvis sicut ferri, plumbi, cupri, stanni, et, &c.

In cuius rei testimonium hunc presentem Chartam nostram magnam Sigillum nostrum apponimus Te-
fibus predictis nostris consanguineis & consilij Jacobo Marchione de Hamilton Comite Arranie 50
& Cambrige Domino Anen & Innerdail, Georgio Mariscallo comite Domino Keith & alij regis nostri Mariscallo, Alexandro Comite de Dunfermling Domino Fyvie & virgabant nostro Cancellario, Thomas Comite de Melus Domino Byres & Bynning nostro Secretario, Dilectis nostris familiaribus consilij Domino Richardo Ro-Kburne Iuniori de Clerkington nostri Secreti Sigillifera, Georgio Hay de Knisfarus nostrorum Rotulorum Registrarum ac Censu Clerico, Joanne Cockburne de Ormestoun nostra Iustitiaria Clerico, & Joanne Scot de Scottistruet nostri Cancellaria Direttore, Militibus. Apud Castellum nostrum de Winton decimo die mensis septembris Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo vigesimo primo Regnatum, nostrorum annis quinquagesimo quinto & decimo nono.

* For the Description & encouragements to this design, and for better knowledge of New-Scotland, besides a Book purposely published by the Honourable & learned Author (who at other weapons hath plaid his Mules prizes, and given the world ample testimony of his learning) you may read our 8. Booke from the first Chapter towards the last two Chapters of the ninth Booke, & the description of the Country of Newcastle, which I have added hereto.

Sir Ferdinando George being entrusted with the affairs of New England, after hee had advised with some of the Company; considering the largeness of the bounds intended to bee planted by his Maesties lubjects in America, and the slow progresse of Plantations in these parts, that the Scottish Nation may be persuaded to imbarke themselves in their foraine enterprise; hee was content that Sir William Alexander Knight, one of his Maesties most Honorable Privy Councell

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of that Kingdome, should procure a Patent of such a bounds as his Maiestie should appoint to be called *New Scotland*, and to be held of the Crowne of *Scotland*, and governed by the Lawes of that Kingdome, as his said Patent containing all the bounds, that doth lie to the East of *Saint Croix*, compassed with the great River of *Canada* on the North, and the Maine Ocean on the South doth more particularly beare. Whereupon the said Sir *William* did set out a Shippe with a Colony of purpose to plant, which being too late in setting forth were forced to stay all the Winter at *New-found-Land*, and though they had a Shippe with new provisions the next Spring from the layde Sir *William*, yet by reason of some vnexpected occasions, the chiefe of the Company refused not to plant at the first, but only to discover and to take possession, which a number made choyce of for that purpose and happily performe.

Am. 1622

The three and twentieth of Iune, they loosed from *Saint Iohns Harbour* in *New-found-Land*, and sayled towards *New Scotland*, where for the space of fourtene dayes they were by Fogges and contrary Windes kept backe from spying Land till the eight of Iuly: thereafter that they saw the West part of Cape *Breton*, and so till the thirteenth day, they sayled to and fro alongt the Coast till they came the length of *Port de Maton*, where they discovered three very pleasant Harbours, and went a shoare in one of them, which they called *Lake Bay*, where they found a great way vp to a very pleasant River being three fathoms deepe at low water: at the entry thereof, and on every side of the same they did see very delicate Meadows, hauing Rofes white and red growing thereon, with a kind of wild Lilly, which had a very daintie smell.

Am. 1623

Lake Bay

The next day they refused to coast alongt to discover the next Harbour, which was but two leagues distant from the other, where they found a mere pleasant River, being foure fathom water at a low water, with Meadows on both sides thereof, hauing Rofes and Lillies growing thereon as the other had. They found within this River a very fit place for a Plantation, both in regard that it was naturally apt to be fortified, and that all the ground betweene the two Rivers was without Wood, and was good fat earth hauing severall sorts of Berries growing thereon, as Gooseberry, Strawberry, Hyndberry, Rasberry, and a kinde of Red-wine-berry: As also some sorts of Graine, as Pease, some eares of Wheat, Baileys, and Rye, growing there wild; the Pease grow every where in abundance, very big and good to eat, but taste of the Firch. This River is called *Port Lely*, from whence they coasted alongt to *Port Negro*, being 12. leagues distant, where all the way as they sailed alongt they found a very pleasant Country hauing growing every where such things as they did see in the two Harbours where they had bene. They found likewise in every River abundance of Lobsters, and Cockles, and other small fishes, and also they found not onely in the Rivers, but all the Coast alongt, numbers of severall sorts of Wild-fowle, as Wild-geese, Black-Duck, Woodcock, Herron, Pigeon, and many other sorts of Fowle which they knew not. They found likewise, as they sailed alongt the Coast abundance of great Cod, with severall other sorts of great fishes. The Country is full of Woods, not very thick, and the most part Oake, the rest Fir-tree, Spruce, Birch, and many other sorts of wood which they had not seen before.

Fit place for a Plantation.

Port Lely, Port Negro,

40 Having discovered this part of the Country in regard of the voyage, their Ship was to make to the Straits with fishes, they refused to coast alongt from *Lake Bay* to *Port de Maton*, being foure leagues to the East thereof, where they encountered with a *Frenchman*, that in a very short time had a great voyage, hauing furnished one Ship away with fishes, and had nere so many ready as to load his owne Ship and others. And hauing taken a view of this Port, which to their iudgement they found no wayes inferior to the rest they had seen before, they refused to retire backe to *New-found-land*, where their Ship was to receive her loading of fishes, the twentieth of Iuly they loosed from thence, and the seven and twentieth thereof they arrived at *Saint Iohns Harbour* in *New-found-land*; and from thence sailed alongt the Bay of *Conception*, where they left the Ship, and dispatched themselves home in severall Ships that belonged to the West part of *England*, and doe intend this next Spring to set forth a Colony to plant there.

The description of the Country of Mawoolthen, discovered by the English, in the yeere 1602. 3. 5. 6. 7. 8. and 9.

Mawoolthen is a Country lying to the North and by East of *Virginia*, betweene the degrees of 43. and 49. It is forty leagues broad, and fiftie in length, lying in breadth East and West, and in length North and South. It is bordered on the East side with a Country, the people whereof they call *Tarrantines*: on the West with *Epishman*, on the North with a great Wood called *Scapalecoune*, and on the South with the mayne Ocean Sea, and many Ilands.

60 In *Mawoolthen* it seemeth there are nine Rivers, whereof the first to the East is called *Quibiquesson* which there is one Towne, wherein dwell two *Sagamos* or Lords, the one called *A-*

This description of *Mawoolthen* I had amongst Mr. *Hall* and his company. Climate and quantitie. *Tarrantines* are said to be the same with the *Savignois*.

Quibiquesson River.

Apicun Sagamo. *Apicun*, the other *Abernet*. In this Towne are fittie houles, and 150. men. The name of which Towne is *Present*; this River runneth farre vp into the Mayne, at the head thereof there is a Lake of a great length and breadth; it is at the fall into the Sea tenne fathoms deepe, and halfe a mile ouer.

2. *Pemaguid River.* The next is *Pemaguid*, a goodly River and very commodious all things considered; it is ten fathoms water at the entrance, and fortie miles vp there are two fathoms and a halfe at low water; it is halfe a mile broad, and runneth into the Land North three daies journey: where is a great Lake of 18. leagues long and four broad. In this Lake are feuen great Ilands: toward the farthest end thereof fallen in a River, which they call *Acassowmed*, where they passe with their Boates thirte daies journey vp; and from thence they goe ouer Land twentie daies journey more, and then come to another River, where they have a trade with *Anadish* or *Anadish*, with whom the *Frenchmen* haue had commerce for a long time. Neere to the North of this River of *Pemaguid* are three Townes: the first is *Oppegan*, where *Balabes* their chief Lord dwelleth. And in this Towne are sixtie houles, and 250. men, it is three daies journey within the Land. The second is *Cascomac*; the third *Shallockegon*. These two last Townes are opposite one to the other, the River diuideth them both, and they are two daies journey from the Towne of *Balabes*. In *Cascomac* dwelleth *Mauesquin*, and in *Shallockegon* *Bennet*, two *Sagamos*, lubricks to *Balabes*. Vpon both sides of this River vp to the very Lake, for a good distance the ground is plaine, without Trees or Bushes, but full of long Graffe, like vnto a pleasant meadow, which the Inhabitants doe burne once a yeere to haue fresh feed for their Deere. Beyond this Meadow are great Woods, whereof more shall bee spoken hereafter. The River of *Pemaguid* is foure daies journey from the mouth of *Quisiquigon*.

3. *Ramassoc.* The third River is called *Ramassoc*, and is distant from the mouth of *Pemaguid* foure daies journey; it is twentie fathoms at the entrance, and hath a mile ouer; it runneth into the Land three daies journey, and within leffe then a daies journey of the dwelling of *Balabes*: vpon this River there is a Towne named *Pandoffe*, the Lord whereof is called *Sibualabod*, who hath in his Towne fittie houles, and eight men.

4. *Apamawapetke.* The fourth River *Apamawapetke*, lying West and by South of *Ramassoc*, at the entrance whereof there is twentie fathoms water, and it is a mile broad: it runneth vp into the Countrey fise daies journey; and within three daies of the mouth are two Townes, the one called *Mascombe*, where dwelleth *Aramafoga*, who hath in his Towne fittie houles, and eight men. The other is *Chebegnadofe*, whose Lord is *Skankes*, and hath thirte houles and ninetie men. The mouth of *Apamawapetke* is distant from *Ramassoc* three daies journey.

5. *Apamawapetke.* To the South-west foure daies journey, there is another excellent River; in the entrance whereof is twentie fathoms water, and it is a quarter of a mile broad, it runneth into the Land two daies journey, and then there is a great fall, at the head whereof there is a Lake of a daies journey long and as much in breadth. On the side of this Lake there is a Strait, and at the end of that Strait there is another Lake of foure daies journey long, and two daies journey broad; where there are two Ilands, one at the one end, and another at the other end. I should haue told you in these three Lakes, as also the rest formerly spoken of, doe infinitely abound with fresh water fish of all sorts, as also with diuers sorts of Creatures, as Otters, Beeces, Sweete Rats, and such like.

6. *Aponeg.* The fixt River is called *Aponeg*, on which there are three Townes; the first is called *Appisham*, where dwelleth *Abocquibye*. The second is *Meaquenamic*, where dwelleth *Amisquin*, in which there is seuentie houles and eightie men; the third is *Matamimicomic*, in which are eightie houles and ninetie men, and there dwelleth *Narracummicque*.

7. *Aponeg.* To the Westward of this there is another River called *Aponeg*: it hath at the entrance ten fathoms water, and is a mile broad: it runneth vp into a great Sound of fresh water. Vpon the East fide of this River there are two Townes, the one called *Nebamocago*, the other called *Alphano*. In fide of this River there are two Townes, the one called *Nebamocago*, and some 300. men. In the first dwelleth *Maniamet*, and hath in his Towne 160. households, and some 300. men. On the second dwelleth *Hamberb*, and hath in his Towne eightie households and fcutie men. On the West fide there is another Towne called *Neredoflan*, where are 150. households, and 100. men. There is a *Sagamo* or Lord called *Sabanaw*.

8. *Sagadahoc.* Three daies journey from *Aponeg* to the Westward, there is a goodly River called *Sagadahoc*: the entrance whereof is a mile and an halfe ouer, holding that breadth a daies journey, and then it maketh a great Sound of three daies journey broad: in which Sound are fix Ilands, foure great and full of Woods, and two leffe without Woods: The greater are called *Somahoc*, *Neguinis*, *Neuon*. And in the vrie entrance of this River there is another small Iland: from the West of which Iland to the Mayne, there is a Sand that maketh as it were a bar, so that that way is not passible for shipping; but to the Eastward there is two fathoms water. This Sound diuideth it selfe into two branches or armes, the one running North-east twentie foure daies journey, the other North-west thirte daies journey into the Maine: At the heads whereof there are two Lakes, the Westermost being eight daies journey long, and foure daies journey broad; and the Eastermost foure daies journey long, and two daies broad. The River of *Aponeg* runneth vp into this Sound.

Sound and so maketh as it were a great Iland between *Sagadahoc* and it. From the Iland vpward the water is fresh, abounding in Salmon, and other fresh water fish. Some thirteene or fourteen daies journey from the entrance in the North-east branch, there is a little arme of a River that runneth East some daies journey, which hath at the entrance foure fathoms water. Vpon this arme there is one ouer fall, which is called *Kenebeke*, which hath eightie houles, and one hundred men. The Lord whereof is a *Apombames*. The second is *Ketanghenyke*, and the *Sagamos* name is *Olimorike*, who hath in his Towne ninetie households, and three hundred and thirte men. This Towne is foure daies journey from *Kenebeke*, and eight daies journey from *Apombames*.

To the Northward is the third Towne, which they call *Naragoc*; where there are fittie households, and one hundred and fiftie men. The chief *Sagamo* of that place is *Cocokojamas*. And on the small branch that runneth East handeth the fourth Towne, named by *Amiskigie*; where there are but eight households, and fortie men. Vpon the Northwest branch of this Sound stand two Townes more: The first is called *Amerangan*, and is distant from *Kenebeke* fixe daies journey. In this place are ninetie households, and two hundred and sixtie men, with two *Sagamos*; the one called *Safasna*, the other *Scamus*. Seuen daies journey hence there is another *Sagamo*, whose name is *Olimorike*, and his Towne name *Naragoc*, wherein are fortie households, and one hundred and twentie men. A daies journey about *Naragoc* there is a downefall, where they cannot passe with their Canoes, nee are inforced to carrie them by Land for the space of a quarter of a mile, and then they put them into the River againe: And twentie daies journey about this Downefall there is another, where they carrie their Boates as at the first; and fixe daies journey more to the North is the head of this River, where is the Lake that is of eight daies journey long, and foure daies broad before mentioned. In this Lake there is one Iland; and three daies journey from this Lake there is a Towne which is called *Buccanagancas*, wherein are threecore households, and foure hundred men: And the *Sagamo* thereof is called *Buccanabise*. This man and his people are subiects to the *Balabes* of *Mauesquin*, and in his Countrey is the farthest limit of his Dominion, where he hath any that doe him homage.

To the Westward of *Sagadahoc*, foure daies journey there is another River called *Alphano*, which hath at the entrance fixe fathoms water, and is halfe a quarter of a mile broad: it runneth into the Land two daies journey; and on the East fide there is one Towne called *Aganachoc*, wherein are seuentie houles, and two hundred and fortie men, with two *Sagamos*, the one called *Mawmet*, the other *Caherokem*.

Seuen daies journey to the South-west of *Alphano* there is another River, that is fixe fathoms to the entrance: This River is named *Shamokogon*, and is halfe a myle broad; it runneth into the Land fise daies journey: but foure daies from the entrance it is so narrow, that the Trees growing on each side doe so crosse with their boughes and bodies on the other, as it permitte not any wayes to passe with Boates that way: for which cause the Inhabitants that on any occasion are to trauell to the head, are forced to goe by Land, taking their way vpon the West fide. At the end of this River there is a Lake of foure daies journey long, and two daies broad, wherein are two Ilands. To the North-West foure daies journey from this Lake, at the head of this River *Shamokogon* there is a small Prouince, which they call *Crokanage*, wherein is one Towne. This is the Westermost River of the Dominions of *Balabes*, and *Quisiquigon* the Westermost.

To the Reader.

I haue thought good to adde to the English Plantations in New England, those in the neighbour Country of New-found-land. This was first discovered, Ann. 1497. by S. Sebastian Cabot. Jet forth by King Henry the seuenth: the Voyages followed of M. Rut, Albert de Prato, M. More, and others, Ann. 1583. at all and formal possession, was taken in the right of *Queene Elizabeth* of glorious memory, and her Successors, by that memorable Knight, Sir Humfrey Gilbert (the first Iland, called 15) And in the yeere, 1609. M. John Guy of Brittol did write a Treatise to animate the English to plant there, a written Copy whereof I haue. A. 1610. It pleased his most excellent Maiesty to grant a Patent for a Plantation, part whereof (the whole might seeme too long for our purpose) we haue inserted.

so intend, to begin to be new beads, of that damnable cow's life. As I sailed from hence towards Renouit, in a small Bark, I fell into one of their bands: and one of my company was hurt with a Musketeer, there was one of their crew that wintered with me here the first year, by whose means, and because I was in the Bark, they made him, that they were sorry that they had meddled with us: And so they departed from us, without coming aboard. That which they sought after was men, to increase their number. Before the said Captain Exilons departure, he best three Ships into Trinity Bay, to fire himself with musketeers, musketeers, and men, who were said to be very good, then the Ships here, he took his own ordnance from them. The said Exilons was lately in Saint Johns, and is now, as far as I can learn, at Ferland, where he takes his pleasure, and thereabout, the rest of the year, he is at Ferland, where he will find one Captain Harvy in a Ship in Ireland, is underhand, some about his pardon, which if he can obtain so large and ample manner as he expects, then he will come; otherwise, it is thought, that he will get Protection of the Duke of Florence, and that in his company hereafter, he will be one about the Westwards of the Islands of the Azores, to see whether he can light upon any of the Plate fleets, or any good rich boats before his coming in. Albert, he built his new house here to the strengthening of himself, and increasing of others to attempt the like hereafter: yet, were there that could take, as I hope shall be, it is a most easy matter to resist them.

I have also a Diary of the winter weather, and observations of occurrences from August 1612, till April 1613. December was very full of Snow (for I dare not present the whole) and the fresh-water Lake was frozen over, and the Frost and Snow by the tenth of that month, as in any part of the two former places. January was much milder till the fourteenth, from thence it was very frosty. Their Beers was frozen, and they drank half water (an ill remedy to cold.) The Cattell did not well thrive, as coming out of a Country not so cold. And therefore I had Cattell (where the winter is warmer) are not so fit to be transported hither. George Davis died of the Scurvy, and after him Edward Gorton, Edward Harland, John Tucker, and one and twenty were sick (most of the Scurvy) the whole Colony was fixtie two. February was much warmer and more temperate. Toby and Griggs died in March, the rest recovered. Turneps being good to recover from the Scurvy as the *Andalus tree* to Jaeger's Carriers Company. Nicolas Grier was delivered of a lusty boy March 27. The Easterly winds and some Currents brought Islands of Ice from the North Sea, which made the weather colder that Spring, then in the depth of winter when the same winds blowed, namely East and North-east, those Islands being blowne into the Bays, and the winds from them even in April very sharpe; and the Snow on the tenth of April as thick as any time that year.

In October John Guy with thirteen others in the *Indeavour*, and five in the *Shallop*, went vpon Discovery. A: Mount Eagle Bay they found flocks of Scurvy-grasse on an Island. In the South bottom of Trinity Bay, which they called *Savage Harbour*, they found Sauges houses, no people in them; in they found a Copper Kettle very bright (you shall have it as one of them writ it in his owne teares) a furre Gowne of Elk skin, some Seal skins, an old saile and a fishing reele. Order was taken that nothing should be diminished, and because the Sauges should know that some had bin there, every thing was removed out of his place, and brought into one of the Cabins, and laid orderly one vpon the other, and the Kettle hanged over them, wherein there was put some Baker, and three or four Amber Beads. This was done to begin to win them by faire means. This time of the year they live by hunting, for wee found twelve Elk hooves, that were lately killed. A little peeces of fells brought in this way, which was found to be a Beaver's Cod, which is forthcoming to be fenne. Their Houses there, were nothing but Poles in round forme meeting all together aloft, which they cover with Deer's skins, they are about ten foote broad, and in the middle they make their fire: one of them was covered with a saile, which they had gotten from some *Christians*.

All things in this manner left, every one returned by the Moonlight, going by the brinks of the Lake vnto the entrance of the made way: and a little before they came thither, they passed by a new Saugage house almost finished, which was made in a square forme with a small roofe, and so came to the Bark. They have two kinde of Oares, one is about four foot long of one peece of Firre; the other is about ten foot long made of two peeces, one being as long, big, and round as a halfe Pike made of Beech wood, which by likelihood they made of a Biskin Oare, the other is the blade of the Oare, which is let into the end of the long one ill, and whipped very strongly. The short one they vse as a Paddle, and the other as an Oare. The thirtieth, without any further business with the Sauges, we departed thence to the Northerne side of Trinity Bay, and anchored all that night vnder an Island. The one and thirtieth, we rowed vnto an harbour, which now is called *Abilawee*; which hath adioyning vnto it very high land.

Nomember the first, two Canoes appeared, and one man alone coming towards vs with a Flag in his hand of a Wolfes skin, shaking it and making a loud noise, which we took to be for a parley: whereupon a white Flag was put out, and the Bark and *Shallop* rowed towards to them, which the Sauges did not like of, and so tooke them to their Canoes againe, and were going away: whereupon the Bark wheeled vnto them, and downed the Flag of truce, and came to anchor

anker, which pleased them, and then they staid: presently after the *Shallop* landed Master *Whittington* with the Flagg of truce, who went towards them. Then they rowed into the thore with one Canoe, the other standing aloofe off, and landed two men, one of them having the white skin in his hand, and coming towards Master *Whittington*, the Saugage made a loud speech, and flaked the skin, which was answered by Master *Whittington* in like manner, and as the Saugage drew neere, he threw downe the white skin on the ground, the like was done by Master *Whittington*; whereupon both the Sauges pulled out a little water frame towards Master *Whittington*, dancing, leaping, and ginging, and coming together, the foremost of them presented vnto him a chaine of leather full of small Periwinkle shells, a spitting knife, and a Feather that flacke in his eare: the other gave him an Arrow without a head; and the former was requited with a linnen Cap, and a hand Towell, who put presently the linnen Cap vpon his head: and to the other he gave a Knife: and after hand in hand, they all three did sing and dance: vpon this, one of our company called *Francis Tipton* went aloofe, vnto whom one of the Sauges came running, and gave him a Chaine, such as is before spoken of, who was gratified by *Francis Tipton* with a Knife and a small peece of Braile. Then all foure together danced, laughing and making signes of ioy and gladnesse, sometimes striking the breasts of our company, and sometimes their owne. When signes were made that they should be willing to suffer two of our Company more to come on thore, for two of theirs more to be landed, and that Bread and Drinke should be brought aloofe, they made likewise signes that they had in their Canoes meate also to eat: vpon this the *Shallop* rowed aboard, and brought Master *Whittington* and Master *Tipton* a furre, who presented them with a Shirt, two able Napkins, and a Hand-towell, giving them Bread, Butter, and Reasons of the Sunne to eat, and Beere, and *Aquavit* to drinke: and one of them blowing in the *Aquavit* Bottle, that made a sound, which they fell all into a laughing at. After, Master *Croate* and *John Crozier* came aloofe, whom they went to salute giving them shell Chaines, who bestowed Gloues vpon them. One of the Sauges that came last aloofe, came walking with his Oare in his hand, and seemed to haue some command over the rest, and behaved himselfe civilly: For when meate was offered him, he drew off his Mitten from his hand before he would receive it, and gave an Arrow for a present without a head: who was requited with a dozen of Points. After they had all eaten and drunke, one of them went to their Canoe, and brought vs Beeres Beth died in the smooke or winds, and drawing his Knife from out of his necke, he cut away a peece, and that saoured very well. At the first meeting, when signes were made of meate to eat, one of the Sauges presently ran to the banke side, and pulled vp a roote, and gave it to Master *Whittington*, which the other Saugage perceiving to be durty tooke it out of his hand, and went to the waier to wash it, and after disced it among the foune, it tasted very well: hee that came aloofe with the Oare in his hand, went and tooke the white skin that they hailed vs with, and gave it to Master *Whittington*, and presently after they did take our white Flagg: with them in the Canoe, and made signes vnto vs that we should repaire to our Bark, and to they put off, for it was almost night.

In the two Canoes there were eight men, if none were women (for commonly in every Canoe there is one woman) they are of a reasonable stature, of an ordinary middle size, they are bearded, wearing their haire somewhat long, but round: they have no Beards; behind they have a great locke of haire platted with feathers, like a Hawkes Lure, with a feather in it standing vpright by the crowne of the head, and a small locke platted before, a short Gowne made of Seags skins, the furre innermost, that ranne downe to the middle of their legges, with sleetes to the middle of their arme, and a Beuer skin about their necke, was all their apparell, save that one of them had shoes and Mittens, so that all went bare-legged, and most bare-foote. They are full eyed, of a blacke colour; the colour of their haire was diuers, some blacke, some browne, and some yellow, and their faces something flat and broad, red with Oker, as all their apparell is, and the rest of their body: they are broad breasted, and bould, and stand very vpright.

Their Canoes are about twenty foote long, and foure foote and a halfe broad in the middle, and for their Keels and timbers, they have thin light peeces of dry Firre, rendered as it were lathes; and instead of Boords, they vse the outer Birch bark, which is thin, and hath many fids, fowed together with a third made of a small roote quartered. They will carry foure persons well, and weigh not one hundred weight: they are made in forme of a new Moone, stem and sterne alike, and equally distant from the greatest breadth: from the stem and sterne here tith a yard high a light thin stiffe whipped about with small rootes, which they take hold by to bring the Canoe aloofe, that serueth instead of ropes, and a harbour, for every place is to them a harbour; where they can goe aloofe themselves, they take land with them their Canoes; and will neuer put to Sea but in a calme, or very faire weather: in the middle the Canoe is higher: a great deale in the Bow and quarter, they be all bearing from the Keels to the portle: it is not with any circular line but with a right line. They had made a Tilt with a Saile that they got from some *Christians*, and pitched a dozen poles in the ground vnto, on which were hanged diuers Furs, and chaines made of fells, which at that instant we felt not in the reckoning to what intent it was done, but after it came to our minde, as hereafter you shall perceive.

The sixth day we spent in waiting, and in beginning a house to shelter vs when we should come thither hereafter, upon a small Island of about five acres of ground, which is joyned to the maine with a small Beach: for any bartering with the Sauges there cannot be a fitter place.

The eighth day it began to freeze, and there was thin Ice over the sound; and because we heard nothing more of the Sauges we began to return out of the Sound, & coming to the place which the Sauges had made two dayes before first in, we found all things remaining there, as it was when we parted, viz. an old Boat faile, three or foure shell chaires, about twelve Furres of Beavers molt, a Fox skin, a Sable skin, a Bird skin, and an old Mitten, yet every one upon a fawell pole: whereby we remained satisfied fully, that they were brought thither of purpose to barter with vs, and that they would stand to our courtesy to leave for it what we should thinke good. Because we were not furnished with fit things for to trucke, we took only a Beaver skin, a Sable skin, and a Bird skin, leaving for them a Hatchet, a Knife, and foure Needles threaded. Master Whittington had a paire of Cizzars which he left there for a small Beavers skin, all the rest we left there untouched, and came that night to the harbour that we were in at our entering, which we call *Flag-Staffe Harbour* because we found there the Flag-Staffe throwne by the Sauges away. These Sauges by all likelihood were animated to come unto vs, by reason that we took nothing from them at *Savage Bay*, and some of them may be of those which dwell there. For in no other place where we were could we perceive any tokens of any abode of them, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

Captaine RICHARD WHITBOYKES Voyages to New-found-land, and observations there, and thereof taken out of his Printed Booke.



It is well knowne, that my breeding and course of life hath bene such, as that I have long time fed many people on worke, and spent most of my daies in trauell, specially in Merchandizing, and Sea-Voyages. I have bene often in France, Spain, Italy, Portugal, Sawoy, Denmark, Norway, Sprinckland, the Canaries, and Sora Islands; and for the New-found-land, it is almost so familiarly knowne to me as my owne Country.

In the yeere 1588, I served vnder the then Lord Admirall, as Captaine in a Ship of my owne set forth at my charge against the *Spanishe Armado*: and after such time as that service was ended, taking my leave of his Honour, I had his fauourable Letters to one Sir Robert Dennis, in the Countie of Devon, Knight; whereby there might be some courtesy taken, that the charge as well of my owne Ship, as also of two other, and a Pinnace, with the victuals, and men therein imployed, should not be any way burthenome to me. Wherein there was such order given by the then right Honorable Lords of the priue Counsell, that the same was well satisfied: which service is to be seene recorded in the Booke at *White-Hall*.

Now to expresse some of my Voyages to the New-found-land, which make most for the present purpose. My first Voyage thither, was about thirtie yeeres since, in a worthe Shippe, of the burthen of three hundred tun, for by my Maister *Cotton of South-hampton*: we were bound to the *Grand Bay* (which lieth on the Northside of that Land) purposing there to trade then with the Saauge people (for whom we carried sundry commodities) and to kill Whales, and to make Trayne Oyle, as the *Biscaynes* doe there yearly in great abundance. But this our intended Voyage was overshorne, by the indiscretion of our Captaine, and fauour hardheartedness of some Gentlemen of our Company: whereupon we left saile from thence, and bare with *Tinney Harbour* in New-found-land: where we killed great store of Fish, Deere, Beares, Beavers, Seales, Otters, and Beilike, with abundance of Sea-fowle; and so returning for England, we arrived safe at *South-hampton*.

In a Voyage to that Countrey, about six and thirtie yeeres since, I had then the command of a worthy Ship of two hundred and twenty tun, for by my Maister *Crooke of South-hampton*: At that time Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, a *Devonshire* Knight, came thither with two good Ships, and a Pinnace, and brought with him a large Patent, from the late most renowned Queene *Elizabeth*, and in her name took possession of that Countrey in the Harbour of *Saint Johns*, whereto I was an eye-witnesse. He sailed from thence towards *Pegamis*, and by reason of some vnhappy dis-cretion in his course, the greatest Ship he had thence upon Shelves, on the Coast of Canadie, and there it lay, with most part of the company in her: And he himselfe being then in a small Pinnace of twenty tun, in the company of his Vice-Admirall, one Captaine *Hayes*, returning to-wards England, in a great storme, was overwhelmed with the Seas, and so perished.

In another Voyage I made thither, about foure and thirtie yeeres past, wherein I had the command of a good Ship, partly mine owne: at that time own Sir *Bernard Drake of Devonshire*, Knight,

came thither with a Commission, and hauing diuers good Ships vnder his command, hee there took many *Portugall* Ships laden with Fish, and brought them into England as Prizes: Omitting to speak of other Voyages, I made thither, during the late *Queens* reign, I will descend to later times.

In the yeere 1611, being in New-found-land, at which time that famous *Arch-Pirate*, *Peter Easton*, came there, and had with him ten faile of good Ships well furnished and very rich, I was kept eleven weekes vnder his command, and had from him many golden promises, much to be desired offered to be put into my hands, as it is well knowne: I did perfwade him, much to be desired from his euill course; his intreaties then to me, being that I would come for England, to some friends of his, and sollicite them to become humble petitioners to your Maiestie for his pardon: but hauing no warrant to touch such goods, I gave him thanks for his offer; only I requested him to release a Ship that he had taken vpon the Coast of *Guinea*, belonging to one Captaine *Rabby of Eryn*, *Cornewall*, a man whom I knew but only by report: which he accordingly yielded. Whereupon I provided men, victuals, and a fraight for the said Ship, and so sent her home to *Dartmouth* in *Devon*, though I neuer had so much as thanks for my kindnesse therein. And so leaving *Easton*, I came for England, and gave notice of his intention, letting passe my Voyage I intended for *Naples*, and lost both my labour and charges: for before my arrival, there was a pardon granted, and sent him from *Ireland*. But *Easton* hovering with those ships and riches vpon the Coast of *Barbary*, as he promised, with a long desire, and full expectation to be called home, lost that hope by a too much delaying of time by him who carried the Pardon. Whereupon he failed to the Straights of *Gibraltar*, and was afterwards entertained by the Duke of *Sauoy*, vnder whom he liued rich.

I was there also in the yeere 1614, when Sir *Henry Manuaring* was vpon that Coast, with five good Ships (strongly provided: he caused me to spend much time in his company, and from him I returned into England, although I was bound from thence to *Messilla*, to make sale of such goods as I then had, and other imployments, &c.

In the yeere 1615, I returned againe to New-found-land, carrying with mee a Commission out of the high Court of Admiraltie, vnder the great Seale thereof, authorizing me to enpennell for-ries, and to make inqurie vpon Oath, of sundry abuses and disorders committed amongst Fishermen yearly vpon that Coast, and of the fittest means to redresse the same, with some other points, so hauing a more particular relation to the Office of the Lord Admirall.

What was then there done, by vertue of that Commission, which was wholly executed at my owne charge, hath bin at large by me already certified into the high Court of Admiraltie: Neuertheless, seeing the same hath bene ouerlipped euer since, & not produced those good effects which were expected, I will, in some convenient place of this Discourse, set downe a briefe collection of some part of my endeouours spent in that seruice; not doubting but it will be as available for the furtherance of our intended designe, as any other reason I shall deliuer.

In the yeere 1616, I had a Ship at New-found-land, of a hundred tun, which returning laden from thence, being bound for *Lisbon*, was met with by a French *Privateer*, one *Donat Dubois*, who striked her, took the overhrow, and looke of my Voyage, in more then the summe of 860. 40 pounds, and cruelly handled the Maister and the Company that were in her; and although I made good proofe thereof at *Lisbon*, and repaid the same also to this Kingdome, as appointed, after my returne from thence, yet for all this I could neuer haue any recompence.

Shortly after my returne from *Lisbon*, I was sent for by a Gentleman, who abode a yeere before, by a grant from the Patenrees, had undertaken to settle people in New-found-land; he acquainted me with his designs, & after some conference touching the same, we so concluded, that he gave me a conuenance vnder his hand (and seale for the terme of my life, with full power to gouerne within his circuit vpon that Coast; whereupon being deliuered residue due that works) in Anno 618, I failed thither in a Ship of my owne, which was victualled by that Gentleman, my selfe, and some others. We likewise then did let forth another Ship for fishing Voyage, which also carried some victuals for those people which had bene formerly sent to inhabit there: but this Ship was intercepted by an Englisherring Captain (that went forth with Sir *Walker Raleigh*) who took the Maister of her, the Boatwaine, & two other of the best men, with much of her victuals (the rest of the Company for feare running into the woods) and so left the Ship as a Prize, whereby our intended fishing Voyages of both our Ships were overshorne, and the Plantation hindered.

Now seeing it pleased your Maiestie many yeeres since, to take good notice of the said New-found-land, and granted a Patent for a Plantation there, wherein many Honorable and worthy mens endeouours, and great charges therein, haue desired good commendations (as it is well known) the which I desire to further with all my best endeouours; and not to disgrace or dabble the foundation and fruits of others, knowing they haue bene greatly hindered by Princes, and founering Subjects that haue arrived vpon that Coast; it being indifferente to me, whether there be a new foundation laid, or whether it be builded vpon that which hath already bene begun; so the Plantation go forward. Yet I may truly say, that hitherto little hath bene performed to any purpose, by such as therein were imployed, worthy the name of a Plantation, or vnfeasible to the expectation

was lecture at New-found-land: whether it were a Mermaide or no, I know not; I leave it to others to judge, &c.

R. W.

CHAP. IX.

The names of divers honorable persons and others who have undertaken to helpe advance his Majesties Plantation in the New-found-land: written by the said R. W. with extracts of certain Letters written from thence.

The right Honorable Henry Lord Cary, Viscount of Falkland, Lord Deputie for the Kingdom of Ireland; hath undertaken to plant a Colonie of his Majesties Subjects in the New-found-land, and is well pleased to entertaine such as are willing to be Adventurers with him therein; upon such Conditions as may appear in the latter part of this Booke: And in his Lordships absence, hee hath authorized this Agent, Master Leonard Welsted, by warrant under his hand and Seale, to ratifie whatsoever shall be by him concluded therein. The said Master Welsteds Chamber is nere one Master Garland house, at the lower end of Saint Martinens in the shelle.

The right Honorable Sir George Calvert, Knight, one of the principall Secretaries vnto his Majestie, hath also undertaken to plant a large Circut of that Countrie I who hath already sent thither this yeare and the former yeare, a great number of men and women; with all necessarie provisions fit for them; where they live pleasantly, building of Houses, drifing of Land for Corno, and Meadows, Gabage, Carrets, Turneps, and such like as who live Wood and Tobacco. Likewise they are there preparing to make Salts for the preferment of Fish another yeare, and for divers other services. And his Honor is likewise well pleased to entertaine such as will adventure with him therein, upon very fit conditions.

The Worshipsfull John Story of London Merchants, who is one of the undertakers of the New-found-land Plantation, and is Treasurer vnto the Parliament of that Societie, who have maintained a Colonie of his Majesties Subjects there above twelve yeeres, and they are willing to entertaine such as will further his Majesties said Plantation; upon fit conditions.

Divers Worshipsfull Citizens of the Citie of Bristol, have undertaken to plant a large Circut of that Countrie, & they have maintained a Colonie of his Majesties Subjects there any time these five yeeres, who have builded there many faire Houses, and done many other good services, who live there very pleasantly, and they are well pleased to entertaine vpon fit conditions such as will be Adventurers with them.

The Worshipsfull William Vaughan of Torrased, in the Countie of Carmarthen, Doctor of the Ciuill Law, hath also undertaken to plant a Circut in the New-found-land; and hath in two last yeeres sent thither diuers men and women, and hee is willing to entertaine such as will be Adventurers with him vpon fit conditions.

And there are many other worthy persons Adventurers in the said Plantation, whose names are not herein mentioned. And it is well hoped, that diuers others will also put their helping hand to aduance the same, when they are given to understand what honours and benefits may accrue thereby. And if his Majesties Subjects of this Kingdom be willing to let forth from thence into severall Countreies, but one good Ship yearly thither, with people and provisions fit for them, it will be then not onely a great honour and benefit to his Majestie, but also a great increase of Shipping and Marriners, and the employing and enriching of many thousands of poore people which now live chargeably to the Parishioners. The which may be easily performed by the able Subjects, to let forth the charge at first, and forerise Parishes to recouer yearly their equall parts of the benefit which may accrue by the said stocke, and thereby not onely disburden yearly themselves of some of thoe which lie chargeable vnto them within their severall Parishes; but also yearly yeelde a great benefit to every severall Countie, though it lie something remote from the Sea-coast, if they employ a discrete honest man there, who may yearly be accountable to euerie Parishes of the charge, and likewise the benefit. The which will not be anie way burdensome or hurtfull vnto any: as the following discourse which I have written will plainly informe them.

Extracts

Extracts of a Letter from Captaine EDWARD WINNE, Gouvernour of the Colony at Ecuryland, within the Prouince of Analep, of the New-found-land, vnto the Right Honourable Sir GEORGE CALVERT Knight, his Majesties Principall Secretary; July 28. 1622.

May it please your Honour:

Vpon the fourteenth day of May, I received here your Letters of the twentieth of February, from the hands of Robert Scowen. Upon the first and in receipt of the same; a Ship of Master Innins, with your people and provision arrived here in safetie: and from the hands of Captaine Powell I received then your Honours Letters of the fourteenth of March. And upon the last of June Master James came hither from Renouel, and the Saltmaker Master John Hicklon a fowm before hand: I received two Letters more, that by Master James, being of the fourth of May, and the other by Hicklon of the tenth of the same.

It may please your Honour, that as far as I had delivered my last Letters of the fifth of September, I immediately addressed my selfe only to our business: Notwithstanding our diligent labour and extraordinary pains-taking, it was a while before we got our first course of building completed for our habitable house.

After Christmas, we employed our selves in the Woods, especially in kind weather, where we got home as many Board-shakes as afforded us one hundred Boards, and about two hundred Timber-trees besides. We got home as much as many Trees, as served us to palisade into the Plantation about foure Acres of ground, for the keeping off of both man and beast, with Post and Raily seven foot high, planted in between the Trees, upon such an upright and sundried with Spikes and Nails. We got also together as much Fire-wood as will serve us yet these two months. We also finished much Garden ground for Seed: I mean Barley, Oates, Rye, and Beans.

For aduance of building, we have at this present a Parous of fourteen feet besides the Chimney, and twelve feet broad of convenient height, and a lodging Chamber next to it; to each a Chimney of Stone-work with Stairs, and a Store-house besides a tenement of one roomer, a store and a half, which serves for a Store-house fit for use as otherwise provided. The Store-house has finished these few weeks; the Salt-works is now almost ready. We shall in due time grow a house for our houses, we have built but one: I say, Oates, Rye, and Beans, about the quantity of two Acres. Of Garden roome about half an Acre: Cattle, though late in June, is now in earing order. We have a goodly Peas that I care for, have flourished in their homes this season. We have a plentiful Kitchen Garden of Lettice, Radishes, Carrets, Coleworts, Turneps, and many other things. We have also at this present, a flourishing Meadow, &c.

For the Countrey and Climate: It is better, and not so cold as England becometh. My comfort is, that the Lord is with your Honour, and your designe: for we have professed, to the admiration of all the beholders in what is done. And thus with my humble duty remembered, I rest, &c.

Another Letter to Master Secretary CALVERT, from Captaine WINNE, of the seventeenth of August, 1622.

May it please your Honour:

We have Wheat, Barley, Oates, and Beanes bred and sowed, and though the late frost and fasting of them might occasion the contrary, yet it ripens now so fast, that it carries the likelihood of an approaching Harvest. We have also a plentiful Kitchen-Garden of many things, and so rank, that I have not seen the like in England. Our Beanes are exceeding good: our Peas shall you not compare for they are in some places as high as a man of an extraordinary stature. Radishes as big as my arme, Lettice, Cabbages, Turneps, Carrets, and all the rest is of like goodnesse. We have a Meadow of about three Acres: it flourished lately with many sorts of good Hay, and now it is made up for a Winter feeding. We hope to have well fitted with many Acres of Meadow ground, another year: if therefore, land, we have already sowed at least three hundred heads of Cattle, and as much as, if please God, a good quantity of Seed-ground shall be fitted, and such building as we shall be able to accomplish.

Now in the next place it may please your Honour to understand; That touching this Countrey, the Summer time here is faire, so warme, and of so good a temperature, that it produces many Hearties and Plants very wholesome, medicinal, and delectable, many fruit Trees of sundry kinds, many sorts of Berries, which are to eat, and in measure most abundant: in such as many sorts of Birds and Beasts are reared with them in time of Winter, and wheresoever further experience I trust to find some for the service of Diets. Our high lands are adorned with woods, both rare and comely to behold, and greene all Winter. Within Land there are Pastures innumerable, many of them containing many thousand Acres, very pleasant to see to, and well furnished with Ponds, Brookes, and Rivers, very plentiful of fish.

This was the 1st Letter sent into England the yeere before, 1621.

This was the 2nd Letter sent into England the yeere before, 1622.

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and Sir Robert Croft, when the *Madre de Dios* was taken, and another Carrack burnt: *An. 1524.* She sent forth a Fleet to *Briss*, where *Frabish* was slain. Another 1599, under the Lord *Thomas Howard*, A. 1600, under Sir *Richard Lushington* a Fleet to the Islands; 1601, another to *India*, A. 1602, under Sir *Richard Lushington* and Sir *William Mansel*; and another under the same Commanders, 1603, as bequeathing in her fatal extremes, Marine Actions and Glory to her Successor. These and other her Sea-glories I purpose not here to dilate, having already handled some of them; but have singled from the rest the actions of 88. 89. 96. and 97, prizing (something as a Preace of the great deliverances which God vouchsafed that Virgin Queen.

An. 1574.
Her perfecti-
on from the
Purpation
the womb.

In queen Ma-
ries date.

French wrongs

Q. Elizabeth's
progenie.
See of Gods
mercenies in
other kinds.
The of Gu-
ditcher his Ro-
ligious Trac-
ture of Thau-
guing.
See also com-
mend Elizabeth
and of the
Annals of
her Reigne.

Arthur Poole of
the house of
George Duke
of Clarence.
An. 1559.
Turbis impi-
ous Dull.

Irish action.

That Church which is mystically called, *The woman drunken with the blood of Saints*, had begun to persecute her from her birth, Pope *Clement* the sixth decreeing against her Mothers marriage, and Pope *Paul* the third thunders a terrible sentence against her Fathers Sovereignty. And although King *Henry* had first enacted against his daughters, and after for them by Parliamentary authorities, yet when King *Edward* (which vied to call her *the sweet filter Temperance*) was dead, there wanted not some which extended both the filters, and obtruded another succession. *Queene Mary* dispersing that storm, raised another, wherein she was exposed to the calamities of a three-foule-moued hypocrites, with the flugiter of that Royall Virgin: *Story* and others saying, *That in wane the boughs of her life were lepped off, if the Root were suffered to continue.* Long and straight imprisonment hee had, and was tormented by them to *Nassay* Confusion and external profession of that *Romish* Catholisme, which perhaps had not deterred her enemies designe, had not the perne fist of her enemies *Gardiner* been averted by his owne death; and had not King *Philip* with the *Spaniards* entited to the French so rich an Inheritance, as by *Queene Marys* death without issue (which could not fall from her sick and aged body but expedite) was likely to fall upon *Queene Mary* of *Scotland* betrothed to the Dolphin of *France*, whereby the *Spaniards* graven already embroyed enough, was likely to be overmatched by the *French*, increased with addition of three mighty Kingdomes. *Queene Mary* dying, and Cardinal *Pole* with many Prelates, as it were, attending her exequies with their owne, with generall applaus she was acknowledged *Queen*. Her first care was to restore Religion, notwithstanding the dangers thence impending her; shee also effected the marriage with King *Philip*, whereof hee had treated with her by the Earle of *Ferria* his Embassador, promising to procure thereunto the Popes dispensation: neither admitted hee the offered match of *Charles*, Sonne to *Pernand* the Emperour; and when *Henry* the French King by the *Guisens* was persuaded to challenge *England* to his sonne and daughter in law, causing them to vie her title *Francis* & *Mary* by the Great of God King and *Queene* of *Scotland*, *England*, and *Ireland*; and prepared Warres against her, God took him out of the world, being ill at a Tilt sport.

The new King and *Queene* continued their former challenge, Title and Ensignes, which gave no small occasions of civile quills, which afterwards insouled her, breeding a great doubt betweene those two great Ladies which *Christendome* had, both Heres to an absolute Sovereignty. Shee expelled the French out of *Scotland*, established the affaires of *Ireland*, procured Armour and weapons out of *Germany*, caused much Artillery to bee cast of Brass and Iron, new Mynes of Brass being found at *Kilfricke*, and the stone *Calammaris* yseful for Brass-works found there also; for propulsion for Gunpowder was first at her commandment made here at home; *Barwicke* fortified, the Naue furnished, the Sea Townes imitating her example and increasing day in Naval forces, answered by Marttall Spirits for Land and Sea service. This did God blesse her that had glorified him in establishing his Truth, notwithstanding the pouterie of the State at her entrance, deeply indented by her predecessors; and the faint friendship or professed enmities of *Rome* and all her disciples. *Thus* (but hee done in the Woman God will overcome, and more then thus: for what was all the chime of her reigne but visitations of Treasons, Warres, and manifold brought light out of darkness, would permit all such contrary workings to bee the chief of this good-fell, the fewell and materials of her greatness.

Arthur Poole, the fourth yong of her reigne about the greatness of his blood with other conspirators, to the *Guisen* purposes, but taken and sentenced received not bloudie reward from her mild and mercifull hand. Pope *Pius* the fifth denounceth her excommunicate, discharging her Subjects from loyalty and allegiance and arming them against her: *Ridolf* a *Flourentine* plays the Merchant of Popish wares, the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Westmerland* take armes, the Duke of *Norfolke* is entangled, the *French* and *Spaniards* are persuaded by the Pope, who promised also it need were, to this purpose all the good of the Sea Apostolike, Chalcies, Croffes, and holy Vestments: *Ortelius* is commanded to invade *England* with an Army from the Low-counties; but God protects *Elizabeth*, and her Enemies abroad were disappointed, the Traitors at home falling into their owne pit.

About the same time *Edmund* and *Peter*, brethren to the Earle of *Ormonde* were hanged in *Ireland*.

land, to inflame which rebellion *Mendoza* came out of *Spain*, but before it brake forth into any great combustion it was extinct.

Don Iohn de Austria enters next upon the Stage (for omit *Barnes* and *Mulbert*, Sir *Henry Perce*, the Lord of *Ros* his attempts, and other Acts and Arts favouring more of the Foxe than the Lion) and pretended a peace, whiles he intended the delivrance of the Scottish *Queene*, the Lion) and pretended a peace, whiles he intended the delivrance of the Scottish *Queene*, and marrying her, to make him selfe King of *England* and *Scotland*, by helpe of dignities and favour of the Pope and *Guisen*; and in the midst of his warlike preparations suddenly died. When *Pius* his impious curses had thus proud blessings, hee deceaseth, and *Gregory* his succellor in the Papacie, and malice to *Queene Elizabeth*, the great Founder of Seminaries, gaping for no less than a Kingdome to his base sonne *James Boncampagne*, treateth with the *Spaniard*, who had swallowed *England* also in his conceit, *Thomas Stukely* an *English* fugitive promitteth friend to the Popes battard, who in recompence gives him the titles of Marquide of *Lagen*, Earle of *Westford* and *Caterburgh*, Vicount of *Morrough* and Baron of *Ros* (all places of note in *Ireland*) and made him Generall of eight hundred Italian Souldiers, the King of *Spain* paying their wages. But *Sebastian* King of *Portugall*, which should have conducted the *Spanish* forces against *England*, being intangled with an *African* Expedition, procured *Sinclair* to goe either with him, where both lost their lives. And the *Spaniard* was now duerted from *Englis* delignes to those entred of *Portugall*, thus employing the forces intended against vs.

Doctor *Nicolas Sander* plays the next part, who having written in defence of the Popes vile Monarchy Ecclesiasticall, and belched out the fowell flanders of *Queene Elizabeth* as passages that Hell could deuile, would make his writings visible by his deeds; and with *James Faus*, *Morice* an Irish Traitor, having obtained to be the Popes *Nuncio*, with a banner consecrated at *Rome*, and home forth sent to *Spain*, entred *Ireland*, there forthwith and winneth *Down* for his service. *Don Iohn* followeth with fourteen hundred Italian and *Spaniards*, with Armour for five thousand. Their Fort is taken, *Fine morice* first, and after the Earle with many others slain, *Sanders* comes mad, and wandering vp and downe in the Woods and Mountaines dieth miserably; the Country is pacified and *Elizabeth* precludeth. The Seminaries (Schools of Treason) were now erected at *Rome* and *Rheims*, to become work then that *Trojan* Horse, Cells of deperate Episcopates, incendiaries of their owne Countreys (Campion and others suffere); seditious Bookes are written against the *Queene*, whereby *Sander* will be regarded to kill her.

Mendoza the *Spanish* Embassador was commanded to depart out of *England*, having predicted with *Throckmorton* and others about an insouion of the Land, and to renounce the *Queene*. About the same time in manner miraculously, traitorous pretexts came together by certain papers of one *Crespien* a Scottish Jesuite, who being taken by Dutch Prates rare them and threw them into the Sea; which would not bee so easy to be delivered to Sir *William Wade* were voyaged again, and returned nee plots of the Pope, the *Spaniard*, and *Guisen* to invade *England*: Whereupon an Affertion was made by many shew the Kingdoms, binding themselves by their hands and feales to procure all such to death as should attempt any thing against the life of the *Queene*. *Crespien* *Adam* for the English Catholikes Ecclesiasticall, *Ingelife* for the Laikes, the Bishop of *Ros* for the *Queene* of *Scots*, were said to have agreed to deprive the *Queene*, and to disinherit King *James* as a favourer of Heretic, &c.

A. 1581. Doctor *Perry* (whom *Queene Elizabeth* had before pardoned his life) being thwarted by *Ragazzoni* the Popes Nuncio in *France*, and absolved in the Popes name by the Cardinal *Commens*, undertooke to kill the *Queene*, being thereunto incouraged by *Allen* books, teaching that excommunicated Princes may be depoyled of lives and Secters. His partner reveales him, and his mischief lighted on himselfe. *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland* (brother of *Queene Mary* before executed at *Turke*) flew himselfe in the Tower, and the Lord Chamberlour three dayes after in the Starre Chamber declared that hee had been committed for treasonous deutes against the *Queen* and *State*, the particulars whereof were then opened by the Attorney *Polham*, seeking to free the *Queene* of *Scots*, to destroy the *Queene* and the *Religion*, to have dealt with *Charles* *Paget* (termed *Mope*) about these things, with the insouion of *England*, &c. The *Turke* rebellion in *Ireland* fell out that yere, and many boyles, which cost three thousand their lives at one time, the title *MacWilliam* in *Connagh* extinguished, and the insouion of the flanders betwixt *Scotland* and *England* precluded. The *Spaniard* arrested the English Ships in his Ports, whence the Expeditions of the Earle of *Cumberland*, and Sir *Francis Drake* before mentioned took their beginning, and the Warres betwixt the two Kingdomes.

A. 1586. that prodigious plot of *Savage*, *Barclay*, *Babington*, and the rest of that bloudy crew conspiring to kill the *Queene*, was detected and the plotters were executed. In 87. the French Embassador, a *Guisen*, conferred with *Stafford* to kill the *Queene*, making great promises to that purpose. And he and *Moody* were further treated with on that point by *Trappius* his Secretary, which by *Stafford* was revealed and prevented. But whiles all pretended the freeing of the *Queen* of *Scots*, by this means they thortned her dayes and freed her of her life.

The story is knowne, and I shall not need to insit upon these later things, not on *Tyrones* Tra-
gical

Don Iohn de
Austria
Emperour.
1576.

A. 1572.
Greg. 13. con-
demns the
sentence a-
gainst Q. Eli-
zabeth.

A. 1578.

1579. 1580.
Sander
author of the
booke the effigie
March, &c.
the forced rite
Delphinian
in which hee
is to be seen
the queens
Mother with
groile lines, ne-
ver before con-
demned
byth tharrest
and spiritual
eyes which
Malice could
entertaine, even
then when the
was most tra-
citous & most
tergent spide
1573.
1584.
Mendoza.
Crespien.
Crespien pa-
pers.

Affertion.
Papers treasur
Allen books.

Earle of Nor-
thumberland.

Barclay & Babington
in Scotland.

Babington &c.

French Embas-
sador.

Stafford.

A very large and particular description of this Naute was put in print and published by the Spaniards, the translated copy whereof, in *perpetuum memoria*, to incite English thankfulness, I have here inserted, but abridged.

Squadron of the Galeons of Portugall.

The Galeon S. *Martin*, Captain General of the Armie, of 1000. tuns, carrieth 177. Mariners, 50. Souldiers, chosen men, 50. Peeces of Canon, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Cord, and all that which is needfull.

The Galeon S. *John*, Admiral General, of 1050. tuns, carrieth 170. Mariners, 231. Souldiers, 50. Peeces of Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Cord, and all that which is necessary.

The Galeon S. *Markis* of 792. tuns, and carrieth 252. Souldiers, 117. Mariners, and Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Philip*, of 800. tuns, hath 415. Souldiers, 117. Mariners, 40. Peeces of Artillery, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Lewis* 830. tuns, hath 376. men of Warre, and 116. Mariners, 40. Peeces of Ordnance, and Bullets, March, Powder, and other things as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Matthew* 750. tuns, 177. men of Warre, 50. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, and Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and all other things as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. *James* 530. tuns, 300. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 50. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is needfull.

The Galeon of *Florence* of 961. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 52. Peeces of Ordnance, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest as much as is needfull.

The Galeon S. *Christopher*, 552. tuns, 300. men of Warre, 90. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Lead, Powder, Match, and all that which they need.

The Galeon S. *Bernard*, 352. tuns, hath 280. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 30. Canons and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary things as much as they need.

The *Zabra Aguilas*, of 166. tuns, carrieth 55. Souldiers, 55. Mariners, 13. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary things as much as they need.

The *Zabra Indis*, of 166. tuns, 60. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, with Ordnance, Bullets, Powder, and other necessities.

There is in this Squadron, 12. Vessels, 10. of them Galeons, and two *Zabras*, which are of 7737. tuns; and there are embarked with them 3330. Souldiers, footmen, & 1230. mariners, which are in June 4624. men, & they carry 350. great Peeces, and all that which is necessary to the rest, as bullets, powder, match, lead, &c.

The Armie of
B. (1599) which
is Captain
General for Mar-
tins of Ricada.

The Ship S. *Angel*, the Captaine is of 768. tuns, and hath 323. men of War, 114. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is needfull. The *Gargary*, Admiral

of 1160. tuns, carrieth 500. Souldiers, 100. Mariners, 36. great Peeces of Canons, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all that which is needfull.

The Vessel of S. *Lames*, 660. tuns, hath 250. Souldiers, 102. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and other necessary provisions. The

Conception of *Zabala*, 468. tuns, hath 100. men of War, and 70. Mariners, 20. great Canons, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things. The *Concepcion de loanes del Cano*, 418. tuns, hath 164. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need. The *Magdalena of John Francis of Ayala*, 350. tuns, car-

rieth 200. Souldiers, 70. Mariners, 22. great Peeces, and Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is necessary to the rest. The Ship S. *John*, 350. tuns, hath 130. men of Warre, and 80. Mar-

iners, and 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need for the rest. The *Mary* of 165. tuns, carrieth 180. Souldiers, and 100. Mariners, 24. great Peeces, Bullets, Pow-

der, Lead, Match, and other necessary things. The *Mannela* of 520. tuns, hath 130. Souldiers, 54. Mariners, 16. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the rest of their freight. The Ship

S. *Mary of Monte-mayor*, of 707. tuns, 220. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and Match, and other provisions. The Pinnace, called the *Maria de Aguiar*, of

70. tuns, hath 30. men of War, 23. Mariners, 10. Peeces, of Canon, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and other necessary things. The Pinnace, called *Isabella*, of tuns, hath 30. Souldiers, 22. Mariners,

and other necessary things. The Pinnace of *Michel Sufy*, of 66. tuns, 20. Souldiers, 24. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things.

The Pinnace of S. *Steuens*, of 78. tuns, hath 30. men of Warre, 26. Mariners, 12. Peeces of Canon, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all other necessary things of provision.

There is in this Squadron, 14. Ships, ten of them great, and four Pinnaces, which are of 6567. tuns; and there are embarked 2037. Souldiers, 808. Mariners, which make in all 2802. and 260. great Peeces of Canon, 119000. Bullets, 467. Quintals of Powder, 140. of Lead, 890. of Match.

The Galeon S. *Christopher*, Captaine of 70. tuns, hath 205. men of Warre, and 120. Mariners, and 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which is necessary to the rest.

The Galeon S. *John Baptist*, of 70. tuns, hath 250. Souldiers, 140. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, Bullets,

The Armie of
the Gallies of
Cadille, of
which is
General, Jo-
ques Floris de
Yaldu.

Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, & other necessary things. The Galeon S. *Peter*, of 530. tuns, 130. men of Warre, 140. Mariners, and 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest need-

full. The Galeon S. *John*, of 530. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 120. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Galeon S. *Lames*, the great, of 530. tuns, 230. Souldiers,

132. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Galeon S. *Philip*, and S. *Lames*, of 530. tuns, 150. Souldiers, and 126. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Pow-

der, Match, Lead, and all that is necessary. The Galeon of the *Affection*, of 530. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 114. Mariners, and 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all other necessary

things. The Galeon of our *Lady del Barrio*, of 130. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 108. Mariners, and 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and all other necessary furniture. The Galeon of S. *Medel* and

Cedron, of 530. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 110. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Galeon S. *Anne* of the Port, of 530. tuns, 100. men of Warre, and 80. Mariners, 24.

great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of our *Lady of Regina*, 750. tuns, 190. men of Warre, and 130. Mariners, 50. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all

the rest. The Vessel of the *Trinitie*, of 780. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 122. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of S. *Katherine*, of 866. tuns, 200. men of

Warre, 160. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, and Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of S. *John Baptist*, of 652. tuns, 200. Souldiers, 30. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Match,

Lead, and all the rest. The Pinnace of our Lord *Rafery*, 30. Souldiers, 25. Mariners, 24. great Pe-

ces, Powder, Bullets, Lead, Match, and the rest of their provision.

There are in this Squadron, fourteen Galeons and Ships, and two Pinnaces, which bear 8714. tuns. In these Vessels there are embarked 2458. Souldiers, 1719. Mariners, which are in all, 4177. and 348. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all that which they need.

The Capaine Ship of 1250. tuns, carrieth 304. men of War, 118. Mariners, 50. Canons, Pow-

der, Bullets, and the rest of their provision. The Ship S. *Francis*, the Admiral of 915. tuns, 230. Souldiers, 60. Mariners, 30. Canons, Powder, Bullets, and the rest of their provision. The Galeon S.

John Baptist, of 810. tuns, 250. Souldiers, and 40. Mariners, 40. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and the rest. The Ship S. *John*, of 669. tuns, 170. men of War, 60. Mariners, 30. great

Peeces, Bullets, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Consumption of 865. tuns, 200. men of War,

60. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Match, Lead, and all the rest. The Hulke *Duques*, of 520. tuns, 200. men of War, and 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Powder, Bullets, Match, Lead, and all the rest.

The *Trinitie*, 650. tuns, 200. men of Warre, 80. Mariners, 20. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and the rest. The Ship S. *Mary de Lamez*, of 750. tuns, 440. men of

War, 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Pinnace of the *Holy Ghost*, 40. men of War, 33. Mariners, 10. Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match and Cord, and all that which they need.

There are in this Squadron 21. Ships, 10. great, and a Pinnace, of the burden of 8762. tuns, in which are embarked 2400. Souldiers, 800. Mariners, and 260. great Peeces.

The Ship of S. *Lame*, the Captaine, of 300. tuns of burden, hath 300. men of Warre, 60. Mar-

iners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, and all the rest. The Ship of our Lord of the *Rofe*, Admiral of 945. tuns, 250. Souldiers, 64. Mariners, and 30. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 30. great

Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship S. *Samor*, of 998. tuns, 330. Souldiers, 50. Mariners, 30. Canons, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship of S. *Steuens*, of 936. tuns, 200. men

of Warre, 70. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, Bullets, Powder, Lead, Match, and all the rest. The Ship of S. *Martin*, of 548. tuns, 180. men of Warre, 70. Mariners, 25. great Peeces, Bullets, powder, and

all the rest. The Ship S. *Bartol* of 525. tuns, 160. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 15. Canons, Bullets, powder, lead, match, and all the rest. The Ship of S. *Benamure* of 369. tuns, 170. Souldiers, 60. Mariners,

25. great Peeces, Bullets, powder, lead, and the rest. The *Mary* of 291. tuns, 120. Souldiers, 40. Mar-

iners, 15. great Peeces, Bullets, powder, lead, and the rest. The S. *Trinitie* 680. tuns, 140. Souldiers, 40. Mariners, 20. great Peeces, Bullets, powder, match, lead, and all the rest.

The Hulke *Doucelle*, 500. tuns, 160. men of War, 40. Mariners, 18. great Peeces, Bullets, powder, Bullets, match, lead, and all the rest. The *Patax* of the *Annunciation* of 60. tuns, 30. men of War, 16. Mariners, 12. great Peeces, Bullets,

powder, match, lead, and all the rest. The *Patax* S. *Bernabe*, is the same burden as the aforementioned. The *Patax* of our Lady of *Guadalupe* is of the same burden also. The Pinnace of *Magdelene*, is also the same burden.

There are in this Squadron, 14. Ships, ten great Ships, two Pataches, and two Pinnaces, of 6997. tuns of burden. In which Vessels, there are embarked 2092. men of Warre, and 670. Mariners, all com-

ing to 2708.

The *Regafusa*, the Captaine, which is of 1294. tuns, hath 250. Souldiers, 90. Mariners, 35. great Peeces, powder, Bullets, lead, match, and all the rest. The *Lama*, the Admiral, of 728. tuns, 210. Souldiers, 80. Mariners, 30. great Peeces, powder, Bullets, lead, match and all the rest.

The Armie of
the Ships of
Andalus, of
the which is
Cap. Don Pe-
dro de Valdes.
This Pedro de
Valdes was ta-
ken, and prelin-
t in England.

The Armie of
Sips come
from the Pro-
vince of Gi-
puz, of
which is Ge-
neral Michell
de Oyunda.

The Armie of
the Fleet of
the which is
Chief
Mestre de
Indos.

upon them for their sins: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankind, being visited with affliction and misery. Likewise such solemn daies of supplication were observed throughout the united Provinces.

Allo a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandment of her Maiefty, and in the united Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solemne festival day publickly appointed, wherein all persons were enjoined to resort vnto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresaid solemnity was observed upon the 19. of November: which day was wholly spent in Preaching, praying, giving thanks, with the accustomed solemnities of 10 Bonfires, Singing, Ringing, and other wonted expressions of publick ioy.

Likewise, the Queenes Maiefty her selfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her subiects glorious deliuerance. For being attended vpon very solemnly by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried thorow her said Citie of London in a triumphant chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace vnto the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards hung displac'd. And all the Citizens of London in their Lueries stood on either side the street, by their severall Companies, with their Ensignes and Banners: and the streets were langed on both sides with blew cloath, which, together with the foresaid Banners, yielded a very 20 iately and gallant prospect. Her Maiefty being entered into the Church, together with her Clergy and Nobles gave thanks vnto God, and caused a publick Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls Croffe; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God, and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her own Princely voyce the most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes. The Lord Admirall had a pension assigned for his good service.

This publick ioy was increased by Sir Robert Sidney (now Earle of Leicester) who returning out of Scotland, related to her Maiefty the King of Scots faithfull friendship, and love to her, and to the Religion. He had bene employed to the said King, whilst the Spanish Fleet hovered on the coast, to gratulate with him in the Queenes name, for his alacritie in the common cause, and to obtaine his promise of aide, if the Spaniards landed in Scotland; and to put him in minde how 30 ambitiously the Spaniard sought to swallow in all Britaine, vrging the Pope to excommunicate him, so to strip him of Scotland, and quit his succession in England; to admondish him of the threats of Alexander, and the Popes Nuncio, that therefore he should be very wary of the Papists in Scotland. He answered conciderately, amongst other speeches, that he hoped for no other benefit from the Spaniard, then that which Polyphemus had promised Ulysses, namely, that when the rest were deunred, he should be swallowed last.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves teamed in all places inimicall) such as failed not vpon the Ocean Sea many hundred yeeres before, in the yeere 1588, vanished into smoke; to the great confusion and discouragement of the authors thereof. In regard of which her Maiefties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many Verbes were penned to the honour of her Maiefty by learned men, whereof we will here annexe thole of Maister Beza.

S Trauer at innumeris Hispani nautibus ager,
Regis inuentus scopula Britannia iuxta.
Tanta bonis, regis, que motus causa? Imperbis
Impulsi Ambicio, vixit Anaricia?
Quom bene te ambitio meris, si vixisti quiescit?
Et tandem tandem, vos superasti aues?
Quom bene totius regis, vos superasti aues?
Haudis inuicibilis, in ista vortago moris!
At in cui vortu, cui totum pulsat oceanus,
Regina, o mundi totius vix, decet,
Scis regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
Prædica se opibus perge inuare pios,
Vite Angliam Angles ipsa fruatur,
Quom dilecta bonis, tam metuentia malis.

The same in English.

The Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And beu their ships against the English shore,
Withfo great rage as nothing could appease,
And with such strength as neuer seene before:

And all to ioyne the Kingdome of that land
Vnto the Kingdomes that he had in hand.
Now if you aske what ter this King did treat.
To practise warfare when he of peace did treat.
It was his Pride, and neuer quenched desire,
To spoile that lads wealth, by peace made great:
His Pride which far about the heavens did greet:
And his desire as vnquench'd as hell.
But well haue wiens his proud blais outblown
And swelling waues alaid his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedy golpes vnkown,
Deuoured the deuourer to his limit:

And made his ships a pray vnto the land,
That meant to pray vnto anothers land.
And now, O Queene, about all others blest,
For whom both winds & waues are prett to fight 60
So rule your owne, so succour friends opprest,
(As farre from pride, as ready to doe right)
That England you, you England long enioy,
No leffe your friends deligh, then foes annoy.

I haue thought good to adde here the prime reports made by the Spaniards and their friends, touching the successe of their Armada, as they were printed in Spain, and after published and forw'd in England.

The true Relation of the successe of the Catholike Armie against their Enemies, by the Letters of the Post-maister of Logrono of the fourth of September, and by Letters from Roan of the one and thirtieth of August, and by Letters from Paris of the Kings Embassadour there: wherein be declared the imprisonment of Francis Drake, and other great Nobles of England, and how the Queene 10 is in the Field with an Armie, and of a certaine Mutinie which was amongst the Queenes Armie, with the successe of the said Catholike Armie since they entered in the Greyn, till they came on the Coast of England, with two Ballests * compounded by Christoffer Brasso, a blind man of Cordova, Printed with licence by Gabriel Ramos Betarano Printer.

* Like lips
like letters.
A blind Bal-
lismaker tis
Homer for A-
chilles con-
quells.

The newes of England is confirmed here, by a Letter of the Governour of Roan. Hec writeth be-
T hat in the power the chiefe Pilot of Captaine Drake, and that he knoweth that all the English Ar-
mie remained overwintered, having sunk two and twentie Ships, and taken forse, and imposed Francis
Drake, having given them chafe alons as high as Abipure, and lame many by the sword, and likewise
that there was found in Captaine Drakes Ship, a Pece of Ordinance of five and twentie foot long,
which discharged a Shot of a hundred weight as once made of purpose, with one onely Shot to sink one
Spanish Admirall, and it pleased God, although the Sea was somewhat battered, yet was then repaired againe,
and overcame the English Armie.

The English have left above forty Ships in one encounter where they could not flye, which was in
Luxaten a Haven in Scotland, to the which place, since the departure of the Spanish Armies
from Calles, the English Armie followed, and supping they went to take that Haven, they got before
ours to defend the entrance: we seeing them to neere the English Fleet, and that they could not retire, as
they alwayes did when they pleased to the English Haven, they got upon them so suddenly that they faw
twentie of their Ships, and they took twentie fiftie mile and fowre, and the rest seeing their destruction flie
away with great losse of men, and their Ships very much battered, and with this (they say) the Spanish
Armie took the Haven where they are very well lodged, as every one affirmeth, and so the newes is here:
I pray God give them good successe: we understand by the Post come from Calles, that in England it
is forbidden upon paine of death and losse of goods, that no bodie doe write newes from thence to any place:
whiche confirmeth the newes above.

By a Letter of
Dez Prey,
chief Post-
maister of Lo-
rono dated the
second of Sep-
tember, 1588.

Copie of a
Letter that was
written from
Roan the
31. of August of
the same yeere

I doe not write newes of the Spanish Armie, because they are diuers, and would gladly write the very
truth. Now by the newes which runneth from diuers places, as Calles, Deepe, and Holland, and
presumptuous from England and other places, it is holden for certaine that they fought with the English,
and broken their heads, having sunk many of their Ships and taken others, and the rest which they say
were twentie fowre Ships, returned very much battered to the River of London, which are all these that
could escape: There goeth with this Post another Post of Jorge Seguin of Calles, Mounier de Gerden,
caine Maister and Marmors of Zeland, did affirme to the Governours of Calles, Mounier de Gerden,
that our Fleet is in a Haven or River in Scotland, called Trilla, where they say there may ride two thou-
sand Ships: this is that which commonly is current here.

Copie of a
Letter that was
written from
Paris the first
of the ninth
of the same
yeere.

By newes from London the thirthe sic of August, it is knowne for most certaine from persons of cre-
dite, that the Queens Admirall Generall was arrived in the River of London, with twentie five ships
onely without his Admirall Ship, which was taken by our Admirall Saint John, and it is well knowne in
England, that to take the losse of their Admirall Ship, they say he put himselfe in a smaller Ship the better
to follow our Armie: and it is knowne for certaine that he saved himselfe in a Boat when he left his
Ship. That Drake for certaine is taken or slain. The same is confirmed by the way of Holland, by
Timate of others. And from Zutterland, that the Queene commanded vpon paine of death, that no
body should speake of her Fleet, and that there was great sorrow in those parts of England, and that the
Queene had in the field thirtie thousand and raw Souldiers, betwixt Douer and Margate, and that the
Englishes understanding that all their Fleet was dispersed, moved a certaine Mutinie, which forced the
Queene to get her selfe into the Field, and for certaine it is knowne that there is not brought this Eng-
land, neither Ship nor Boat of ours, more then the Ship of Don Pedro Valdez, and that our Fleet may
goe into Scotland, and arrived in a Haven called Trapiena Euxaten.

Adiuf from
London, which
the Embassa-
dor of our So-
ueraigne Lord
the King re-
turned in Paris
had from
thence.

By a Letter of
the chief Post-
maister of En-
dex, written to
the French
Embassadour,
the 2. of Sep-
tember, 1588.

As far as I had writen this, here is arrived a Scottifman, which saith that all the Spanish Fleet
arrived in Scotland, and that Scottifmen have taken Armes against the English.

That

Relation of that which
ha happened this day,
the fifth of Sept.
1588. till three
of the clock in
the afternoon,
knowne by the
relations and
advice come
to his Miesie
from the happy
Fleet, where
his Generall
the Duke of
Medina, in the
conquest of
England.

That upon the thirtieth of July, without seeing any saile of the Enemy in the Sea, we came to the Channell, six leagues from Plymouth: where understanding the Enemies were, we gathered together and set in order all the Fleet: and saying the first of August, there was discovered some Saile of the Enemies, the which the second day were wanted to bee threefoyle Saile, of which the Duke took the word, and passed without any fight, although he presented the same to them, being then at the Rearward: but the Duke in the Gallion S. Martin, set the Trum of his Ship against the hegg of the Enemies, the which being accussed by twenty others, the Gallion of this fight and first encounter, there was sunk three Gallies, and foure mightie Gallies of the Queenes: there was a burne of foure by negligence of a Gunner, the Admirall of Oquendo, and the Enemies took the chief Ship of Don Pedro de Valdez, which being entangled with others under his charge: was left without Tackle, and so neere the Enemies, that shee could not be succoured by others.

With this, our Fleet seeing that the Enemy in every point did fyre from giving battell, they sailed with some calme weather, and the Enemies after them, floating alwayes at the Rearward, until the seventh, that our Fleet anchored in the Road of S. John, betwixt Calles and Bollin, nine leagues from Dunkeek, and the Enemies did the like, the neerest they could to England.

The night being approached, the Enemies got up their Ankers to get wind, and not to suffer our Ships to goe out of the Road to Sea, because they had trimmed eight Ships of fyre, which with the current of the water, should have put themselves amongst our Ships to have burnt them. But my Lord the Duke, foreseeing the danger presented them, with commandment that the Ships that were neerest should cut their Cables, and take up the others with a readinesse uncreditable: and with this the Enemies pretence was hindered, and so got the Sea most bravely and with good fortune, that if hee had not done it our Army should have beene in an ewill case, for in the very place where we left, there was lost out of us sixe flye Ships, such fyres and other Engines, that were sufficient to burne the Sea, much more Ships which are made of Wood and Pitch.

In this departure, the Captaine of the Gallies had a great mischance: for getting up her Anker, a Cable fell foule of her Helme, that shee could not follow the rest, which caused one of her fyres to be so byg that her Ordnance could not play, and so twentie fyre Pinnaces came and battered her, and with all this, if the Mariners, Souldiers and Rowers that were on her had not cast themselves into the Sea, it is holden for certaine, that Don Hugo de Moncada had defended her, as he did until she came into Calles, where at the entrance thereof, he was killed of two Caliver shot, the people on shore defended the Gallies, and all that was in her, and delivered the same to our Sovereigne Lord the Kings Admirall.

At this time the Duke had a very frayne wind, and the like had the Queenes Fleet: so they both passed by the fight of Dunkeek, inasmuch as they on Land knew the Gallion S. Martin, and others that were fighting with the English Army, and in this order they went till the twelfth.

Afterwards they write, that their came into Calles a Ship, which saith, that the twelfth day they did see the two Fleets together in fight: another which came afterwards, said he had seene some Ships: flyed and torce, and from them they shew out their baggage which they saved in Boats, which sayeth they were Ships of the Enemy, for that our men had no place to save themselves, nor there were none of them arrived into Flanders, which was their place of retourn.

Of England was advise given, that on the thirtieth arrived sixteene of the Queenes Ships, and they had that the Gallion S. Martin, wherein my Lord the Duke (whom God preserve) had encountered with Drake, and had captivated his Ship, and captured his Person, and good Noble Englishmen, and taken other sixteene Ships, besides others that were distressed, and the Duke with his Fleet followed his way in Scotland, because the wind was not come about.

With these newes his Majesty rejoyced very much contented, and caused them to be sent to the Emperre, by the hands of Francisco Ylaguez, his Secretary of State.

Printed in Sewill, in the House of Cesme de Lara, Printer of Bookes, by licence of the Counte of Orgaz, Assitant in Sewill.

CHAP. XII.

A Discourse of the Portugall Voyage, A. 1589. Sir IOHN NORRIS and Sir FRANCIS DRAKE Generalls, written (as is thought) by Colonnell

ANTONIO WINGFIELD, employed in the same Voyage,

formerly published by his friend to whom it was written; and here abbreviated.



Having determinately purposed to pur on this habite of a Souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in the warres of the Low-countries, which are in auxilliary manner maintained by her Maieslie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an adventure of her and many honourable personages, in revenge of vnspottable wrongs offered vnto the estate of our Countrey by the

Catholick

Catholick King: in arguing whereof, I finde that by how much the Challenger is reputed before the Detendant, by so much is the journey to be preferred before those defensive Warres. For had the Duke of Parma his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to invade from whence could have proceeded that glorious honour which these late warres have laid vpon him, or what could have bene said more of him, then of a Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a private Duell? Euen that he hath done no more then by his honour he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one Towne, or any small defeat giveth more knowe to the Assilant, then the defence of a Countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters, can yield any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of ourage, especially in the Spaniards, as the reports of former Histories may assure vs, which have full layed the same all over the world.

And doe not ours in the sixe dayes lye obscured in Flanders, either not having wherewithall to procure them any warre, or not putting on Armes, but to defend themselves when the enemy shall procure them? Whereas in this short time of our Adventure, we have won a Town by Escalade, battered and assailed another, overthrowne a mightie Princes power in the Field, landed our Army in three severall places of his Kingdom, marched foure dayes in the heart of his Countrey, lyen three nights in the Suburbs of his principall Citie, beaten his forces into the Gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof more particularly appere. But our Army, which hath not cost her Maieslie much about the third part of one years experience in the Low-countries, hath already spoyled a great part of the provision hee had made at the Grove of all sorts, for a new voyage into England: burnt three of his Ships, whereof one was the second in the last yeeres expedition, called S. Juan de Colorado taken from him about 1580. Peeces of good artillery: cut off more then 600. Hulkes, and 20. French Ships well manned fit and ready to serve him for men of warre against vs, laden for his store with Corne, Victuals, Masts, Cables and other merchandizes: slaine and taken the principall men of Warre hee had in Galicia: made Don Pedro Carriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, General of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run a Peniche: laid along of his best Countrey in Lisbon, wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most late and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more importing then the warre in the Low-countries: I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficient

port it is agreed vpon by their first demand it might have made our Nation the most glorious people of the world. For hath not the want of eight of the twelve Peeces of Artillery, which were promised vnto the Adventure, lost her Maieslie the possession of the Grove and many other places, as hereafter shall appere, whose defendible rampiers were greater then our battery (such as it was) could force: and therefore were left vnattacked? It was also resolved to have sent 600. English Hories of the Low-countries, whereof wee had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the Army assembled at Puente de Bages thanks God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who fore-ran vs six dayes together: Did we not want sixteen of the thirteen old Companies, which we should have had from thence; foure of the ten Dutch Companies; and six of their men of Warre for the Sea, from the Hollanders: which I may truly say wee wanted, in that we might have had 10 many good Souldiers, 10 many good ships, and to many able bodies more then wee had? Did we not vpon the first thinking of the journey, diuers gallant Countiers put in their names for Adventurers to the sum of 50000. li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselves better, and laid the way of so much money vpon the journey? Was there not moreover a round summe of the adventure spent in le-ying, furnishing, and maintaining three months one thousand five hundred men for the service of Bergen, with which Companies the Mutinies of Offend were suppressed, a service of no small moment?

What misery the detraiding of the time of our setting out, which should have bene the first of February, did lay vpon vs too many can witness: and what extremite the want of that monthes victuals which we did eat, during the month we lay at Plymouth for wind, might have driven vs vnto no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men doe lye by, had not God giuen vs in the end a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galicia then hath bene often seene, where our owne force and fortune reuictualled vs largely: of which crosse winds, that held vs two dayes after our going out, the Generalls being weary, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in Harbour to lose any part of the better, when it should come by having their men on shoare: in which two dayes twentie fyre of our Companies shipped in part of the Fleet were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Shant.

These burdens layed vpon our Generalls before their going out, they have patiently endured, and I thinke they have thereby much enlarged their honour: For thus done thus much with the want of our Artillery, 600. Horie, 3000. Foot, 20000. li. of their adventure, and one months victuals of their proportion, what may be conjectured they would have done with their full complement? For our instruction against them, who had almost seduced you from their true opinion you hold of such men, you shall vnderstand that Generall Norris from his booke was traped vp

A briefe re-
hearsall of the
English exploits
in this voyage

Generall Nor-
ris and Gen-
erall Drake.

Gen. will Nor-
ris his Martial
education and
employments.

in the warres of the Admirall of France, and in very young yeeres had charge of men vnder the Earle of Essex in Ireland: which with what commendations hee then discharged, I leave to the report of them who chiefe the seruices. Vpon the breach betwixt Don John and the Spaniards, he was made Colonell Generall of all the English Forces there present, or to come, which he continued two yeeres: he was then made Marshall of the Field vnder Conte Hobbes, and after that, Generall of the Army in Fryland: at his coming home in the time of Monsieur's gouernment in Flanders, he was made Lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth, from whence within one yeere hee was sent for, and sent Generall of the English Forces, which hee Mailetie sent then to the Low-countries, which he held till the Earle of Leicester's going ouer. And hee was made Marshall of the Field in England, the enemy being vpon our Coast, and when it was expected the Crowne of England should haue bene tried by battell. All which places of Command, which neuer Englishman successefully attained vnto in foraine warres, and the high places hee Mailetie hath thought him worthy of, may suffice to perfwade you that hee was not altogether unlikely to discharge that he undertooke.

What fame Generall Drake hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his adventures to the West Indies, and the scourges hee hath laid vpon the Spanish Nation, I leave to the Southern parts to speake of. But to answer the reports, which haue bene giuen out in reproach of the Advers and Advers by such as were in the same: let no man thinke otherwise, but that they, who taxing the casual accidents of Warre had any purpose of returning, did first desire of some occasion that should move them thereto: and having found any whatsoever did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their coming home.

Of these there were some, who having noted the late Flemish wars, did find that many young men haue gone ouer and safely returned Souliards within few moneths, in hauing learned some words of Art vied in the wars, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they began to quarrell at the great mortallitie that was amongst vs. The neglect of discipline in the Armie, for that men were suffered to bee drunke with the plenty of Wines. The scarcity of Surgions. The want of carriages for the hurt and sicke: and the penury of victuals in the Campe: It hath bene proved by flacke examinations of our Musters, that we were neuer in our fullness before our going from Plymouth 11000. Souliards, nor about 2500. 30 Mariners. It is also euident that there returned about 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall payments made to them since our coming home. And I haue truly iudged you that of these numbers very nere three thousand forsooke the Armat at the Sea, whereof some passed into France, and the rest returned home. So as wee neuer being 15000. in all, and hauing brought home about six thousand with vs, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in beleieving that we haue left 16000. men by sicknes.

If at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Maiors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselves sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of Wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purities could neuer reach to in England, and hauing in there without money, even in their houses where they lie and hold their guard, can be kept from being drunke: and once drunke, beell in any order or tune, except we had for euery drunkenard an Officer to attend him? But who be they that haue run into these disorders? Euen our newell men, our youngell men, and our idoll men, and for the most part our louely prell men, whom the Iustices (who haue alwayes thought vnworthy of any warre) haue sent out as the fume and dregs of the Countrey. And those were they, who dissembling themselves with their hoo Wines, haue brought in that sicknes, which hath infected honest men then themselves. But I hope, as in other places the recovery of the discale, doth acquaint their bodies with the yeare of the Countrey where they be, so the remainder of these which haue either recovered, or past without sicknes will prove most fit for Martiall seruices.

If we haue wanted Surgions, may not this rather be laid vpon the Captaines (who are to provide for their feuerall Companies) then vpon the Generalls, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that euery Captaine, vpon whom most of the charge of raising their Companies was laid as an aduener, could provide the lacke of all things expedient for a war, which was alwayes wont to be maintained by the purse of the Prince. But admit euery Captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing, new sicknes: for our English Surgions (for the most part) be vnexperienced in hurts that come by shot, because England hath not knowne warres but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope will waite those that hereafter goe to the warres, to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens liues by their skill.

From whence the want of carriages did proceed, you may coniecture that wee marched through a Countrey neither plentifull of such provisions, nor willing to part: from any thing yett I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprovident for. And that the Generall commanded all the Mules and Ases, that were laden with any baggage

baggs to be subuened and taken to that vse: and the Earle of Essex and he for many hired men to carry men vpon Pikes. And the Earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doth him all other his actions appears, to did it very much in this) threw downe his owne stuffe, I leaue apparel and necessaries which hee had there from his owne carriages, and let them be left by the way to pay burgand sicke men vpon them.

And the great complaint that these men make for want of victuals, may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of warre: for to feed vpon good Beues, Muttons, and Goates, be to want, they haue endured great scarcitie at Land, whereunto they neuer wanted two dayes together, wiser to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (as in time of want) except it were such as had vowed rather to starue then to see one of their places for food: of whom we haue too many.

After six dayes laying from the Coast of England, and the fifth after we had the wind good, being the twentieth of April in the evening, we landed in a bay more than an English mile from the Grone, in our long Boats and Pinasses without any impeachment from whence we perfectly marched toward the Towne, within one halfe mile we were encountered by the enemy, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our Armat lay in the Villages, Houses, and Mills next adioyning, and very nere round about the Towne, into the which the G leon named S. John (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet against England) one Holke, two smaller Ships, and two Gallies which were found in the Road, did beat vpon vs and vpon our Companies as they pailed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the Towne, found the same defended on the Land side (for it standeth vpon the necks of an island) with a wall vpon a dry Ditch: whereupon hee resolved to try in two places what might be done against it by Escalede, and in the meane time aduised for the landing of some Artillerie to be vpon the Ships and Gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being begun in execution, vpon the planting of the first Peece the Gallies abandoned with the Road, and betooke them to Ferrell, not farre from thence: and the Armat being beaten with the Artillery and Musketers that were placed vpon the next shore, left her playing vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the Companies and other provisions ready for the surpris of the base Towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to bee landed 1500. men, vnder the conduct of Colonell Hawley, and Captaine Finner the Vice-Admirall, on that side nearest to vs by water in long Boates and Pinasses, which were placed many Peeces of Artillery to beat vpon the Towne in their approach: at the corner of the wall, which defended the other water side, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson, Lieutenant Colonell to Generall Drake, to enter at low water with five hundred men: it they found it possible, but if not, to betake them to the Escalede, for they had also Ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall, which lay toward that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonell Umpton, and Colonell Bret, with three hundred men to enter by Escalede. All the Companies which should enter by Boat being imbarcked before the low water, and hauing giuen the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the Escalede, for they had in commandment to charge all on an instant. The Boats landed without any great difficultie: yet had they some men hurt in landing. Colonell Bret, and Colonell Finner entered their quarter without encounter, not finding any defence made against them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entered by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne company whom hee trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which hee cleared before that they offered to enter, and so fouled the wall, till he came on the backe of them, who maintained the fight against Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson: who were twice beaten from their Ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiving ours entered in two places at their backes, were driuen to abandon the same. The reason why that place was long defended then the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna, who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had refused in counsell how to make their defence, if they were approached: and therein concluded, that, if wee attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore vpon the discovery of our Boates, they of the high Towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low Towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place till we were entered on euery side.

Then the Towne being entered in three feuerall places with an huge cry, the Inhabitants betooke them to the high Towne, which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fire, fled to the Rocks in the island, others hid themselves in Chambers and Sellers, which were euery day found in great numbers.

Amongst these Don Iuan de Luna, a man of very good commandment, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning yeeld himselfe. There was also taken that night a Commissarie of victuals, called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Grone at our entrie five hundred

Earle of Essex
his worthy
Ass.

Our men land
within a mile
of the Grone
the 20th of April.

Intemperate
drinking cause
of sickness.New voyage to
England intended.

Gallion burnt.

Dangerous fire

Undetermined.

drad Soldiers, being in seven Companies, which returned very weak (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the journey of England. The rest falling into the hands of the common Soldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of five hundred as I conjecture, first and last, after we had entered the Towne, and in the entry thereof there was found aerie Seller full of Wine, whercon our men by inordinate drinking, both grew themselves for the present senseless of the danger of the shot of the Towne, which hurt many of them being drunk and rooke the first ground of their sickness; for of such was our first and chiefest mortalitye. There was also abundant store of Victuals, Sake, and all kind of provision for shipping and the warre: which was confesed by the said Commissary of Victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a *Maggin* of all sorts of provision for a new Voyage into England: whereby you may conjecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged vs, and procured the King of Spain.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their Ships. And having overcharged the Artillery of the Gallion, left her on fire, which burst in terrible fire two daies together, the fire and overcharging of the Peeces being so great, as of fittie that were in her, there were not above sixteene taken out whole, the rest with overcharge of the powder being broken and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into divers Ships. The same day was the Cloister of the South side of the Towne entered vs, which joynd verie neere to the wall of the Towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our Musketiers.

The next day in the afternoon there came downe some two thousand men, gathered together out of the Countrey, even to the gates of the Towne, as resolutely (led by what spirit I know not) as though they would have entered the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slain aboute eightene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approach, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: notwithstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell *Huntley* was sent into the Countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of Kine and Sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night, the Generall had in purpose to take a long Munition-houle builded upon their wall, opening towards vs, which would have given great advantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the evening, which put him to a new counsell: for he had likewise brought home Artillery to that side of the Towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the Towne; which, had it not bin by the care of the Generalls heedsly seene vnto, and the fury thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the provisions we found there, to our wonderful hinderance.

The fourth day, were planted vnder the guard of the Cloisters two Demy-cannons, and two Coluerings against the Towne, defended or gabioned with a crosse wall, thorow which our battery lay; the first and second tier whereof shooke all the wall down, so as all the Ordnance lay open to the Enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slain. The Lieutenant also of the Ordnance, *Mr. Spencer*, was slain flat by Sir *Edward Norris*, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leaving a guard upon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine *Goodwin* had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be given to the Towne, he should make a proffer of an *Escalade* on the other side, where he held his guard; but he (mistaking the signall that would have beene given) attempted the same long before the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall having planted his Ordnance ready to batter, caused the Towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the Towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged over the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they gaue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged was hee that shot at the Drum before: wherein they all intreated to haue faire wars, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of *Don Juan de Luna*, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the tending of the Towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereto.

Generall *Norris* having by his skillfull view of the Towne (which is almost all seated vpon a Rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workemen in hand withall; who after three daies labour (and the fourth after we were entered the same Towne) had bedded their Powder, but indeed not far enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the Canon being thought assailable, and Companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blowne vp by the Mine: namely, to that of the Canon, Captaine *Richard Wingfield*, and Captaine *Philip*, who led the Generalls Foot-company, with whom also Captaine *Turk* went, whose principall commandement was over the Horse-men. And so that of the Mine, Captaine *Iohn Sampson*, and Captaine *Anthony Wingfield* Lieutenant Colonell to the Master

Maister of the Ordnance, with certaine selected out of diuers Regiments. All these Companies being in Armes, and the assault intended to be given in all places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the Mine; by reason the Powder brake out backwardes in a place where the Caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine *Hinder* was sent with some chosen out of euery Company into the Countrey for provisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without hurt.

The next day Cap. *Anthony Sampson* was sent out with some five hundred to fetch in positions for the Army, who was encountered by them of the Countrey, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the Miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the Companies aforesaid being in readinesse for both places (Generall *Drake* on the other side, with two or three hundred men in Pinnaces, making proffer to attempt a strong Forre upon an Island before the Towne, where he left more then three hundred men) fire was given to the traine of the Mine, which blew vp halfe the Tower vnder which the Powder was planted. The assaults having in charge vpon the effecting of the Mine presently to give the assault, performed it accordingly; but too soone: for having entered the top of the breach, the other halfe of the Tower, which with the first force of the Powder was only shaken and made loose, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twentie or thirtie, then being vnder that part of the Tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forooke their Commanders and left them among the ruines of the Mine. The two Engines of Generall *Drake* and Captaine *Anthony Wingfield* were shot in the breach, but their colour were rescued: the Generall by Captaine *Sampson* Lieutenant, and Captaine *Wingfield* by himselfe. Amongst them that were killed vpon, was Cap. *Sydenham* pitifully lost; who having three or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recover him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be alive, there was ten or twelue lost in attempting to relieve him.

The breach made by the Canon, was wonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the Pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the loose earth (which was indeede but the rubbish of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped outwardes from vnder their feet. Whereby did appaere halfe the wall vnbroken. For let no man thinke that Caluities or Demy-cannon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire; and of those Peeces which we had the better of the Demy-cannons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of little force, being but of three Peeces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine *Dolphin*, who serued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of the best iudgement, was the fall of the Mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approach was vnlooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other, which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two daies battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in prooff, to try if by that terror hee could get the vpper Towne, having no other way to put it in hazard so easily, and which in my conscience had obtained the Towne, had not the defendants bin in as great perill of their liues by the displeasure of their King in giuing it vs, as by the Bullets or Sword defending the same. For that day before the assault, in the view of our Armes, they burnt a Cloister within the Towne, and many other houses adioyning to the Castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themelues had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs suddenly made proud) laid that misfortune vpon vs.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the *Conde de Alencastro* had assembled an Armie of eight thousand at *Puente de Burgos*, fixe miles from thence in the way to *Petance*, which was but the beginning of an Armie: in that there was a greater leauey ready to come thither vnder the *Conde de Alencastro*, either in purpose to reueue the *Groine*, or to encampe themelues neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; for that the purpose had the Marquesse of *Serralba*, written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissary taken then confesed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey (for during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoiled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this Armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, against whom hee carried but nine Regiments: in the Vanguard were the Regiment of Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Edward Norris*, and Colonell *Sibbey*; in the Battaile, that of the Generall Colonell *Lane*, and Colonell *Madocke*; in the Rearward, Sir *Henry Norris*, Colonell *Huntley*, and Colonell *Brett* Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall *Drake*, for the guard of the Cloister and Artillery. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the fixe of May, halfe a mile from the Camp,

X x x x x x x

was

wee discouering the enemy Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the Vanguard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Coloyell: Capitaine *Anthony Wingfield* to command the shot of the same, who diuided them into three troupes, the one he appointed to Capitaine *Middleton* to be conducted in away on the left hand: another to Capitaine *Ermington* to take the way on the right hand, and the bodie of them (which were Musketeers) Capitaine *Wingfield* tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Capitaine *Middleton* met a little before with the way held by Capitaine *Wingfield*, so as begiuing the first charge vpon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by Capitaine *Wingfield*, who beat them from place to place (they hauing very good places of defence, and croffe Walkes which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their Bridge, which is ouer a creeke coming out of the Sea, builded of Stone vpon Arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Captie of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our horsemen to the further end of the Bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the Pike, without any palled to the Bridge, accompanied with Colonnell *Sidney*, Capitaine *Hinder*, Capitaine *Fullard*, and diuers others, who found the way cleere ouer the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; for that the shot of their Army flanked vpon both sides of the Bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with Barrells: but they who should haue guarded the same, seeing the proud approach we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his Pike, with very earnestnelle in ouerthrusting, fell, and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably reloued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonnell *Sidney*, and some other Gentlemen: Capitaine *Hinder* also hauing his Cask shot off, had fise wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Capitaine *Fullard* was shot in the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they thoroughly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempt (which was of wonderfull difficultie) as their brauet men that defended that place being ouerthrowne, their whole Army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chafe three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselves vnto, There was taken the Standard with the Kings Armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (for of many confited our Vanguard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day: And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their stands, found many hidden in the Vineyards and Hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonnell *Almirk* was feast with his Regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which they burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, and put them to the sword. There were slain in this fight on our side onely Capitaine *Cooper*, and one priuate Souldier; Capitaine *Barton* was also hurt vpon the Bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong barricades they had made on either side of the Bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an Army so strongly lodged. After the fury of the execution, the Generall sent the Vanguard away, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might haue seene the Countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of Munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better for left behind; they were so hotly pursued. Our Sailors also landed in an Island next adioyning to our ships, wher they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned to the Groine, bringing small comfort to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our coming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our Artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might haue giuen vs any assistance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some more time in the legs of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher Towne in one place, where the poples were builded vpon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, so made lo good defence against vs, as they prevented the same. In our departure there was fire put into quene house of the low Towne, in whom as I may fully say, there was not one house left standing in the safe Towne, or the Cloister.

The next day, being the eighth of May, wee embarked our Armie without losse of a man, which had wee not beaten the enemy at *Ponte de Burgos* (I) had bene impossible to haue done.

After we had put from thence, we had the wind so contrarie, as we could not vnderstande to recover the *Burling*, in which passage on the thirteenth day the Earle of *Essex*, and with him *M. Walter Deneham* his brother (a Gentleman of wonderfull great hope) Sir *Roger Williams*, Colonnell General of the Footmen, Sir *Philip Butler*, who hath alwaies bene most inward with him, and Sir *Edward Wingfield*, came into the Fleet. The Earle put off in the thirteenth day of *February*, that wee left *Almirk* in, where lay, because he would auoid the importunitee of Almirkers that were daily sent for his returne, and some other causes more secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generall purposed to land in, had bin as far as *Cadix* in *Andalusia*, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where iere tooke some Ships laden with

with Corne, and brought them vnto the Fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our Fleet, he fell with the Islands of *Beyon*; and on that side of the River which *Caenas* Randeth vpon, he, with Sir *Roger Williams*, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on shoare, with some men out of the Ship he was in, whom the enemy that held guard vpon that Coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the Countrey.

The sixteenth day we landed at *Peniche* in *Portugal*, vnder the shot of the Castle, and about the realme in the water, more then a mile from the town, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the wind was great, and the Sea went high, which ouerthrew one Boar, wherein vs, and twentie of Capitaine *Dolphins* men perished. The enemy being vs. Companies of *Spaniards*, vnder the commandement of *Cande de Fuenes*, sallied out of the town against vs, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of *Essex*, with Sir *Roger Williams*, and his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to hold the way by the water side, and led the other ouer the Sand-hills; which the enemy seeing, drew their likewife further into the Land; not, as we conceived, to encounter vs, but indeed to make their speedie passage away: notwithstanding they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonnell generally vnder Capitaine *Jackson*, they flood the same euen to the pith of the Pike: in which charge and at the pith, Capitaine *Robert Parr* was slain. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our Companies were drawne to the Town; which being vnfortified in any place, wee found vn defended by any man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the Cattle to be summoned that night; which being absented by him that commanded it, a *Portugall* named *Antonio de Azeis*, being possided the same; which he honestly performed. There was taken out of the Cattle some hundred Shot and Pike, which *Don Emanuel* furnished his *Portugalls* withall, and twentie Barrells of Powder: so as possessing both the Town and the Cattle, we rested there one day; wherein some *Friars* and other poore men came vnto their new King, promising in the name of their Countrey next adioyning, that within two dayes hee should haue a good supply of Horse and Foot for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generall company of horses were vnwhipped.

The Generalls there fully resolved, that the Armie should march oute Land to *Lisbon*, vnder the conduct of General *Norris*; and that General *Drake* should meet him in the River thither with the Fleet; that there should be one Company of Foot left in guard of the Cattle, and fix in the Ships: also that the sick and hurt should remaine there with provisions for their cures. In this march Capitaine *Crispe* the *Prossell* Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arrival in *Portugal*) had broken vp an house for pillage, to be hanged; with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the place where the act was committed; which, with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectiue regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doth ordinarily hold within compasse. The Campe lodged that night at *Leribe*: the next day we had Intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of Horse and Foot against vs at *Torre Vedra*, whence we thought they would haue held: but coming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our Vanguard came in, they left the Towne and Cattle to the possession of *Don Antonio*.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, vpon a commandement given from the Generall, that no man should spoile the Countrey, or take any thing from any *Portugall*: which was more respectiue obserued, then I thinke would haue bin in our owne Countrey; amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the Countrey (contrary to promise) wholly negreet, lacked the prouision of victuals for vs, whereby we were driven for that time into a great scarcity. Which moued the Colonnell Generall to call all the Colonnells together, and with them to aduise of some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduise the King what neede we were in, before we should of our selues alter the first instruction of abstinence. The Colonnell generally, hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the King: who after some expostulations vsed, tooke the more careful order for our men, and after that our Armie was more plentifully relieved.

The third day we lodged our Armie in three sundry Villages, the one Battalion lying in *Exarama de los Canalleros*, another in *Exarama de Obispo*, and the third in *San Sebastian*. Captain *Turky* who commanded the Generalls Horse Company, in this march made triall of the valour of the Horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight Horles thorow fortie of them, and himselfe thorow more then two hundred, with some fowre Horles: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to *Leres*, and had diuers Intelligences that the enemy would terry vs therefor: the Cardinall had made publike promise to them of *Lisbon*, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done aduantageously; for we had a Bridge to passe ouer in the same place: but before our coming hee diffided, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that hee had in purpose to incampe there; for wee found the ground flaked out where their trenches

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The notable ouerthrow giuen to the Spaniards at *Ponte de Burgos*.

They land at *Peniche*.

Peniche taken.

They march towards *Lisbon*.

Good discipline.

Want of victuals.

Earle of *Essex* comes to them.

They march
from Lisbon.The riches
that they
might have
gotten at
Lisbon.Desire of the
English to fight.Fears of the
enemies.Calfes of the
can yielded.Sixtie Hullets
brought.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, the General gave order for our marching away by himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams, remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole Army was drawn into the Field, and so marched out of the Towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Walsford in the Rearward of them with the horse, thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would have shot out upon our riding; but they were otherwise aduised. When we were come into the Field, ourie Battalion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto Cascais. Had we marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiers had bene well supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had bene the richest Army that euer went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of every house, there were many Ware-houses by the water side full of all sorts of rich Merchandizes.

In our march that day the Gallies which had some what, but not much annoyed vs at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the River) attended vs till we were past S. Iulian, following many shot amongst vs, but did no harme as alighting that they strooke off a Gentleman leg, and killed the Sergeant Maurs Maple vnder him. The Horsemen also followed vs a farre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to hobble in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Friar, that the enemy was marching strongly towards vs; and on this came as farre as S. Iulian, which newes was lowcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generall; so they offered every one of them to goe the Messenger an hundred Crownes if he would find them in the place: for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field tooke, dispatched that night a Messenger with a Trumpet, by whom there was a Card sent to the Generall of their Army, wherein he gave them the lie, in that it was by him reported that we were dilogged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them, which indeed was not so; for that it was five of the clocke in the morning before we fell into Armes, and then vs, yet in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out vpon vs. Also he challenged him chereing to meet him the next morning with his whole Army, if hee durst attend his coming, and these party out the instant of their quarrell by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honour of the cause, which was his Countrey, before his owne safetie) sent a particular Card, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie; or if they would admit of that; sixty eight, or as many as they would appoint, should meet to many of theirs in the head of our battell to trye their fortunes with them; and that they should have assurance of their retourn and honourable intertie.

The Generall accordingly made all his Armes ready, by three of the clocke in the morning, and matched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were dilogged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had bene come vpon them as the Generall the next day certainly informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answer to be either of his Letters, but that they were to be hanged, for daring to bring him a message. Howbeit the Generall had cause to be wroth vpon the backside of their Passports, that if they durst offer to come into the Battell, he would haue had the best prisoner: he had of theirs whome hee thought to aduise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answer.

After our Armes came to Cascais, and the Calfes thereof granted, that vpon five or six shot of the Canon he would deliver the same, but not without fight thereto. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals, as he could not hold it many dayes; because he saw it otherwise defendible enough, determined rather to make him yield to that necessity, then to bring the Canon, and therefore only let a guard vpon the towne, lest if any supply of those things which hee wanted should bee brought vnto them. But hee still standing vpon these conditions, the Generall about two dayes before hee determined to goe to sea, brought three or foure Peeces of battery against it vpon the best rise whereof hee could reach; and compounded to goe away with his baggage and Armes: hee had one Canon, two Culuerins, one Baskin, and three or foure other Field Peeces, threefoure and fye Souldiers, very good store of Munition, and victuals enough in the Calfes; in so much as hee might haue held the towne longer tyme, but the Generall had in purpose to carry there. One company of Footmen was put into the gourd thereof, till the Artillery was taken out, and our Armes imbarcked; which without leaving that fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were ready to set saile (our halfe of the Fort being by order from the Generall blowne vpon by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the Road, our Fleet began the second of Iune, and so continued six dayes after to fetch in some Hullets to the number of threefoure, of Danth, Sicin, Roskoff, Lubick, and Hensburgh, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the Kings prouision, and going to Lisbon: their principall lading was Corne, Malts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe: a amongst which were some of great barchen wonderfull well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought they were brought for the Kings prouision, to reinforce

his decaied Name: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the gallest of them which carried two mines, was knowne to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then hee would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe vnto his small Boate, wherein hee recovered Saint Sebastian: into the which our men, that before were in flig-boates, were shipped, and the flie-boates sent home with an offer of Corne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rachel, they chose rather to loose their Corne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his Horses with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of Iune, Colonell Deuereux, and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole journey had shewed themselves very forward to all seruices, and in their departure very vnwilling to leave vs: that day we imbarcked all our Army, but lay in the road vntill the eight thereof.

The fixt day, the Earle of Essex, vpon receipt of Letters from her Maiesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams, who was desirous to goe, but found the Generals very vnwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the Army. And the same day there came vnto vs two small Barges, that brought tidings of some other ships come out of England with victuals, which were pulled towards the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to goe with the fies of Iune, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them coming backe againe towards vs, whose prouision little answered our expectation: Notwithstanding we refused to continue our courie for the fians.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with three or foure other ships, sent to Penzance, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captain Barth having received Letters from the Generall that went to the land, was departed before, not being able by reason of the enemies speedily marching thither, to be so being away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction that the fians gauthen: for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the Towne and Calfes, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassadour from the Emperour of Morit called Roy Hamet Ben camp, returned, and with him M. Ciprian a Gentlemen of good place and desert, who went from Don Anthonio and Captaine Dufayson to the Generall to the Emperour.

The next morning the ships of Lisbon which were sent not five dayes before out of Lisbon, as for the firing thereof of the River of Lisbon which being toyed with the other twine that were there before, though we layshad by them at Saint Iulian, durst neuer make any attempt against vs) vpon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning, being a very dead calme, in the daunting thereof fell in the winde of our Fleet, in the vttermost part whereof they assailed one singling Baskin of Plimouth, of the which Captaine Cawsey being Captain of the Land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners, abandoned the ship, and betooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captain were, was ouerwhelmed with the Gallies, and they drowned. There were also two Hullets straggled far from the strength of the other ships, which were loosed, so neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their Boates to haue rescued them, but could not be recovered: in one of which was Captaine Maslow with his company, who fought with them to the last, yet after his ship was an fire, which whither he was fired by himselfe or by them we know not, yet after his ship was an fire, which whither he was fired by himselfe or by them we know not, yet after his ship was an fire, which whither he was fired by himselfe or by them we know not.

There were also two Hullets straggled far from the strength of the other ships, which were loosed, so neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great ships towed with their Boates to haue rescued them, but could not be recovered: in one of which was Captaine Maslow with his company, who fought with them to the last, yet after his ship was an fire, which whither he was fired by himselfe or by them we know not, yet after his ship was an fire, which whither he was fired by himselfe or by them we know not, yet after his ship was an fire, which whither he was fired by himselfe or by them we know not.

From this day till the nineteenth of Iune, our direction from the Generall was, that if the winde were Northerly, we should ply for the Azores; but if Southerly, for the Isles of Bayon. We lay with contrary winde about that place and the Rocks, till the Southerly winde prevailing carried vs to Bayon: among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had a purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 300, men out of them all to haue landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with general Drakes, who though he were two dayes before put vpon those lands, call off againe to Sea for the Azores: but remembering how unprouided he was for that journey, and seeing that he had but company of his great ships, he returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where hee passed vnto the Ruer more then a mile about Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole about two thousand men (for in the leuenteene dayes we continued on board wee had caitt many

Cardinall Al-
bert after mar-
ried to the In-
fanta and Kue-
ren: the Spa-
nish Port of the
Low Countre.Morice Emi-
balladour.

Bayon.

Vigo taken.

many of our men over-board) with which number the Colonell generally marched to the Towne of *Vigo*, where the which when he approached, he sent Captain *Anthony Wingfield* with a troop of foot to enter one side of the same, who found upon eury fide, tea end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for having entred the Towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to *Bayon*. On the other fide the Towne entred. Generall *Drake* with Captain *Richard Wingfield*, whose approach on that fide (I thinke) made them leave the places they had fo artificially made for defence: there were alfo certaine ships (sent with the Vice-admirall to lye clofe before the Towne, to beate vpon the fame with their artillery.

Baye burned.

In the afternoone were sent three hundred vnder the conduct of Captain *Pettin* and Captain *Henry Power*, to burne another Village betwixt that and *Bayon*, called *Borfin*, as much of the Countrey as the way would giue them leaue to doe; which was a very pleasant rich Valley: but they burnt it all houfes and cornes, as did others on the other fide of the Towne, both that and the next day, so as the Countrey was spoiled foure or eight miles in length. There was found great store of Wine in the Towne, but not any thing else: for the other daies warning of the ships that came first in, gave them a repit to carry all away.

Vigo burned.

The next morning by break of the day the Colonell general (who in the absence of the Generalls that were on board their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our Companies to be drawne out of the Towne, and sent in two troopes to put fire in eury house of the same: which done, we embarked againe. This day there were certaine Manns which (without any direction) put themselves on shoare, on the contrary fide of the Riuer from vs for pillage.

The same day the Generalls seeing what weak estate our Army was drawne into by sickness, determined to man and victuall twenty of the best ships for the Islands of *Azuere*, with Generall *Drake*, to see if he could meete with the *Indian* Fleet, and Generall *Norris* to returne home with the rest: And for the fitting of men and victualls accordingly, purpose the next morning to fall downe to the Islands of *Bayon* againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall *Drake*, according to their appointment, being vnder saile neuer strooke at the Islands, but put straight to Sea: whom all the Fleet followed fauing three and thirty, which being in the Riuer further then he, and at the entrance of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were informed to cast ancre there for that night amongst whom, by good fortune, was the *Forefigne*, and in her Sir *Edward Norris*. And the night following, Generall *Norris* being driuen from the rest of the Fleet by a great storme (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Islands, but not without great perill, he being forced to cast to a *Spanish* Fisher-man (who was taken two dayes before at Sea) to being him in.

The next morning he called a councill of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with Sir *Francis Drake* the day before, and directed all their courses for *England*, carrying there all that lay to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distress by having the victuall that came last, carried away the day before to Sea.

Their returne to Plymouth.

The next day he set saile, and the tenth day after, which was the second of Iuly came into *Plymouth*, where he found Sir *Francis Drake* and all the *Queenes* ships, with many of the others but not all: for the Fleet was disperfed into other harbours, some led by a desire of returning from whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulkes, fought other Ports from their Generalls eye, where they might make their private commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great advantage. Presently vpon their arrivall there, the Generalls dislodged all the armies aung eight companies which are yet held together, giuing eury Souldier five shillings in money, and the armes he bare to make money of, which was more then could by any meanes be due vnto them: for they were not in seruice three months, in which time they had their victualls, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her Majesties ships to her Mariners, so that there remained but ten shillings a moneth to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparell and furniture to his owne vse, fo as eury common Souldier discharged, received more in money, victualls, apparell, and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

CHAP. XIII.

A briefe and true report of the Honorable Voyage vnto Cadiz, 1596. of the ouerthrow of the Kings Fleete, and of the winning of the Citie, with other accidents, gathered out of METEORVS, Master

HACKLVYT * and others.



After that *Callis* had beene taken by Cardinall *Albert*, Archduke of *Austria*, which afterwards by Papall dispensation married the Lady *Isabella Eugenia Clara Infanta*, who yet gouerneth the *Belgians* which acknowledge the *Spaniard*, *Queene Elizabeth* thought it fitter to invade the *Spaniard* at home, then to expect his forces here. The said Cardinall (and Archduke of *Austria*) had planted his vexatious siege before *Callis*, and begun his vniuersall battery on Wednesday the 17. of April 1596. and the Towne desired truce for foure and twenty houres, which was refused: whereupon they yielded themselves presently vpon condition of life and goods saved, and fixt: dayes truce to be giuen them, with liberty either to stay in the Citie, or to goe to the *Callis*; and if the King of *Nauarre* (Henry the fourth, the French King) did not in that space relieue them, they were to yeelde the *Callis*. Most of them betooke themselves to the *Callis*, and left their empty houles to the Conquerours.

The night before the truce expired, they began to shoot at the *Spaniards*, who had now made so fall preparation, that the next day, April 24. before noone they had beaten downe the wals and emparades, the Gouernour of the Towne and diuers others being slaine. *Queene Elizabeth* meane while had prepared aide, and the Souldiers and Ships at *Leigh* in *Effex*, were by the winde, which then was Easterly, and instead of carrying the *English* thither, brought hither the terrible thunders of the *Spanish* Ordnance, in so much, that I haue heard that they shooke the looser glasse out of the windows in *Dover* and filled the shores of *Effex* & *Kent* with the hideous reports of *Callis* her vnauoidable ruine. And thus in so short time the Cardinall won that ancient Port, by *Strab* called *Istun*, by *Polemy* *Geffridus* (as *Meteor* auis collecteth) which had cost the *English* eleven moneths siege, before they vnder *Edward* the third, took it, *As* 1346. They held it 202. yeeres, at that time *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, in the vnhappy daies of *Queen Mary*, and by reason of her vnclanke ioyning with the *Spaniards* in their warre against the *French*, recouered it in a few dayes vnlooked for by the *Spaniards*.

The *English* eleven moneths siege, before they vnder *Edward* the third, took it, *As* 1346. They held it 202. yeeres, at that time *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, in the vnhappy daies of *Queen Mary*, and by reason of her vnclanke ioyning with the *Spaniards* in their warre against the *French*, recouered it in a few dayes vnlooked for by the *Spaniards*. alone, but the ioy of life also from that unfortunate *Queene*; both which seeming disasters were the price of *England* fauor purchasles, both gaine and liberty in the dispersing of that *Spanish* cloud which from the time of the match had houered ouer vs, and of the concomitant Antichristian Papall Mist, which was a smoke from the bottomlesse pit to them which receiued it, and a fire to them which refused it of what degree soeuer: and in that as throwes of a greivous trauell they brought forth a Virgin, both Truth to the Church, and *Queene* to the State; the one a fruitfull Mother to the soules, the other to the wealth, honour, domesticke peace, fortune, victories, and Nauall glorie of the *English* Nation. This renowned *Queene*, eight and thirtie yeeres after, vnable to alter that decree of the winde which now seemed themselves, and forced *Callis* to become *Spanish*, would try their windy fidelity in another expedition, and prepared a strong Fleet to invade the *Spanish* coast: The charge whereof the committed to the Lord *Roberts* Earle of *Effex*, and the Lord *Charles Howard* Lord high Admirall of *England*, who came vnto *Plymouth* (about the beginning of May 1596.) being there accompanied with diuers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of *Suffex*, the Lord *Thomas Percy*, the Lord *Burk*, *Dan Christypher* young Prince *Walter Raleigh*: the Lord *Madock* Sir *Francis Vere*, the Lord *Burk*, *Dan Christypher* young Prince of *Portugall*, young Count *Lodowick of Nassau*, and the Admirall of the *Hollanders*, Sir *Iohn Vander*.

Tord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great worth: attending upon this most honorable Action. It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that month, as well for the new furnishing and restituting of her Majesties Royall Naue: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from diuers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting.

Before their departure from *Plymouth*, it pleased their Lordships to publish in Print, and make knowne to all the world, especially to such as it concerned, and that too in the *Latine*, *French*, *Dutch*, *English*, and *Spanish* tongue, what were the true, iust, and vrgent causes, that at this time prouoked her Majestie to vndertake the preparing and setting forth of this so great a Naue, namely the King of *Spaines* preparations against her, who had before whiles beene treated of peace, Anno 1588. prepared to invade her coast, and now also to that purpose daily encircled his Naue. If therefore any should furnish the *Spaniard* with munition and provisions, they should expect what force could doe: for all others of whatsoever Nation they aduised them to forsake the *Spanish* and *Portugall* Ports, or to ioyne with the *English* for their owne security, they haue no quarrell in this designe but against the *Spaniard*.

* M. Hackluit had published the large report of this Voyage written by one Emphred therein: out of which I haue taken that which serueth our purpose.

* Q. Mary had before her death, as if they opened her eyes, should haue said: heere is.

miles out or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelues, sands, and shallows in it, so that the very channell and place for sea roomes, is not about two or three miles, yea, and in some places not so much, for the ships any great burthen to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground, or else constrained to run foule one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and intiuicible courage, the Lords generally presently set vpon them, and sorting out some such convenient ships, as to their honorable wisdomes seemed fittest for that times service, they were drun to take some other course then before had bene by them intended, (wherefore vpon a graue consultation had by a feld counsell, they concluded that the Vice-admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, in the *Non Pareille* for that time, and the Rear Admiral Sir *Walter Raleigh* in the *Wesphig*, alioated with Sir *Francis Vere* the Lord Marshall in the *Rainbow*, Sir *Gump Cary* Master of the Ordnance, in the *Mary Rose*, Sir *Robert Southwell* in the *Lyon*; hauing with them some of the Ships of *London*, and some of the *Dutch* Squadron of reasonable burthen, should lead the dance, and gae the onset, and that the two most noble Lords generally with some others of their companies, should in their conuenient time and order, second the maine battell. The fight being begun and growne very hot, the Lord generally the Earle of *Essex*, being on Port Saint *Mary* side, vpon a sudden and vnlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the foremost into the maine battell. The other most honorable Lord generally vnderstanding the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, and perceiving by the Master of his ship, the *Aketyall*, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without further delay, called presently for his Pinnace, and in the same Pinnace put himselfe, and his honorable for Lord *William Howard*, aboard the *Honor de la mer*, &c. there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible on all sides, and vnto continued doubtfull till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoon: about which time the *Philip*, which in very truth, they had all most fauicte vnto, began to yeeld, and gae out, her men that remained alke shifting for themselves as they were able, a d swimming and running ashore with all the haste that they could possibly, and therewithall, at the very same instant themselves fired their ship, and so left her, and presently there vpon a great Argosie, with another mighty great ship, fired themselves in the like manner. Immediately thereupon, the residue of the ships ran themselves on ground as far from vs as they could, thereby purchased their owne safety, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all, two faire ships only were booned and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called *San Mateo*, a ship by estimation of some twelve hundred tun, and the other *San Andreas*, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The *Gilias*, seeing this sodaine great victorious overthrow, made all the haste they could *spawd* to the Bridge called *Puente de Suenos*, and there shewed themselves in such sort as our ships could not by any means possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The *Spanish* ships in all were fifty nine, and as I said, all tall ships, and very richly furnished and well appointed, whereof some of them were bound for the *Indies*, and other traigted and furnished for *Labon*, as themselves affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, we had certainly mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leaue to other mens judgement and report; but sure I am, that themselves offered two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords generally, and should haue bene receiued, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be more at large declared.

In all this cruell terrible fight, there were not eicher slaine or hurt by any manner of means many above the number of 1000 of our men; notwithstanding diuers of our ships were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them no lesse then two and twenty times, as I was informed by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselves; I know not of any other hurt done, saying onely that Sir *Robert Southwell*, who alwayes shewed himselfe a most valiant reioyce knight in all this action, making a little too much haite with his Pinnace to board the *Philip*, had therewith his Pinnace burnt with the *Philip* at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saved. One other mischance hapned thus: One of the *Flemmish* Flie-boats, who had in all the conflict before, carried her selfe very well and valiantly about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blown vpon by his owne powder, who could not haue any fewer in him, then one hundred fighting men by all shipboard, and so in the very twinkling of an eye, both ship and men were all cast away, excepting teene or eight, which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saved.

Immediately vpon this notable victory, without any further stay in all the world, the Lord generally the Earle of *Essex* put to the sea, & landed about 3000 shot and pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge *Puente de Suenos*, vnder the conduct of Sir *Christopher Blount*, Sir *Cannier Clifford*, and Sir *Thomas Gerard*: with the other halfe, being about nineteene hundred, the most noble Earle of *Essex* himselfe, being accompanied with diuers of the honorable Lords, namely the Earle of *Suffolk*, the Lord *Harbert*, the Lord *Bark*, *Comte Loder*, &c.

with of *Nassau*, the Lord Marshall Sir *Francis Vere*, with all expedition possible marched on foote toward the towne of *Cadix*, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint, and the way was all of dry deepe sliding sand in a manner, and beside that, very vnusen, and by that means lo tielome and painfull as might be. The enemy hauing reasonable companie both of horie and footemen, stood in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome vs, and to encounter the Lord General. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching, hastened on them with such vnspokeable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horifemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe as the very first encounter: so whereat the footemen being wonderfully dismayed and astonied at the vnexpected manner of the *Englishmens* kinde of such fierce and resolute fight, reiryed themselves with all the speede possible that they could, to recouer themselves into the Towne againe. Which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforced to scale the walls: which thing in very deede, although it was not without great danger and difficultie to be performed: yet such was the vniuicible resolution, and the wonderful dexteritie of the *English*, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enemy was repulsed, and the towne wall possessed, by the noble Earle himselfe, being in all this action, either the very first man, or else in a manner ioined with the first.

The Towne walls being then possessed, and the *English* Esaigne being there displaced vpon them, so with all speede possible they proceeded on to march through the Towne, making still their way with sword and hit so well as they could, being still fought withall at euerie turne. The noble Earle was seconded by the noble Lord Admirall in person, who was accompanied with the noble Lord *Thomas Howard*, the most worthy Gentleman his Sonne (after Lord *Howard*) Sir *Robert Southwell*, Sir *Richard Lonsford*, and with diuers other Gentlemen, his Lordships followers of good account: his Colours being advanced by that valiant resolute Gentleman, Sir *Edward Hobbs* Knight. And thus he like wise marching with all possible speede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeetes, the intolerable heate for the time, and the ouertiring tedious deepe sands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, ioyned himselfe with the Earle and his companies, and gae them the strongest, and best assistance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords generally with their companies being ioined together, and proceeding so farre as the market place, there they were hotly encountered, where and at what time, that worthy famous Knight Sir *John Winkfield*, being iore wounded before on the thigh, at the very entering of the Towne, and yet for all that no whit respecting himselfe, being carried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his Company, was with the shot of a Musket in the head most unfortunately slaine.

And thus before eight of the clocke that night were these two most noble Lords General, Masters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, only the Castle as yet holding out, and from time to time as they could, till annoying them with feuen battering peeces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kinde of peace or intermission was obtained by them of the Castle: to whom the Lords generally had signified, that vntill before the next day in the morning they would absolutely render themselves, they should looke for no merie, but should euery one be put to the sword: vpon which message they tooke deliberation that night; but in the morning before break of day they hanged out their flag of truce, and so without any further composition did yeelde themselves absolutely to their mercie, and deliuered vpon the Castle.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this respite to pause and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were diuers great and sodaine alarms giuen: which did breed some great outrages and disorder in the Towne. At euery which alarm, the two Lords generally shewed themselves maruelous ready and forward.

These things being done, and this surrender being made, present Proclamation was published, that the fury now being past, all men should surcease from all manner of bloud and cruell dealing, and that there should no kinde of violence or hard vsage be offered to any, either man, woman, or child, vpon paine of death: permitting the spoyle of so much of the Towne as was by them thought meete, to the common souldiers for some certaine daies. This honorable and mercifull Edict I am sure was strictly and religiously obserued of the *English*: but how well it was kept by the *Dutch*, I will neither affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceiue betweene them and the *Spaniards* there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as soone as the *Dutch* Squadron was espied in the fight, immediately thereupon both they of *Spain* and *Saint Lucar*, and also some of some other places did not onely arrest all such *Dutch* ships, as dealt with them friendly by the way of trafficke and merchandise, and so confiscated their goods, but also imprisoned the Merchants and owners of the same, and as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreme cruelty thereupon.

In the mean while, the very next day, being the two and twentieth day of Iune, all the *Spanish* ships which were left on ground in the Bay of *Cadix*, where the great curthrow had bene but the day before, were by the *Spaniards* themselves there set on fire, and so from that time

Bad way.

The English enter the town

* I haue bin told by some of great worth then in this action, that they heard the Lord Admirall affirme that he was 80 years old, or between that and 70, who yet liueth 1564, crowned with silver haies and golden denaires of glorious aete. The Castle deliuered.

Spaniards set their ships.

either so convenient for vs to be carried away, as else such as we stood no whit at all in need of, were like wife at the same instant consumed with fire. And presently thereupon, their Lordships, with as convenient speed as they could, and the whole army in such order and leisure, as they thought best, came aboard.

The next day being the fift of July, the Lords generall with all the army being under saile, and now making for England, and but as yet passing the very mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, a Galley full of English prisoners, with a flag of truce, met vs from *Rata*, sent by the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not well placed in the Galley, or not well discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not; but thus it was: by one of our smallest ships that sailed foremost, as those as the said Gall-y came within Gunshot, there was a great Peece discharged upon her, and at that instant there was one man slain outright, and two other grievously hurt. The error being espied and perceived, our Lord gave order immediately from any further shooting. As soon as the Galley came neere vs, my Lord Admirall called a gracious salutation to be sounded with his trumpets, and willed the Captaines forthwith to come aboard his ship: which they did, and then he greeted them with a Banker, as the time and place might serve. And then by their understanding of that unfortunate mischance that had napped by the shot of the said ship, he was very sorry for the same, and yet such was the mercifull providence of almighty God, that even in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand over the English; and all the harme that was done did light only upon the poore *Turke*, and the *Spaniard* himselfe. When this Lord had well banqueted them, he presently called for his Barge, and did accompany the said Galley to the Lord Generall the Earle of *Essex*, who then did ride with his ship a good distance off: and there they being in like manner most honorably received, and intertained, the Spanish Gentlemen deliuered vp their prisoners: the English captives, of whom some had bin there six yeeres, some eight or ten; yea, and some two and twenty yeeres, and upward, and some of them but lately taken in Sir *Francis Drake*'s last voyage to the *Indies*. The number of the prisoners deliuered were but nine and thirty, and so moe, and were brought in, and deliuered by *Don Amicus de Cerolla* and his brother, and by *Don Pedro de Cerdas*, and certaine others.

If any man presume here so farre, as to inquire how it chanced, that the Lord Generall rested so long at *Cadiz*, and went no further; and why Port Saint *Mary*, being so faire a Towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why *Sherus* alias *Xeres*? And why *Rata*, and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that, or this left vndone? I will not answer him with our common English prouerbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske moe questions in one houre, then ten discrete men can well answer in five dayes. But that grave ancient writer, *Cornelius Tacitus*, hath a wise, briefe, pithy, saying, and it is this: *Nemo tentant inquirere in columnas Hercolis, sanctissq; ac reuerentius habitum est de falsis Deorum credere, quam fere.*

Allo upon my knowledge, the chiefeest cause why Port Saint *Mary*, and the rest, were left untouched, was this: For that it was most certainly known, that they were Townes not worth the saluting of such a royall company, in which there was no manner of wealth in the world left, more then bare houles of stone, and standing walls, and might well haue served rather as a stile, perchance, to haue entrapped, then as a meane to haue enriched.

And thus much for our iourney to *Cadiz*: for the accidents that hapned by the way, for the winning, spoiling, and burning of the said Towne, for the overthrow of the Spanish Fleete there, and for all other by-matters that hapned, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our coming from thence. As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of *Portugally* by the way, with the taking, spoiling, and burning of the Towne of *Faraon*, and marching into the Spanish confines thereabout, &c. I must leave it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as my selfe was not, and shall be of more sufficient ability to performe it.

Meteranus writeth, that the taking of *Cadiz* had so terrified the neighbour townes, that the inhabitants fled out of them; and Saint *Lucar* had beene also very easily taken, if a few ships had assailed it; and that eightene Spanish ships, coming from the *Indies* ignorant of what had hapned, were English at vnawares, being very wealthy.

CHAP. XIII.

The Voyage to the Iles of Azores, under the conduct of the Right Honorable ROBERT Earle of Essex, 1597.

D. I.

The Relation thereof by the said Earle, and other Commissioners.



The Generall, hauing by her Maiesties gracious fauour the charge of her Fleete and Armie, set out of *Plimmonth* in Iune 1597, did both promise my selfe and gave hope to her Maiestie, that I should be able to defeat the King of *Spaine* Fleete, commanded by the *Adelantado*, if I met them at Sea, or destroy it in the harbour of *Ferrol*, if I found them there; as also to master and take all Fleetes of treasure, or of the East or West *Indian* Fleete, that I should finde vpon the Sea in their way to *Spaine*; and lastly, that I should take in the Iland of *Terceira*, which I held an action of equall importance to the other.

With this confidence I went out, and to these ends: but none of these three being performed, it may be doubted, whether we haue not through weakenesse or negligence failed of success. For which we make answere, that if our whole carriage be examined, from the first houre to the last, it shall appeare that we haue striven to attaine to euery one of these with as much obstinate constancie, as any men in the world could doe, and that onely the powerfull hand of God, did binde our hands, and frustrate all our endeoures.

The first for the enterprise of *Ferrol*, we went out of *Plimmonth* the third of Iune, and stiered directly for that port, and when most extreame stormes and contrary windees met with vs, we heate it vp till all our Fleete was scattered, and many of our ships in desperate case. And because I the Generall thought my too loose giuing our would not onely deuide the Fleete, of our principall ship, but absolutely defeat the iourney; I forced my company first to abide the continuall increasing of a most dangerous leak, which I made liue of, because I saw that with labour of men I could free the ship as fast as the leak did grow. Secondly, I made them endure the creaking of both my maine and fore mast, the one in two places, the other in three, so as we still looked when they should be carried by the board; which was not enough to make me beare vp, because I knew whensoever I should loose them both, I could with iurie masts, by Gods fauour, carry the ship home. And I continued so long, that my ships Okam came all out, her fermes opened, her deckes and vpper workes gaue way, her very timbers and maine beames with her labouring did teare like lathes; so as we looked hourly when the Orlope would fall, and the Ordnance sinke downe to the keele: then did those few, whom before I had wonne to stand with me, all protest against me, that if I did not within a minute of an houre beare vp the helme, I did wilfully cast away the ship and whole company.

Then onely I suited my selfe to be overcome; and when I came to *Plimmonth*, halfe her Maiesties ships, and more then halfe the principall officers by sea and by land were put in before mee for the extremitie their ships were in. And when we were all of vs gathered together againe at *Plimmonth*, and had repaired all the ships but mine owne, which was sent home to *Chatham* to be new builded, then were we kept in by continuall storme and contrary windees, till our victuals (which were at first but for three months) were in a manner all spent, and the sicknesse in the Flie boates, that carried the land armie, growne to great, that I had order from her Maiestie to discharge the land forces, all but the thousand old Souldiers, which were drawne out of the *Low Countries*. By which means, though we were disabled to land at *Ferrol*, to beate the land Armie there, and take in the forces, which was the certaine way to command the *Adelantado* Fleete; yet I the Generall ordered her Maiestie to send in certaine ships of fire, and to second them with the Saint *Matthew* and Saint *Andrew*, and some great five-boates, and Merchants ships, with which I would destroy the most of the enemies principall shipping, and leaue all the Queens own English built ships at the mouth of the harbour to assure our retreat. By this means I should hazard to loose but two great Carres, which before I had won, and for the aduenturing of these I defeat the enemies whole Naue. Which counsell being allowed, though with restraint of mine owne going in with these two ships, and an absolute barre to hazard any other, we went out the second time to put this proiect in execution.

But againe ere we could recouer the Spanish coast, the Saint *Matthew*, by losing her foremast, was put backe into England, and the Saint *Andrew* had lost company, till at one instant within sight of the shore of the *Groave*, Sir *Walter Raleigh* the Vice-admirall broke his maine yard, which forced him to beare along to the Westward before the winde; and I in this second ship had such a desperate leak in my side, as when we pumped and holed with buckets as much as we could for our

Crossed with
winde and
stormes.

Danger of the
Admirall ship.

They put in
to *Plimmonth*.

Sicknesse.

Order to dis-
charge land
forces.

Taken feeling
that the
wind was
coming on

Leake reme-
diver

Cape Fimilore

Enterprise of
Feroz ut-
throwne.

The Rocks.

South Cape.

Tercera.

Vidua's fence
after them.False salute of
a small Pinnace
coming from
the Indians.Note, Mistak-
ing.

owne lines, it grew still upon vs: and when we fought by ramming downe peces of Beefe, and holding linnen cloth wrong together, to stop the coming in of the water, it came in notwithstanding so strongly, as it bare downe all, and beate away every man that stood to stop it: Then was I faine to lye by the lee, and make my company worse upon it all night, my matter Carpenter, the only skilful man I had, dying at that very instant.

And when by the great mercy of God we had stopped it, the wind being easterly the Fleet was so rare that a head, as I could not recover the most of them till I came to the Cape Fimilore, where holding a Council, and missing Sir Walter Raleigh (who being off at Sea, had no plying sailes to get up) minding him, I lay, with thirty lictes in the night followed his light, and hearing that the Saint Matthew, being my principal ship for the execution of our intended enterprise, was returned, and being barred to hazard any other in her place, it was by the whole Council of warre concluded, that the enterprise of Feroz was overthrowne both because, though the wind had increased, we wanted the ships appointed for that service, and if we had had the ships, we wanted wind to get into the harbour of Feroz; for the winds blew strongly at South, which would have bin fully in our teeth as we had plied in. And now wee only could thinke of the interpreting of the Indian Fleet, and defeating of the *Adelantado*: it had put to Sea. For to take in *Tercera*, our land army being discharged, we had no means: whereupon we were bare for the height of the Rocks; hoping there (because it was our second *Rendezvous* after Feroz) to meete with Sir Walter Raleigh. Into which height when I came, a message was delivered me from Sir Walter Raleigh, by one Captaine Skibbitt, that the *Adelantado* was gone out of Feroz with his Fleet to *Tercera*, to wait home the West Indian Fleet of treasure, and that hee would attend mine answer off of the *Burlingame*; which message of Sir Walter was grounded upon the report of the Captaine of a ship of *Hampson*, which did confidently deliver it.

I the Generall there calling a Council,ooke a resolution, both because we hoped to meete the *Adelantado* there, and because all our best experienced Seamen did assure vs that it was the likeliest course to meete with the Indian Fleet, to goe for the lands of the *Azores*. And I sent our Pinnaces both to the *Burlingame*, and toward the South Cape (which was our third *Rendezvous*, by our first appointment) to caule Sir Walter Raleigh and all others of our Fleet to follow. And being with the land of *Tercera*, I looked into the roade of *Brasil*, and saw there was no Fleet; whereupon we bare along betwixt Saint George and *Graciosa* for the Island of *Flores*, at which we might both water and take in victuals, which in Mercantile ships her Maisties had sent after vs: and where, if the Indian Fleet did come this yeere, they were like to fall. But when we had spent at *Flores* some ten dayes, in which upon Sir Walter Raleigh and his company came unto vs, by a small Pinnace came from thence or not, and if they did, they would change their viall course, and come in some height more to the Southward, till they were past these lands, where finally they are attended.

Which newes made vs resolve in Council to goe for *Fajal*, and so for Saint Michael, and to have some nimble ships to lye off and on at Sea, both to the Southward and to the Northward. In our plying by *Fajal*, *Graciosa*, and *Pico*, we tooke such commodities and refreshings as those Islands offered: and in passing from them toward Saint Michael, wee were told that a great ship was discovered off of *Graciosa*: whereupon I the Generall gave order to divide and to direct the Fleet into three places: the one to three away East North-east, and to goe along the Northside of *Tercera*; the other East South-east, and to goe by the Southside of the said land, and both to meete in the roade of *Brasil*: so as if the Carackes, or West Indian Fleet should thine to recort *Tercera*, they should be cut off: And the third part of the Fleet should ply to the Westward, which way it was said that the great ship stood, and so to cut it off, if it sought for the roade of *Fajal*: which if the were kept from, *Tercera* was her only place the could put into: and one of these three wayes the most needes stand; for the wind being at North North-west, there could not goe but one of these three courses.

But as I had given this direction, there came to me a small Barke of Line, whose Captaine did confidently assure me, that he was the man that did follow the chiefe, and fetched it up, finding it but a small ship of our owne Fleet: which made vs resolve to continue our former intended course for Saint Michael. But in this mean time, I the Generall hailing the Captaine of a Pinnace, and willing him to call to the ships of my Squadron to follow my light, and those of the Viceadmirals Squadron to follow his light to the Westward (which direction I did presently after countermand) hee misheard, and willed some ships that were next, to stand about to the Westward: which direction, together with his not hearing of me that, which was spoken to countermand it, made four of her Maisties ships, the *Gorland*, the *Marie rose*, the *Dreadnought*, and the *Rancho*, to stand off to the West all that night: of which, Sir William Monson in the *Rancho* fell in the night with the West Indian Fleet; and it being calme, went off in his Boate to make and hale them: which hee did, and made himselfe knowne unto them: and straight rowing to his ship, hee shot off his Ordnance all night, and carried a light in his maine top: whereupon the other three of her Maisties ships stood off with him, but could not reach

up the *Spania*: till they were gotten into *Tercera* Road; before which, after they had striued in vaine to get to them, they plied till my coming, which was three dayes after: for I was hard aboard the Westmost part of Saint Michael before I heard these newes.

And then standing about, I the Generall being on head of the Fleet, met in my way with a great Ship of the Governour of *Havana*, and a Frigate of the *Spanish* King, manned with the said Kings Souldiers, and another Frigate of a particular man, in which three I reached out,ooke, and manned for the late bringing home of the Ship and goods, and fell the next night being Saturday, the of of *Tercera*, where finding the wind strong at North-west, we plied with as much faile as ever we could beare to get up to the roade of *Brasil* that night. All Sunday, and Sunday night, and till Monday morning wee could not weather the point of *Brasil*: which when we had done, while the Generall gathered such of the Fleet as were nere, I sent in a Pinnace of my Lord of *Cumberland*, and four or five of very sufficient Captaines and Masters, to see whether it were possible for vs to get up where the Ships roade: and they brought me backe word, it was impossible. With which I being not satisfied plied in with mine owne Ship, keeping aboard with mee two or three of the principall Officers, that wee might light by the eye, and disperse upon the place; and when wee were in, wee saw the bottomes of the Bay (into which they were towed and warped) lay right in the eye of the wind: so as to lead it in with a faile it was impossible, and to turne it up would aske an whole day, if wee had hope, but both wee must upon either board come within a quoytes call off their Ports, and yet our Ships would wend in so narrow a place, wee should have bene on shoare. Which manifest discovery, and not the idle Shor of all the Ports and Ships, though they were verie liberall, made mee stand off againe.

And as it was impossible to doe any thing for the present, so when I the Generall called all the Captaines of her Maisties Ships together, and enquired the estate of their charge, I found that some by the night had loste their Caskes and baggage of Beere, had not above two dayes, and some not one dayes unke aboard; and that which most of vs all had did to thinke, as our men dyed and fell sicke continually, and all men protested, that if wee stayed to attend change of windes, and did not instantly seeke a watering place, both men and Ships were absolutely lost. Besides we saw the Gallions had bene vladied by their shewing their white bellies so much above water, and that the Merchants Ships lay all dry on shoare; so as we had abidden the extreame hazard of her Maisties troupes and Ships, for the burning of a few dry vladen Veffils.

Thus were we driven to beare the second time with Saint Michael (our chiefe end being to water, but withall to sacke the land if we could land nere the principall Towne) where wee came to an anchor before *Punta Delgada* the chiefe Towne; and forthwith went in a little nimble Boar to discover the landing places, which we found to be exceeding dangerous. For as about all these Islands of the *Azores* a Westerly wind bringeth in the hollow mother Sea, so the wind then being West Southerly blew trade, and made both a great Sea gate or wall upon the shoare, and a dangerous roade. So as besides the apparant likelihood, that our men had been all lost by the overturning of our Boats upon our heads: the loss of our Boats, which could not have bene in that place assailed, had kept vs from watering, and so had bene the manifest destruction of the whole Fleet. Whereupon, I the Generall, lesuing commandement of the great Ships with Sir Walter Raleigh (because the Lord Thomas Howard desired to land mee) accompanied with his Lord's Ship, and all the other principall Officers and persons of quality in the Army, I put my selfe in the small Ships, and towed the boats at our Sterns to seeke another small Bay on the other side of the Point to the Eastward, called *Punta de Galera* or *Galy Point*, where there was a Land Fange, and consequently a smoother landing.

But we putting off in this manner at eleven of the clocke at night, I the Generall in a Pinnace of Sir Walter Raleigh, called the *Guiana*, wherein all the Officers of the Land Army did accompany me, & the Adventurers of quality that came out of my Ship in another Pinnace with Captain Arthur Champernon came to an anchor in this Bay; but so dangerously as wee were put from our anchor, and had like to have bene cast away: all the rest of the Fleet being put to leeward very farre. The next morning at the breake of the day, being driven as low as *Villa Franca*, and there finding a good landing place, wee set our troupes on shoare; where wee found (besides many other commodities with which we refreshed our troupes) a better watering place, and a safer roade than any other that was about that land. Which, together with the impossibility of getting our small Ships and Boats to ply backe againe five leagues against the wind, and to meet vs that should have marched by land, and they seeing of many of the Queens principall ships driven from their anchors about, and come to *Villa Franca*. These accidents, I say, made vs to resolve to draw all the Fleet to our place, and there to water with all possible diligence.

And wee being there saw it was so dangerous for our Ships to ride, the wind growing more Southerly as on Sunday the fifteenth of October, wee re-embarked all our men; the Masters of the Ships having before protested, that if they were put from their anchors, as hourly they looked to be, that the Fleet and Land Forces were in danger to be feared for this whole Winter: So as to have hazarded her Maisties honour, and so many gallant men, for that which was

The Indian
Fleet recut
the Route of
Tercera.Three Spanish
Ships taken.Want of pro-
visions.Punta Delgada
in Saint Michael.Punta de
Galera.They land nere
Villa Franca.O the other
five.

This returne.

neuer any of our ends, had been as vnwise as it was vnwise; and if the counsell of retryng were good, the manner of it was without taxation: for wee imbarcked first of all our idle persons, leauesly our aduocates, and the old Companies one after another; and when wee had but three hundred and fiftie men on shore, the enemy marching in fight of our Guards, we went out to meet him, and stood two hundred furlongs flie with the whole Forces of the Island, till at last they retired out of fight. Thus left wee that Island, the principall Commanders by Land and Sea following to bring off the last man. In this meane time, while the Land Forces were at *Vila Franca*, and the Fleet at *Punta Delgada*, there came into that Road a Caracke and a small *Brigantin*. The Caracke presently ran her selfe on the Rocks; and after her men had faced themselves, the last for her on his with all the goods in her, to auoid her being taken. Which Sir Walter Raleigh and those with him could not possibly auoid. The *Brigantin* was taken, and the Ship being found leakie, the goods were taken out and put into *English* Ships.

And now wee haue giuen account of all our whole carriage untill we bare for England. If one coming home scattering be objected, wee must plead the violence of stormes, against which no fore directions, nor present industry can preuaile. Wee must conclude with this, That as wee would haue acknowledged that wee had done but our duties, if we had defeated the *Admirall*, interpreted the Feet of Treasure, and conquered the Islands of the *Azores*; So wee haue fulfilled of nothing that God gaue vs meanes to doe: I wee hoped her Maestie will thinke our painful dayes, careful nightes, euill diet, and many hazards deserve not now to be measured by the current, the like honourable and iust contriution wee promise our selves at the hands of all my Lords. As for others, that haue left warme at home and defant vpon vs, wee know they lacked strength to performe more, and beleue they lacke courage to aduenture too much.

Signed

E S S E X.

Thomas Howard. Chof. Mountjoy.
Walter Raleigh. Fran. Vere.
Antony Sherley. Christ. Blount.

B. II.

A larger Relation of the said Island Voyage, written by Sir ARTHUR GORGES Knight, collected in the *Queenes* Ship called the *Waft Spire*, wherein he was then Captaine; with Marine and Martiall Discourses added according to the Occurrences.

Hefelles of the *Azores* are situate in the *Atlanticke* or Westerne Ocean, and doe stand betwene 37 and 40. degrees, and distant from England 400. leagues. They are in number nine, namely Saint *Maries*, Saint *Michael*, The *Tercera*, *Graiafa*, *S. Georges*, *Pagos*, *Faya*, *Flores*, and *Cerno*.

This name of *Azores* was giuen vnto these Islands by the *Portugues*, of a kind of Hawkes called by them *Afores* (which wee name *Gullhawkes*, and the Latines *Accipitres*) whereof there did breed great store in those Iles: But *Orellanus* sets downe this name to be giuen of the French word *Esofer*, which signifieth, to dry or wither, but yieldeth no reason whythall for this. The *Netherlanders* doe call them the *Flemish* Islands, challenging that they were first discovered by the Merchants of *Bridges*, who found them merely vninhabited, abounding with Woods and Cedar Trees, whether they tent Colonies to people and manure them. And afterwards in proceesse of time they yielded the felous Subiects to the *Portugues*, who since did imitate and gouerne there, so as so long with them they are fallen vnder the power of the *Spanish* vlturpation.

Amongst these Islands the *Tercera* is the chiefe, but is called by the *Spaniards*, because it lieth the third land distant from the Coast of *Spain*. It is plentiful of Fruit and Corne, and hath some Vines growing in it. The Inhabitants doe make great benefit and trade of *Oade* to dye Clothe, which groweth there in great plenty: The chiefe Towne in that Island is called *Angra*, and hath thereunto a very strong Fortresse, called *Braxil*, and vnder it a Road for shipping to land, but an Haven or safe Port for all weathers, there is not one amongst these nine Islands.

The *Pago* is so called of a sharpe Mountaine, rising heeple wise fone three miles in height and fix or seven miles in circuit at the foot; falshood is it is upward like an Hill, and the top thereof most commonly to be differed within and about the clouds. This Mountaine hath in it

Tide and Marginall Notes, not defalted any of the Authors (after my wome in others, nor to make their writings more, but, like the rediuidell in too often repetitions by oten retailers, and the superfluous being such as would deterre the Reader.) The vices I haue viously put in another letter, to distinguish them from the History; the one as the Eyes of the Reader, and both worthy both thine eyes and minds better observation. Hee added also Notes touching the Name *Kyph*, which is worthy the no name, but rather not to be permitted to every vulgar and nosell eye. Some euen a *Kyph* is so called, because it causeth paines, and hee labour may reap the reward of a wretched day. I am loth to buy reputation,

report: many great hollow Caves and deepe Vaults, and it is credibly reported, that oftentimes it creates out flames and sparkes of fire, as doth the Mountaine *Aetna*. Also at the bottom of this Mountaine, towards the East, there is a great Spring of Fresh-water, which is teen many times to issue out flakes and stones of fire with great violence, and of the number and bignesse of the stones that are throwne out by the force and force of this Spring, and what huge works they make of the multitudes of them, they confidently doe tell strange wonders, which I will neither ascribe nor deny, but leave indifferent to credit as men will.

Faya is so called of *Faya*, which in the *Portugues* signifieth a Beech Tree, wherewith that Island is said to abound. But yet I saw there more store of Lumper and Cedar, then of any other Wood or Timber. For Aire and Soyle, it is as pleasant and fruitful, as any of the other Islands, and in it are some fine Townes with many pretty Villages; and in this Island there are yet remaining certain families of the *Flemish* race. *Graiafa* is so called of the exceeding fruitfulness of the Soyle and pleasant temper of the Ayre. *Flores*, of the abundance of Flowers that grow in it. *Cerno*, of the multitude of Ravens and Crows breeding therein. And that Island doth also breed Horses. Saint *Maries*, Saint *George*, and Saint *Michael*, were so called of choic Saintes names, vpon whole dayes they were first discovered; for such is the custome of many Nauigators, and especially of the *Spaniards* and *Portugues*, to call those Landes that they first make by the Saintes day and name wherein they are discovered. And these three Islands for temper and fruitfulness are to be added with the others: But Saint *Michael* is the greatest of them all, *Tercera* the strongest, and Saint *Maries* the nearest to the Coast of *Spain*.

But now as wee come neerer to our intended purpose, for the better vnderstanding thereof, I thinke it very necessary and pertinent somewhat to speake of the chiefe Commanders, as well by Sea as by Land, and also of the number of our Ships and Soulliers, together with the protect and designe of that journey then vnderaken for the service of her late Maestie, and the Honour of our Nation.

It is therefore to be vnderstood, that *Robert Dennerius*, late Earle of *Essex*, Master of the Horse and Ordnance, and Knight of the Garter: First commanded in chiefe, as well Admirall of the Naue by Sea, as General of the Armie by Land. His Vice-Admirall was the Lord *Thomas Howard* Knight of the same Order, and second Sonne to the late *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, a Nobleman much honoured and beloued, and of great experience in Sea service. His Reare-Admirall was Sir *Walter Raleigh* Knight, Captaine of her Maesties Guard, Lord Warden of the Stanneries, and Lieutenant of *Cornwall*. For the Land service, his Lieutenant General was Sir *Charles Blunt*, Lord *Mountjoy*, Knight of the Garter, Governour of *Portsmouth*, and a man in high fauour with her late Maestie. His Marshall of the Field was Sir *Francis Vere* Knight, a great Souldier, and Correll General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*. The Master of the Ordnance, Sir *George Carew* Knight, Lieutenant of the Ordnance of the Kingdom of *England*. His Sergeant Major, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Knight, Governour of the Forts of *Plymouth*. The Correll General of the Foot Sir *Christopher Blunt* Knight: The Tresurer of the Armie Sir *Hugh Boyle* Knight, one of her Maesties Receiues General in the Principallities of *Wales*, with all other Officers designed to places requisite that were needful by Land or Sea, now too long to rehearse. And yet of all the Noblemen I will as neere as I can record their names particularly; but craue pardon if I faile in the precedence of their places.

The Earles of *Essex*, *Rutland* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Howard*, the Lord *Audley*, the Lord *Gray*, the Lord *Chesham*, the Lord *Rich*, and the Lord *Cremore*. But the particular names of all the Land Captaine that had charge I could neuer come to the knowledge of, much lesse can I Marshall them orderly in this discourse. And therefore I will pae to the number of the Ships in general, and therein name some particulars of the chiefe and principall Vessells of the Royall Naue, with their Captaines.

The whole Naue (which was diuided into three Squadrons, viz. The Admirall his Squadron, The Vice-Admirall his Squadron, and the Reare-Admirall his Squadron) consisted of 120. galleys, or thereabout; whereof fixtie were good men of Warre and gallant Ships, therett Victuallers, and Ships of Transportation. Of her Maesties owne Ships the number was eighteen or nineteen, and these were their names. The *Mothermost* Admirall, whereof Sir *Robert Mansfield* was Captaine: The *Doe Repulse* Vice-Admirall, whereof Master *Middleton* was Captaine: The *Waft Spire* Reare-Admirall, whereof my selfe was Captaine: The *Carleand* the Earle of *Southampton* commanded: The *Defiance* wherein the Lord *Mountjoy* was shipped, had for Captaine Sir *Amias Preston*: The Saint *Mathew* to Sir *George Carew*, Master of the Ordnance: The *Mary Rose* to Sir *Francis Vere* Marshall, whose Captaine was M. *John Winton*: The *Dread-nought* Sir *William Brooke* was Captaine of: The *Nonpareil* Sir *Richard Lyster* was Captaine of: The *Bo* *William Brooke* was Captaine of: The *Antelope* Sir *Thomas Vaulser* was Captaine of: The *Nonpareil* Sir *William Mansfield* was Captaine of: The *Swiftsure* Sir *Gilly Merckie* was Captaine of: The *Golden Lion* was sent after for a supply. The *Hope*, whereof was Captaine The *Forester*, whereof Sir *George Reginald* was Captaine: The Saint *Andrew*, whereof Master *Marellin* *Throckmorton* was Captaine: The *Tramontana*, whereof young Master *Fenner* was Captaine: The

Faya.

Graiafa.

Flores.

Cerno.

S. Marijs, &c.

Commanders
names, and
chief officers.

Noblemen
employed in
this service.

The Naue
consisting of
three Squad-
rons and 120.
galleys. The
Queenes
Ships and their
Captaines.

The rest of the Fleet.

Ten Holborn Land-Army.

Five hundred Volunteers gallantly tar-minth. The designe.

Interactor Tercera.

Portland.

Plymouth.

The *Adone*, whereof Sir Edward Michelborne was Captain. Besides that there were some other of her Majesties small Pinnares that attended the Fleet.

The residue or the Fleet aforementioned consisted of the best shipping of London, and other Port-Towns of the Kingdom, with sundry thoe Vessels belonging to some Lords and Gentlemen that were Adventurers in this Voyage. There were also added to this Naue tenne sayle of good men of Warre, sent from the States of the Low-Countries to attend her Majesties Fleet in this service, under the conduct of one *Monsieur de Duqueroide*, well manned and furnished.

The Land Army (besides Saylers that might be afforded and spared upon occasion of landing) consisted of six thousand able men well appointed, with ten Pieces of Artillery for the Field and Battery, with all necessary Ventials fit for them. The proportion of victuals was for four months at large allowance, & double apparell both for Souldiers and Mariners. In this Armie there went 10 Knights, Captaines, and Gentlemen, volunteers five hundred at the least; as gallant paradiages, and as brauely furnished, as ever the eye of men did behold. The list of whole names I did tenderly inquire after, thereby to doe them right, but could by no means compasse it.

The end and purpose of this great Preparation was, to the taking in of most of those Islands, and especially of the winning of the Tercera it selfe. The which was refused to have beene attempted by us, and the other Islands and Holds of importance, and in some of them to have placed strong Garrison, if it had pleased God to have prospered the journey with happy success: But in the very beginning with long contrary winds, and extreme of foule weather, the maine plot and ground of this enterprise was hindered and maimed, as hereafter more at large shall be related in due place. But this intended journey for the surprizing and taking of the Tercera alone, if it had taken effect (without any further respect to the other Islands, then only to have sacked them and razed to the Fortresses they have) had beene a service of great consequence for us, and as prejudiciall to the King of Spaine, as any action that was ever undertaken against him, since the revolt of the Low-Countries: The which is to be done in particular, would square more ample discourse, then either my lease, or my memory can suddenly afford. But what great world and benefit both the Portugues did, and the Spaniards doe make of this Islands is in daily experience. And as for that dare Allegation, how difficult and inconvenient it would be for us to hold a peace so farre off as men of their true Indgements would easily aswerse. For as well it might be demanded, how the Forts are held in the East Indies by the poore Portugues against mightie Nations, and yet so farre remote from Christendome: And how Rhodes and Cyprus were heretofore long kept in despite of the Turks in their very forme. And how the Spaniards of late have kept certaine places in Brittain, and Ameyens, and Callice in Picardie, manage the force of France, and neuer quitted them but by composition: And God knowes how long Don John D'Lygna would have kept Kinsale and Beare Castle, if the place had bin placed halfe so terrible, as these of the Tercera: or but the south part so remote from us, as the Tercera is from Spaine. Undoubtedly their industry and patience is far beyond ours, both in getting and holding matters of more difficultie. But vaine it is to set a price of the Beares skin before bee be slaine; although I am verily perswaded, that the contrary winds only lost vs both that, and all the King of Spaine his treasure that came that yeere to the Tercera. For the journey was carried with as great secrecie, expedition, and Royall preparation, as ever was any the like many yeeres, and they on the contrary as slenderly provided, and little doubting any such attempt. When all things were thus ordered, and wee furnished of our necessities after some few daies abode in *Sandwich* for the meeting, mustering, and imbarking of our Land Army, about the five and twentieth of June, in the yeere 1597. we set sail from the *Downe*, and within threedayes with skant winds recovered *Portland* Rhode, where we anchored and staid some six or seven daies, taking in men and victuals at *Weymouth*, and thence we made for *Plymouth*, where wee were to take in our fresh water, much of our provisions, and most of our Mariners; besides that this place was appointed the very rendezvous for the knitting up and dispatch of this Voyage: whether in a day and a nights sayle wee came, but with very extreme foule weather. In so much that even in the entrance of the very Harbour, many of our Ships falling loose one of another were sorely distressed. The Lord Mountjoy his Ship the *Defiance*, had her Beake head stricken cleane off, and the *Saint Maure* (being a Spanish Ship of great charge, very leeward and drawing much water) had like in the tempest to have runne her selfe upon the Rocks, had not her Captain Sir *George Carew* Master of the Ordnance, bene very resolute and careful in that extremity, when a great part of his Souldiers and Saylers would have abandoned her, and betaken themselves to their Ship-boats, to shun the imminent perill that threatened them: which he staid to the preservation of the Ship and the company. Moreover a Fleet-boat of our Train, who had in her fortie Last of Powder was likewise bulged, and all the store had bene vterly lost, had not the Master of the Ordnance with like care and diligence bestowed himselfe to save all that hee might, who with the aid of many Ship-boats, as the Fleet-boat was sinking, saved the greatest part of her lading. Yet notwithstanding threenteen Lasts of Powder was vterly spoiled with the Salt-water, as I heard the Master of the Ordnance himselfe affirme.

Thus with great difficultie wee arrived at *Plymouth*, where within six or seven daies our whole Army and Naue met, and withall the shipping of the Low-Countries came to us. And thence after having watered and taken in all our provisions and Martins, and mustered our men, we imbarked

our Army, and let sayle about the ninth of July, and for two dayes space were accompanied with a faire leading North-easterly wind. In which time we received a ship-board all our directions throughout the Naue, with such orders and instructions as are vterly let downe by an Admirall, and a Countell or Warre, together with the places of meeting from time to time upon any occasions of separations by stormes, by fight, by quing chafe, or any other accidents. This order of delivering directions when a Fleet is a Sea-board, and not before, as our use grounded upon many good reasons: as to avoid the revealing of secret plots, and the prevention of sudden execution. As also to the discouraging of diners that doe often expose themselves and their adventures to Sea actions, either for lone to the Commanders, or out of hope of Purchase, or for many other respects, which perhaps they would not doe if they knew indeed either the danger, or the true ends of some preparations. And this secret manner of proceeding hath bin often used by Philip the late King of Spaine, in diners great expeditions, who hath bene so precise and severe therein, as that oftentimes the Admiralls of his Fleets themselves have not knowne their instructions, nor bene suffered to open them, until they have bene thrice or forse leagues on their way. Wee now being in this faire coast, some fixtie leagues onwards our journey with our whole Fleet together, there suddenly arose a fierce and tempestuous storme full in our teeth, continuing for foure dayes with so great violence, as that now every one was enforced rather to looke to his owne safetie, and with a low saile to leue the Seas, then to beat it up against the stormy winds to keepe together, or to follow the directions for the places of meeting. And herefrome began to taste the inconvenience and perill of high Cargued Ships drawing little water, and overcharged with mightie Ordnance in a furious high wrought Sea. And now also our thows found and felt the mischief of weak built Vessells, and of rotten Tackle. For this extremity of weather was so great, as that wee were all one after another forced backe againe, some into *Plymouth*, and diers into other Harbours on that Coast, so extremely shaken and beaten, as that the Admirall was in danger to have foundred in the Seas, having many leaks broken out upon him, and his mid-ship beame injured in funder. And yet (as wee understood after) some three or foure of the foremost of our Fleet (whereof the Earle of *Soubthampton* in the *Garland* was said to be one) did recover sight of the North-Cape, but yet forced to returne againe to *Plymouth*.

And many of our Gentlemen and Knights, with this boylerous and bitter entertainment on the Seas, returned extreme weak and lay dangerously sicke long after: In so much that some of them dyed thereof at *Plymouth*, and were there honourably buried by the Generall. Some also were so much weakened and disordered, as that they were not able to recover strength to put to the Seas againe, as Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* our Sergeant Major, in whole place our Generall did appoint Sir *Anthony Sherly*; and Sir *Carew Reynolds* Captaine of the *Forefight*, so severely weakened with Seasicknesse, as that his charge was delivered over to Sir *Alexander Ratcliffe*, a very forward and gallant young Gentleman, who (not long after) was slaine in the Warres of *Ireland*, with Sir *Cummers Clifford* Gouvernour of *Connaught*. And amongst others in the beginning of this bitter storme, our Treasurer Sir *Hugh Bilton* was also so extremely afflicted with Seasicknesse, and in so great hazard of life, as that out of the *Walffsite* (wherein he was shippe) he was imbarked into a Cuttell of our traine to returne for *England*, seeing his weak body vnable to vndergoe the resolution of his mind. And I thinke this losing of our Treasurer in the beginning, was an ominous preface of the losse of the infinite Treasures, which afterward so vniclucky palt by and escaped vs.

Wee being thus with contrary winds, and extremity of weather beaten backe into severall Haues, and yet at last meeting at *Plymouth* (except some few Ships of transportation, that were driven vpon the Coasts of *France*, *Wales*, and *Ireland*, with some of our Bands of Souldiers) we fell to repairing of our Ships, and to amend those impretions which the Seas and stormes had dicovered. But withall were enforced to abate a great part of the first proportion of our Armie, as well through the defects of the Admirall his Ships, and others, as also for the watte and expence which wee had made of our drinke and victuals by the leaking of the Caske, and by the abundance of Salt-water, which was taken in during the storme, to the wetting and spoiling of many of our provisions. Besides that, much of our beere aboard thoe Victuallers that followed our Fleet with diers other provisions, was very v.le and vnvaloury of it selfe, by the great abuse of the Victuallers and *London* Brewers, as well for the careless brewing, as for the vnseasonable stinking Caske which they deliuer, fault much vied among them, and too much tolerated, considering the infinite ra and gaines they make of selling *Thames* water, beyond all good order and proportion. But as God would, at that instant when wee had discharged our Ships of that vnseasonable poisonous drinke, there came very happily into *Plymouth* for a supply, a tall prize laden with Spanish Canary Wines, which was distributed amongst the Fleet to make Beuerture. And in this fort vsing all in lustry and diligence for the setting afixe of our forme-beaten Naue, wee so trotted our felues againe within eight or ten dayes, as that wee were ready for a new fortune. But yet this violent and dangerous tempest had so cooled and battered the courages of a great many of our young Gentlemen (who seeing that the boylerous winds and mercurielle Seas, had neither affinitie with *London* decaie, nor Court brauery) as that discharging their high Plumes, and imbrodered Collickes, they secretly retired themselves home, forgetting either to bid their friends farewell, or to take leave of their Generall. And here by the way a little to digress,

Set sail.

Instructions to the voyage and instructions touching instructions.

Storme.

Perill of high carged Sea of weak ships.

Returne to Plymouth.

Great sicknesse.

Sir A. Sherly placed in roome of Sir F. Gorges.

Sir Alexander Ratcliffe. The Treasures his ominous departure.

Brewers fault.

A Prize.

Sweety Wines and brauery not with canary Sillery.

Advice for
Galeati.

I think it not amiss justly to reprehend and tax our Nation, for their vnproper and vaine manner of going to the Warres, and especially those that had neuer seen service. For bee bee poore or rich when bee first prepares to go to sea, bee will take more care, and be at more cost to provide himselfe of a royling Feather, and a chynclant Coat, then to bee furnished either of fit Armes, or of necessary clothing to keepe out wet and cold: whereby they come both to the Sea and Field service, rather like *Maadry* then *Souldiers*, as men apter to bring *spoyle* for the Enemy, than to conquer or win honore from him. And yet at the last, the want of their needfull habilliments in times of extremitie, doth make them truly to finde their owne error, and *superfluous* vanitie in those idle and fruitlesse toys: whereof I could wish reformation, as well for the bettering of our service, as also for abating such needlesse expences. Such were the garb troops and gilded Armes of *Darius*, abounding in pompe and delicacy: whose millions of *estimates* 10
Partians were euer dispersed and defeated by handfuls of the poore and hardie *Macedonians*. So were the Steele edged Souldiers of that renowned *Hannibal*, metamorphosed into *Cowards* and *Sluts*, after they had once relished the pride and delicacies of *Capua*, for their conquests euer after declined. So was also that famous *M. Antonius* overborne and vanquished, when he left the strict *Martiall* discipline of the owne vntirious Countrey, and followed his Forces according to the brauery and luxury of *Egypt*, to observe the humour of *Cleopatra*, who had utterly corrupted and weakened the courage both of him and his legions, with vanities, excesses, and idleness. And such in our dayes were the glorious glistring French troops led by the Duke of *St. Polt*, being for the most part compounded of the gallant Courtiers and dancing *Adonis* of *Henry the Third* French King of that name, but beaten and overborne at the Battell of *Courtray*, by the valiant King of *Nauarre*, and an handful of his poore *Hugonotes* (as they then termed them.) Farre otherwise was the want and manner of those worthy *Romans*, that by their wisdom 20
and valour made themselves famous, and Lords over the World, whose glorious examples wee doe more willingly read then follow. They going a warfare departed *Rome* in obedience and strictnesse of *Martiall* discipline, in sobriety of diet and attire, fitted with Armes, like men that knew that *Iron* and *Steel* were murthering mettalls ouer *Gold* and *Siluer*, and having achieved and performed their enterprises, returned then home in triumph, in glory, and in pride, lining in the *spoyle* and riches of their vanquished Enemies, and adorned with as much *sumptuousnesse* as they could get, brauing them in their conquered Coast, and setting to the show of the world the fruits of their *Valour* and *Travailes*. Whereas wee for the most part contrarie going out bravely, and returning home againe beggarly, leave no other testimony nor records of our Enterprises and Victories, either to the living or to posteritie, then the *Merchants* booke wherein we are 30
deeper plunged, even to the mortgage or sale of our Inheritance, to convert the true honour of *Souldiers* into effeminate pompe and delicacy. But now to the matter: We hauing in this Fort repaired and supplied the defects of our weather beaten Naue, onely attended the fauour of the winds; wherein it seemed the heauens were vnder enemies to our desires. For during the space of an whole month together (after wee were againe ready) the weather flood flat opposite to our course, in so much that wee were not able to worke our felous out of the Harbour. And in this consumption of Time we lost the best season of the yee for our purpose, and also greatly decayed our victuals and prouisions; besides the number of our Souldiers and Mariners that daily diminished. And about this time the Lord *Roch* finding himselfe (as many others did) altogether vnable to indure the inconueniences of the Seas in a long and toilsome voyage, tooke his leaue of our Generall, and gaue ouer the iourney. In this extremitie of contrary winds and cross-fortunes (against which the policie and power of man could not preuaile) our Generall, with the aduice of his counsell relied vpon some other course, and to fashon his enterprises according to opportunitie, and the proportion of the meanes that remained. And thereupon calling the greatest part of his Land Arme, he onely retained one thousand of the best Souldiers (as was thought) most of them being Companies brought out of the Low-Countries: And also at that time hee discharged diuers of the smaller Ships, and many of the Victuallers, taking out of them such prouisions and store as remained to supply that which was spent, and to lengthen out the time for those lesser numbers that were to be employed. And whilst these things were thus altering and ordering, and committed to the care and charge of discreet Officers: Our Admirall himselfe, with his Rere-Admirall resolved to ryle putt to the Court, to receive further directions or approbation in that he intended for his Maestie, and the Lords of the Councell. Leaving the charge both of the Naue and Souldiers in his absence, with the Lord *Thomas Howard* his Vice-Admirall, and the Lord *Montjoy* his Lieutenant Generall by Land, whom hee authorized, together with the Councell of Warre, to marshall those affaires as occasion required. Here by it may be easily considered what it is for men 40
to undertake Sea-affaires, that haue not great meanes to follow the same, with prouisions and allowance of superfluitie to meet with lets and misadventures, and not to depend on the bare ordinarie prouisions of fit proportion. For by this great cross of ours, we may well take knowledge how vn certaine and difficult it is to set out and prepare a Sea Army, except it bee on the parts and defraits of a Prince, able and willing to supply the expences and kindredances of such wast and accidents, as doe many times happen by want of winds when all things else are on readinesse, wherein oftentimes the overslipping, and not taking of six houres advantage of wind when it hath serued, hath overborne a Voyage. And it bea to my knowledge is fallen out, that some Ship: that haue taken a present gale of a day, by the benefit thereof haue performed their Voyage, and returning againe into the Harbour, finding others of them

Note.

Still crossed.

Lord Rob de-
pense in.Land Army
called.Sea-affaires
require Princi-
ples.Small time
great losse.

their comfort bound for the same place, and ready at the same time, still sticking fast at anchor, by leaving the same opportunitie.

In this absence of our Generall at the Court, there fell out such extreme stormy weather, as that it greatly troubled and puzzled our Ships, both in *Plimouth* Road, and in the *Cat Water*, in so much that many of their anchors came home, and a Ship of the Rere-Admiralls, of three hundred Tunnes, called the *Roe-buck*, draue a ground and bulged her selfe, and so became vnsecurable for that iourney, although much paines and care was taken of all hands, and especially by our Vice-Admirall himselfe in his owne person, to have preferred her. During all this time of our abode in *Plimouth*, (which was some six or seuen weekes) we neither found cy-ther want or death of any manner of victuals, either in the Towne, where our Mariners were daily resident, or in the Countrey, where the Land Army was quartered; nor yet that extreame manner of inhauling the prices of all things vied in *London*, and in other places of the Realme, vpon the extraordinary assembling of any such great troupes. And withall it is strange to see, how happily that poore corner of *England*, doth often receive and sustaine so many Armies and Fleets, as doe there many times meet, without any of those inconueniences or alterations, that vpon the like occasion are found, in many other more thick and fruitful parts of the Kingdome.

Our Generall (as is aforesaid) hauing spent now fixe or seuen dayes in that iourney to the Court, returned with a resolution to continue the voyage to the Seas, and there (as intelligence 20
fell out) to follow the best courses in spending the rest of the Summer, and the remainder of his victuals; all sorts being very sorry, that so great preparations should haue utterly quailed without effecting, or attempting something of worth. Wee therefore now propoied to our felous, that by carrying out till the last of October, (for the which time we were victualled after the Land Army was discharged) wee might range the Coast of *Spaine*, and so doe seruice in some of the Kings shipping, or else lying in the height betweene the *Rocke* and the *South Cape*, wee might intercept some *Indian Fleet* or *Carrackes*, either outwards or homeward bound, or at the least wee might meete and fight with the *Adelantado*, who was then said to be preparing of a Fleet, and ready to put to the Seas. Besides there was a brute giuen out, that our Generall meant to attempt the *Groyne* or *Ferrall*, and there to distresse some of the Kings shipping that lay in the Harbour. But what sooner pretences and speeches were giuen out for that matter; both our Generall, and the wisest of his Counsell of Warre, did well enough knowe, that the *Groyne* or *Ferrall* were then no morsell fit for our meates, our Forces being so abated, and those places so well warned and provided for, by our long delays and impediments, besides there was no likelihood; that wee would euer engage so many of her Maesties best Ships, within the circuit and mercy of those Harbours, vpon so great disadvantage and hazard, as they must haue ad- 30
mured in doing any good on any of them, as they were then furnished. But wee daily say that it is the manner and fashion of great Estates and Commanders in the Wars, to giue out and pretend many things, that indeed they intend not, as well to make their names the more famous and terrible, as also many times to amaze the world with false Alarums, thereby either to hold their true purposes the more secret, or at least to giue them the better speed and passage, by diuerting the Enemyes. A custome neither new nor vsuall: and therefore not repeated as any extraordinary obseruation. In this sort all things being ordered and repaired, and our Generall returned with full Commission and reletution to proceed: his Lordship in stead of the *Marchenour* (which was so weakened and disabled, as that hee could not goe forth againe this iourney) shipped himselfe in the *Dwrepulse*, which was Vice-Admirall, and our Vice-Admirall tooke vnto himselfe the *Lyon*, in lieu of the other. And on Wednesday, being the feuenteenth of August, 1597, a little before sunne setting, we wayed our Anchors, and set sayle, but with much labour got out of *Plimouth* Road, being forced to vie our Tow-boates, to set vs cleere of the Harbour, the winds being somewhat slacke and scant. Notwithstanding, afterwards a fea-boord, we finding the weather more fauourable, held our course for the North Cape, and the three and twentieth of 50
August, wee fell awhart the Bay of *Alchoffer*, and at last bare full in with it. The which Bay of *Alchoffer*, the Master of our Ship (called *Brondebant*) much disliked, thinking it very inconuenient and perillous for to great a Fleet, so wilfully to be imbayed vpon an Enemies Coast, but yet followed the Generalls course.

The foure and twentieth of the same month, being *Bartholmes day*, wee met a feule storme in that Bay, most extreemly violent for the time, but lasted not about fixe or fixe houres. In which storme the *S. Matthew*, whereof Sir *George Carey*, Master of the Ordnance, was Captaine two houres before day falling into an head Sea, hauing her Spright-fayle out, brake out-board her Bolt-spright, and Fore-mast close to the Partners, which for the Ships safetie was cut from her side: In the Fore-top four Mariners were drowned, keeping their watch there, and the fall of the Mast broke two Anchors, and carried the third into the Sea, vpon which distaier (according to the manner of the Sea) some Ordnance was discharged, and many Lanternes hanged vpon the throwdes, to giue notice of her distresse in the night. But after day light, the *Garland* (whereof the Earle of *Southampton* was Captaine) drew neere to her succour, who beholding

Harmes by
Stormes.Good order
for prouision
at *Plimouth*.

Pretences:

Bay of *Alchoffer*.S. *Matthew* was
distressed.

ued vpon *Allhollenday* in the *Downes*, beyond all expectation of the Masters and Mariners, who made no other reckoning then to be lost.

S. Andrew.

Course of the Fleet.

Brauados often unreasonable.

Wasteful dis- tressed.

S. M. Brooke.

Vice-Admiral care.

Ramons.

And thele were the accidents that separated *Sir George Carow* from the Fleet, in the huge stormes on *Barbilmow* day, in the Bay of *Alcalá*, as aforesaid. In which storme the *Saint Andrew* at that time spent her mayne port Malt, and lost vs for three or four dayes, but all the rest of the Fleet, (except our Ships, which carried the *Low-Country* Soldiers) kept together in the Bay, And so many as came to vs after at the *Rocke*, were beaten aloft from the Admiral in that Bay, and so were many other Ships, which found vs after at the *Rocke*, to the number of thirty and oddle sayle. Whereupon a rumour was afterward raised, that the Reare-Admirall was gone away with sayle. Thewhich manner of discovering our selves (as I do remember) was much noted by diuers good Souldiers, as well by Sea, as Land: for indeed it was reputed no great policie, nor discretion in vs, to run in so close aboard the *hoare*, if we had any secret or sudden exploit to performe on that Coast, as it was pretended. For that *Brauado* of ours, did but give them more warning to provide for their selves, and to prevent vs. And I haue obserued that these brauado humours, haue of late yeeres beene the bannance, and losse of many good fortresses, as well in *Sir Francis Drake* his two last Voyages to the Indies, and *Sir John Norris* in his to Lisbon, by staying at the *Groyne*, as also in others: &c.

Towards the evening, we put roome againe from the Coast, and beat vp and downe in the Bay to free vs from thence, expecting a wind wherewith to double the North Cape, which, within two or three dayes wee had, and so passed along within ten leagues of the Coast by *Ferrall*, the *Groyne*, and Cape *Bealme*, and to weathered the North Cape. And as the Fleet together was passing along towards the South, almost as farre as the Iles of *Bayon*, our Ship (the *Walffish*) being in the middle of them all, on the seuen and twentieth of August, broke her mayne Yard in funder in the very middelt by the *Parrell*. Whereupon we presently discharged a Peece of Ordnance, and made our misfortune knowne to our Admirall, who himselfe spake with vs, and also at that time had a great leake broken out vpon his owne Ship. And there by his order and permission we were willing to repaire our mayne Yard the best wee could, and vntill it were finished in that birth to goe on with our Fore-sayle towards the *Rocke* before the winde, whiles hee with the Fleet would in towards the Coast, and so, wee there to ply vp and downe about the height of the *Rocke*, vntill his Lordship came vnto vs, or during the dayes limited in the generall instructions, and thence to passe on wards to the South Cape, and there to remaine according to the said directions. And yet wee did not for two dayes after depart, though to our great disaife; for wee wallowed in the trough of the Sea, and rowled fo extremely, as that wee had like to haue lost our mayne Malt also. After this order giuen, wee presently tooke aduice the best wee could, and set our hands together for the repaire, and finishing of our mayne Yard, being broken in the *Parrell*, a very euill place to amend: wherein that night wee could doe little good, more then to free the Sayles and Tackle from it. Notwithstanding the very next morning the Admirall sent a commandement to vs, that wee should presently attend him with all speed, for that hee meant to put in with the Land: The which wee were altogether vnable to performe, our mayne Yard being in funder, and impossible it was so suddenly in one night to repaire it, and without being in funder, and the winde almost of the Land, so as it had bene but an idle labour, for the more we strided, the faster wee fell off. Besides, if wee could haue laid the Land with that sayle, it had bene a madnesse to put our selues vpon the Enemies Coast in that estate, for if the wind had then changed to the West, we wanting all our mayne Sayles, must haue yielded if the wind had then changed to this necessitie, we did for two dayes, as aforesaid ply vp and down, vntill wee had repaired our Yard, and fitted our Sayles vnto it, being now five foot shorter then it was before.

Whilste wee were thus distressed on our Enemies Coast, *Sir William Brooke*, Captaine of the *Dread-nought* came vnto vs and tarried with vs, out of his owne charitable and friendly disposition, for there were no directions (that wee heard of) giuen to any to accompany vs in that distressed. And the Vice-Admirall (of his owne noble care) very kindly and honourably hayled vs. But we offered what comfort and helpe hee could giue vs; some others afterwards did the like. But we hauing yielded due thanks to the Vice-Admirall for such his noble care and curtesie desired, contenting more company, but wished all others of our Squadron to repaire vnto the Admirall, our selues with *Sir William Brooke* in the *Dread-nought*, and two or three other small men of our owne Squadron, which of their owne accord followed vs. Neither did we in all this time fuggett the company of any one Ship more to stay with vs, albeit the contrary was very fallie fuggett the and reported in a strange manner of phrase, which was, that the Reare-Admirall vpon the breaking of his Mayne-yard, willed all his Squadron and those that loued him to keepe him company,

company, and not to follow the Admirall. But as this was a monstrous vntruth, raised out of malice to the Reare-Admirall, thereby to inuegle the Admirall against him; so the authors were afterwards ashamed of their impudent slander, when the truth was made manifest at our meeting againe with the Admirall and the Fleet at the Ilands of *Astoria*.

As loone as wee had mended our Maine-yard, wee were in with the Coast, making all the inquiry that we could for our Admirall and the Fleet, but could not haue any intelligence of them: Whereupon calling many coniectures, wee sent a small Man into the Iles of *Bayon*, but could learne no newes of him there. Then wee thought verily that hee would hold on his courie for the South-Cape, according to the generall instructions, we well knowing that hee could not then put in for *Ferrall* or the *Groyne*; as was afterward colourably fuggetted (the wind being that against him, and our whole Fleet hauing ouer-hot it neere twentie leagues before that our Yard was broken; and therefore it was rather a pretence to seeme deluded to vndertake it, then that there was any possibility to performe it. For besides that wee had ouerhot it, and the wind contrary, so as we could not recouer it again, both those Ships were wanting which were chiefly designed to be aduantaged in that seruice, namely the *Saint Andrew* and the *Saint Matthew*, two huge Gallions of the King of *Spaines*, that were but the yeere before taken at the sacke of *Cadiz*, and onely laued of fortie or fiftie saile that were then beaten and burnt to ashes. Vpon these reasons wee shaped our courie for the *Rocke*, plying vp and downe in that height for a few dayes. In which time wee gaue chafe to diuers *Spanish* ships which wee beate into *Cast-keys*, and caused some of them to runne on ground, wee being so neere *Cast-keys* as that we could number diuers tall ships that roade there vnder the Fort. Here wee hourly expected our Admirall, being the very appointed place for a Randeuous to all the Fleet, and would gladly haue met with him, being of our selues but a weak force to lye on that Coast, if the *Spanish Armado* had beene abroad, as wee were so suspected it was, or in a readinesse at the least. And therefore it was fouly talied or mistaken of those that gaue it out, and carryed the newes into *England*, that wee had of purpose left and lost our Admirall to range the Coast alone at our pleasures. For being no stronger then wee were, and lying as wee did in the height that was appointed by the generall instructions to the whole Fleet, it was not to be imagined in any sence or reason, that wee desired to leaue or lose the Fleet vpon the breaking of our Maine-yard (to neere the Coast of *Spain*, and the *Atlantados* Forces then bruted to be abroad. But indeed our Reare-Admirall commanded all our Squadron to follow the Generall, because he pretended to aduantage vpon the *Grande*. Yet we hoped, and so hee promised, that either hee would come off to vs againe where wee lay, or find vs without faile at the *Rocke*, but did neither: for there were three places of our *Randeuous* appointed, if any separation happened. The first at the North Cape, and failing there, then at the *Rocke*, and failing there, then at the South Cape. Now when all such ships as were furnished by tempest in the Bay of *Alcalá*, failed of their Admirall at the North Cape, they then sought him at the *Rocke*, where they found the Reare-Admirall, who held them altogether, and brought them to the Generall at the Ilands; else had they all returned home, after they had misfed of some Admirall to command them at the third and last place of meeting: for none of our Fleet went so farre to the Southward.

Whilste wee thus stayed about the *Rocke*, the Caruells of *Lisbone*, and of the parts thereabouts, would daily come iwarining about vs like Butter-flies, so neere, as that wee might call a stone into some of them, and yet could wee neuer catch any one of them, so yare and nimble they are. But if wee would haue bestowed any musket or great shot on such bables, wee might peraduenture haue killed some of their men, or sunke some of them, which wee forbore in hope to draw them to vs oftner, and then if any calme had happened, wee might haue taken them with our Boats, and by them gotten some Intelligence. At the same time also there came to the *Rocke* neere thirtie saile of ships of our owne Victuallers and Transporters, amongst whom was Captain *Sizzen*, Captaine *White*, Captain *Berry*, and others, some of whom wee tooke into vs out of their owne weak ships; who hauing lost the Generall in the Bay of *Alcalá*, in the storme aforesaid, sought him first at the North Cape; and missing him there, came to the *Rocke*, according to the generall instructions, and they by chance finding the Reare-Admirall at the *Rocke*, were held together till wee either found or heard from the Generall. After we had thus plied vp and downe about the height of the *Rocke*, and yet determined at last to haue passed on for the South Cape, there came aduantage vs a small Barke of *England*, with whom wee communed, inquiring what newes in the South parts where they had bene. They told vs, that they had lately met a Man of Warre bound for *England*, that had taken an *Indian* man, naming the Captaine, who (as they said) informed them for certaine that the *Atlantados* was gone for the Ilands, to weeke home the *Indian* Fleet. This report seemed to carry with it good likelihood of truth, for we heard before that the *Atlantados* was preparing to the Seas, and also were certain, that both the King of *Spaines* his *Treasure*, and other *Indian* Fleets were to come home that yeere. Besides, we did not suspect that one of our owne Country would be so lewd, or durst presume to informe her *Majesties* Name, with a meere false coniecture, as indeed this was found to be afterward. For such a dishonest treacherous part may sometimes turne to a great incommence, in directing a whole Fleet by a false intelligence, and is a point better fitting a

S. Matthew and S. Andrew knowne at Cadiz.

False intelligence by an Englishman.

Traveller then a true man, and well deserves his severe and publick punishment for an example to all others. For although sea-faring men will now and then (as do Poets and Painters) take liberty to fabricate it is no goodliest nor daling with Princes affairs to that sort, and therefore if I could call to mind the Captaine or Masters name, surely I would doe them the courtesy now to remember them.

Hereupon our Reare-Admirall thinking it very requisite, and his dutie to informe our Admirall of this aduertisement as soone as might be, earnestly required the same Man to ply vnto towards the North-Cape, all along the Coast as well as he could, (because he lay in his way home wards bound) to find out our Fleet, & to informe our Admirall of this Intelligence. But he answered in the hearing of all the company, that the Captaine that had taken this Indian Prize, had already sent the Admirall a Letter to the same effect. Yet the Reare-Admirall for the more suretie (doubting that a Letter might miscarry, or that no such Letter might be sent, being but an execute of this Man to put off the trouble of seeking out our Fleet, being a matter of great importance) commanded one of his small Men (that at that time followed vs) to deliver the same aduertisement to our Admirall, as hee had receiued it by word of mouth; and to vse all diligence to seek him, and the Fleet, and to deliuer the report truly in manner as it was related, and withall to signifie vnto his Lordship, that we there attended him in that height according to the directions, and so would observe all places and times appointed, and that in such sort his Lordship should be sure to heare of vs, vpon any occasion to wait on him. This message, and Messengers could sufficiently witness, that we had no intent nor desire to abandon the Fleet, or to sequester our selves, being at the place laid downe in the general instructions. This small Man that had this message in charge to deliuer to his Lordship, the next day (by good hap) found out the Fleet, and vpon deliury of this newes, within two dayes after, our Reare-Admirall receiued two euerrall Letters to come effect from the Admirall one after another. First somewhat taxing him for not writing, then for his absence and withall requiring him presently to follow him to the Ilands, whether he should he would (by Gods helpe) halten to find the *Adelantado* not doubting but to giue his Mistress a better account of that seruice, then the *Adelantado* should yeeld his Matter: so, or much to that effect the Letters went, for I my selfe read them (with the Reare-Admirall his permission) and therefore can truly report their contents.

Vpon this suddaine and strict message, we presently altered our determination from going to the South-Cape, to haft to the Ilands, and therefore we presently gaue notice to Sir William Brooke and the rest of our comforts, of our Admirall his Letters, and what way he meant to take, and so instantly without any further delay, we shap'd our course for the Ilands. But in this passage of ours towards the Ilands, as wee had a franke wind, so met we with other lets. For our Maineyard began againe to cracke, inso much that we were intored to strengthen it with more filling. And as commonly misfortunes neuer come alone, so in the necke of this trouble, our Mayne-mast began to thinke also, springing great flames in diuers places, in so much that at last we greatly doubted with euery high blast or wind, that it would haue beene blowne ouer-board. This suddenly distast much troubled vs, and the more, to thinke what vnquall constructions would becomee of it. We acquainted all the rest of our comforts with this late befalling mischance, and desired Sir William Brooke in the *Dread-naght* to carry the light for all the company. Seeing that our ship was so defective that we must needs lay to lea if we could make the Mast seruicable, but withall, vnto all our best means to come speedily after, desiring him, and all the rest that the *Adelantado* were and to signifie our misfortunes, and withall to make the more speed, for that if the *Adelantado* were at the Ilands, our Admiralls Forces would be well helped by their companies, & so for a better comfort. We and our comforts parted, only we retained two little small Men with vs for our better comfort. Yet notwithstanding this order and direction giuen, so great were our desires to go on, & our labor such, that the same night we had new filled our crated Mainemast with a spare Mainemast, which that lay by vs, and then so plied our sayles as that the next day towards the evening, wee overtook Sir William Brooke againe, and the rest of our comforts halting towards the Ilands as was directed. And on the eighth of September, in the yeere 1597. being Thursday, wee made the I.

New distress.

Sep. 8. They make Tercera.

Note for the Ilands.

dispatched two of our small men, with charge to search about the Ilands for our Fleete, and to informe our Admirall, that we were going for Flores, and Curruer, in hope to meete him there, withall willing those small men to come further vnto vs. And yet I remember many in our Ship were doubtful, and laid great wagers, that our Fleet was not yet come to the Ilands, for that this Merchant could make no report thereof.

While it we were before Saint Georges, we were very much becalmed for a day or two, and the weather extremely hot, inso much as the wind could not beare the sailes from the masts, bus were faine to hull in the Sea, to our great discontentment, that before had vied such great diligence and haste to meete with our Admirall, and the rest of the Fleete. Notwithstanding the wind began againe to be favourable, and so setting forwards, the next of the Ilands that we made, were *Gratiosa*, *Pike*, and *Fayal*. And as we ranged by *Gratiosa*, on the tenth of September, about twelue a clocke at night, we saw a large and perfect Rainbow by the Moone light, in the bignesse and forme of all other Rainbows, but in colour much differing, for it was more white, but chiefly inclining to the colour of the flame of fire. Thus made vs expect some extraordinary tempestuous weather, but in dedde it fell out afterward to be very calme and hot. This Rainbow by the Moone light I doe the rather take occasion to note; for that I remember that Plinie in his naturall History of the world, speaking of Meteors, denieth any Rainbow to be seene, but opposite to the Sunne, and neuer in the night season: and yet (saith he) Aristotle reporteth for a raritie, that in his time there was a Rainbow seene by night, but withall affirmeth, that it could not be but at the full of the Moone. But in these parts they are a very ordinary, as well when the Moone is not at the full, as otherwise, which maketh me to thinke; that the Ilands were neuer knowne to the Greekes, nor to the Romans, nor that those former ages did truly conceiue or know many things, that in these latter times haue bin discovered. For although Salomon saith that nothing is new vnder the Sunne (which no doubt is most true for all things haue had their being since the first Creation) yet all things haue not bin knowne in all places, and to all men alike. But as the long liues of men in the first ages (no doubt made their knowledge the greater by the benefit of long obseruation) so againe, we in these latter times by the tradition of their knowledge, seet vnto vs, and also by the discovery of those things, which time hath reuealed, haue found out many secrets to their vnknowne. But to returne.

The lame night by the light of the Moone (which was then almost fallen with the Horizon) we might elpse certaine in les passing towards the *Baltwards of Gratiosa*; whereupon we gaue order that a couple of our small men should follow, and giue them chase, as we in the *Walloff* likewise did, and hung out two lights to cause Sir William Brooke in the *Dread-naght*, and the rest of our comforts, to hold the same course with vs, but wee were followed by none of them, which when we perceiued, and the Moone-light being now by the earth so shadowed from vs, as that we could hold no longer sight of these sailes (which had thrust themselves in amongst the Ilands) we call about, and held on our former course. But by this chafing, for this little time (euen as we suspected) we lost the *Dread-naght*, and most of our comforts, and neuer saw them after, vntill we met them with our Admirall, and the rest of our Fleete at Flores; whither with scant windes we came, on the foureteenth of September, and then discovered all our Fleete. But at the first making of them, we stood somewhat doubtfull, whether it was our owne, or the *Spanish Armada*, they being as farre from vs, as we were able to ken out of our maine top, and therefore we did little stritue to keepe into the weather, in approaching neere vnto them, vntill at last, we perfectly made them to be *English* bottomes. As soone as we were come within two leagues of them, the Seas being very calme, our Reare-admirall, my selfe, and some other Gentlemen of our ship, went aboard our Generall in a Barge, and dined with him, who seemed to be the ioyfullest man huing for our arrival, protesting, that he neuer believed that we would leaue him, although diuers perswaded him the contrary; and acknowledged that hee was sorry for a Letter which he had written by Master Robert Knoller into England against vs, promising presently to make a dispatch of purpose, contrary to the former; hauing also found soone after by examination, that not any one of their thirrie and oddle sailes of victuallers, and transporters, which came now with vs, were drawne from him by the Reare-admirall, but that they all came to the *Rocke* to seek the Generall, and thereby chance found vs, who drew them to the Ilands, much against their desires, being most of them in great distress. Afterwards we enquired aboard our Generall, what had passed with them since we departed, vpon the breaking of our maine yard, before the Iles of *Bayon*; and we learned that in all this time, they had done nothing but ranged the Seas, to seek the *Adelantado* and were come to the Ilands but three daies before vs, where the Gouernours of the Ilands of Flores and Curruer, came to our Generall.

The Inhabitants of which two Ilands seemed to be but a wretchedted needie kinde of people, and yetas cruffy, as bafe, and bare. Thirre very humbly humbled themselves vnto our Generall, bringing with them Frutes, Hens, and other fresh victuall, imploring fauour, and mercie at his hands, and that he would vouchsafe to giue them his safeguard vnder his hand, to protect them from the spoile and inuasion of our men: alleading for themselves that they were an harme life poore people, that gaue offence to none, but dwelt in Ilands that yeelded comfort and reliefe to contentment, to all sea-faring men in their long Voyages, betweene the *Indies* and *Christendome*, and

Rainbow by Moone-light described, Terceras Ilands.

They come to the Fleet.

Entertainment by the Generall

Inhabitants of Flores and Curruer

Earle of Essex
his answer
to the Islanders.

and were anciently subiects to the *Portingals*, friends to our Nation, and nothing guiltie of the Hostilitie betweene vs, and the *Spaniards*, who (as they said) did viurpe, and tyrannize both-
uer the *Portingals* and them. Our Generall heard, and entertained them, with great curtesie, and told them that he came not to afflict poore men, but was sent by the Queene as their friend, to chaunge the intollerable pride and insolence of the *Spanish*, whose Indian Gold and riches, were imployed only to the oppression, and disturbance of these *Christian* States and Princes; and these Islands being the chiefe places of retreat and refreshing for his Fleettes, that passed betweene *Europe* and the *Indies*, were great meanes, and helpees, to further their boundlesse ambition, and tyrannie, with other discouste to that effect. And in inquiring of them very precisely, the times, and seasons that the *Indian* Fleettes, both inward, and outward bound, held in passing by those Islands; in conclusion gaue them diuers gifts, and his Protection in wringing vnder his hand and scale from the violence of our Forces, which was very respectuely offered, euen to the value of an Hen, which no man durst take without paying for. Such was the moderation and bountie of this noble Gentleman our Generall, indued with many good gifts, though at the last he failed in the life of them.

After we had bin aboard our Generall, and dined with him, he acquainted our reare Admirall with the many coniectures, and surmises of our abence, and withall named vnto him some of those men that had taxed him secretly with strange reports, and yet pretended to loue him, which he protested (as aforesaid) he neuer beleued, but thereby the better obserued some mens scandalous, and cankered dispositions. In this fort did our Generall receiue and welcome our reare Admirall, with the greatest kindnesse, and inward familiaritie that might be, and all the Gentlemen of his Companie with honorable curtesie, to the great dislike and hart-burning of some that much enuied that liking, which of his owne disposition, our Generall did beare vnto him: For albeit the Earle had many doubts and ieaousies buzid into his eares against the other, yet I haue often obserued, that both in his greatest actions of seruice, and in his times of chiefele recreation, he would euer accept of his counsell and company, before many others that thought themselves more in his fauour. And as touching the Aduertisement that was sent into *England*, from the Isles of *Bayon*, by Master Robert Knolles, in a Pinnaque called the *Guiana*, concerning vs, that were forsaken, and left alone vpon the breaking of our Maine yard: whereupon was pretended that many great exploits should haue bin performed vpon the coast of *Spain*, if wee had not fallen from them (as was vtually suggested and reported) his Lordship promised the reare Admirall then, to send another aduertisement, how we were all metagaine, and had bin formerly feuered by misfortunes only, and not by any wilfull default in the reare Admirall, as was doubted. And that Aduertisement sent formerly by Master Knolles, we well knew proceeded not out of any particular malice of the Generall to vs, but only to take that as a fit excuse to free himselfe from the enterprises of *Ferrell*, or the *Grays*, which he had bin promised her Maiestie to vnder-
take; but saw it impossible to performe, by reason of the former cruellies, and our long stay in *Plimouth*; and therefore was glad to take the opportunity of any colour to satisfie her Maiestie, and to discharge himselfe of that burthen, which with a man of his place and credit, which (though in a right) had bin but bootlesse; and meer folly; and therefore we left him in his best excuses, and our apparant innocence. And for the more plaine manifesting of the Message, I haue thought it not amisse, here to insert the true copie of the Instructions verbatim, that our Generall sent by Master Knolles into *England*, vpon these accidents before the Isles of *Bayon*.

That we weighing Anchor and setting saile from the Iownd of *Plimouth*, the fourteenth of this moneth of *August*, hauing sometimes calmes, but for the most part, Westerly and Northerly winds, we seion Thursday, the five and twenty of this moneth with the Land, which is to the Eastward of the Cape Ottingall, which land we made in the morning about ten of the clocke, and stood in with the shoare, till three in the afternoon. Then finding the winde calme to ply to the Southward, I stood all night into the Sea, and the next morning in againe to the Land. By which boords, by reason of the head-sea, the winde bare aside, we got nothing. On Friday night I stood off againe to the Sea, and about midnights the winde bare all Northerly, we got a good quant, to lye all along the coast: on Saturday in the morning, I descouered the Saint Andrews, whom we had lost sight of two or three dayes before. I bare with her, and had no sooner got her vp, but Sir Walter Rawleigh shot off a peece, and gaue vs warning of his being in distresse. I presently bare with him, and found that he had broken his maine yard. Whereupon I willed him to keepe along the coast that vntill that he was, till he got in the height of the North Cape, and my selfe hauing a desperate leake broke out as ener bin swam with him, which I was faine to lye by the lee and seile, to stop it, which how steele vs, you can report: and (God be thanked) that night we ouercame it, and stopped it. The next morning we all came to Cape Finister, seeing the Saint Mattheue, who vpon breaking of her fore make went home: and the Wallpight with whom shee the Dreadnought went without to the South Cape. This is all that is hapned to me. If her Maiestie aske you, why there was no attempt vpon the Fleets at *Teral*, you may say, I neither had the Saint Mattheue, which was the principall ship for that execution, nor the Saint Andrews, till mine owne ship was almost sunke, and I not able to make saile, till Sir Walter Rawleigh with his owne ship the Dreadnought, and very neere twenty saile were gone

gone. We are now gone to lye for the Indian Fleete, for by Spaniards we haue taken, we finde the aduantage is not yet to Sea this yeare. Of our success, her Maiestie shall from time to time be aduertised: you shall acquaint Master Secretarie with this instruction; and both to him, and all our friends you must excuse our haile.

We being thus met all at *Flores*, desired our Generall to giue vs, and our comforts leave, to water there before we departed thence, as his Lordship and the rest had done before, which he yeelded vnto, and very nobly lent vs his owne long Boate, for our better peepe, willing vs there to water, whilst he with the rest of the Fleete, did ply vp and downe to looke out for the *Admirado*, or any *Indian* Fleete, that being the very fit place, and season for them. Hereupon whilst our men and Mariners were providing to water, our Reare-admirall, with Sir William Brooke, my selfe, and diuers other Gentlemen went afoare, to stretch our legs in the Isle of *Flores*, and to refresh our felues with such victuals as we could there get for our monie. And at our first landing there, we met with the Lord Gray, Sir Gly Merrike, and other Gentlemen, and wee altogether walked a mile or two into the Countie, and there dined in a little Village, where the bare-legged Gouverneur caused such things to be brought vnto vs, for our monie, as the Island afforded. In other fort we tooke nothing, which was very faireware.

This Island seemes to be somewhat mountainous, yet hauing very good store of Fruite, Wheat, and other Corne. Their Corne they doe all keepe in large hollow vaults within the earth, hauing no other way nor entrance into them, but by a round hole in the top of the vault, only so big as a man may creepe into it, and when it is closed vp with a plank, and ouerwrethed with earth is very hard to be found out by strangers, for the which purpose they are so made, and much like the Caves in *Gascogne*, and *Languedock*, and such as are mentioned by *Cæsar* to be vnto in *Africke*. This Island is more subiect to the inuasion of Sea-faring men, than any of the rest; for there all traders of the *Indies* doe usually water, and refresh themselves. But here I must not forget to relate, that before we had our leave to water, or were departed from the Generall, a Countsell was called, and holden, for the taking in of some of the Islands, and an orderly counsell set downe for the same; which was in this sort concluded on: The Admirall and Reare-admirall to vndertake *Fayall*; the Lord Thomas Howard Vice-admirall, and the Marshall Vire, to vndertake *Gratias*; the Lord *Alonso*, Lieutenant Generall, and Sir Christopher Blom Coronell Generall of the Foote to Saint *Michael*; and the *Netherland* Squadron was quartered to *Pegs*, where the greatest store of Wines doe grow, and therefore would not be taken in ill part of them, as we presumed. The reason why we refused to water and waste all these Islands was, because it was determined by the Generall to attempt the *Tercera* it selfe: which enterprise was put off, because the Reare-admirall, and with him twenty or thirty saile were wanting. But being now contrary to all expectation, and to many mens hopes) arrived, this resolution receiued a second lie; but it was first thought necessary to take from them, and to helpe our felues, with all the victuals and other commodities that those Islands could afford: For the performance of which with the more speede, we diuided our felues into foure Companies, as before written: But surely the fortune of these poore wretches was lamentable, that fell into the *Flemmings* hands; for I thinke no people on the earth, can vfe lesse mercy, or greater insulencies then they doe, in all the places that they master, which are subiect to the *Spanish* Government: and yet I must say truly for them, that the *Spaniards* againe haue vfed great tyrannie, and outrage in their insulencies over that industrious people, as hath well merited their irreconcilable malice, and misall banes, that the *Spanish* King many millions of Ducates, besides the life of many a proud Castilian, since the Execution of the Countess of *Egmont* and *Horne*. And it is very admirable to see what heart and courage these *Netherlanders* are now grown vnto, and how powerfully three or foure little Prouinces, doe resist the force of that mighty King, that keeper *Milaine*, *Naples*, and *Sicill* in great bondage, in despite of all the *Italians*, who doe thinke themselves for valour, and for police the Minions of the Earth, and yet bow their neckes to the *Spanish* yoke.

After this consultation for taking in of the Islands, as aforesaid, and leave giuen vnto vs, and our comforts to water with all the speede we could, at *Flores*, we hauing prepared our Castle, and all things in a readinesse to bring our fresh water aboard, about midnight, being the sixteenth of September, there came vnto vs from our Generall, Captaine Arthur Champernowne, with this message; That my Lord Generall was borne vp for *Fayall*, and ment presently to take it in, and therefore willed vs with all speede to follow him instantly, and though we could not ouertake him, yet at least to finde him there so soone as we could, and the same word was likewise delivered to Sir William Brooke, and the rest, that lay there to water. And further, our Generall lent vs word, that we should supply all our wants of water, and fresh victuals at *Fayall*. And this night as we rode at anchor before *Flores*, we saw another Rainebow, by the Moone light, as before, and after the same manner, which (contrary to Plimes report of Aristotle) seemed to be scene, though not at a full Moone, for the other was so scene some seuen dayes before, in the which space, there could not be two full Moones. Vpon this Message brought by Captaine Champernowne we forbore watering, and hasted all we could, to weigh our anchors, and to follow our Generall. And therefore gaue a warning peece or two, to our Comforts before we departed, and afterwards pack'd on all

A Countsell for
taking in the
Islands.

Hollanders and
Spaniards
not implacable.

Rainbow be
the Moone.

Earle of Essex
his respect to
Sir W. Rawleigh.

Fayal.

the failes we could make to follow our Generall, whom we could not overtake, nor finde.

The next morning we made *Fayal*, and entred the Roade, and there misted of him alfo, contrary to our hopes, and to our great discontent. Whereat we could not but greatly marvell, because when he lent for vs, he was six leagues nearer it, then we were, and besides, he saile towards it fixe or eight houres before vs. Being arrived in the Roade, we beheld before our eyes a very fine Towne, pleasantly seated along the shoare side: from whence presently upon the sight of our entrance into the Roade, they began to packe away with bag, and baggage all they could, with carriages of Horses and Carts, Women, Children, Friars, and Nunnes, and so continued in transporting all vp into the Countrey for two dayes together. There was besides a strong Fort at one end of the Town, and another on the top of a very high Mountain, neere adjoyning, by nature very unaccessible, and steepe, and artificially fenced with Flankers, Rampiers, and Ditch, and in it six Peeces of great Artillerie, mounted upon carriages, and two hundred Spaniards in garriison, beside others of the Island. These made certaine thot at our Shippes as they anchored in the Roade, but did not much harme, and let vp a great red Auncient for vs to gaze at: Besides, there were presently sent six Companies with their Colours, to intrench themselves upon the shoare side, to impeach our landing: Hereupon our Reare Admirall in his Barge, accompanied with my selfe onely and Captaine *Morgan*, rowed close aboard the high Fort, and all alongt the shoare side, towards the Towne, to see what place there was to make a discent againt our Generalls coming. From whence we were saluted with diuers musket thors, that misted vs but narrowly by good fortune, for we violently had with vs neither Targets, nor Armors, but wished for them when it was to late.

Unarmed rather than.

And therefore as well by that experience, as all by others in the same journey, that I saw at our landing upon a fortified trench, I saw it to be but an idle and unseemable bravery, for men that are to doe service, to expose their unarmed bodies and limbs, to the mercy of a Musket, or the puff of a Pike: whereby they can neither with that abilitie, nor resolution, prosecute that they have in hand, nor yet so well preserve themselves as they ought to doe, for the bettering of their attempts. Besides, out of a Christian regard, they should not desperately cast away themselves, or carelessly spill their owne blood, and the lives of many others: by such bravado, and foolish examples. This night as we rode in the Harbour, there swamme aboard vs from the Towne two Portugals: that discovered unto vs many things, greatly encouraging vs to this exploit. And of this we may boldly take knowledge, that the Portugals, and Inhabitants of these Islands, doe infinitely hate, and malice the Spaniards, and their Government, and would (no doubt) free themselves thereof gladly if they were free to fall under any other Government that were able to protect them from the Spaniards. And therefore if any powerfull Monarch or State did attempt it, they should not be trouble d as with a Conquest, for all the Inhabitants would seeme to be perswaded to revolt, and take part with the invaders, for the advancing of that business.

Spaniards hated by the Portugals.

While we thus expected our Generall in vaine (to our no little marvell) that thought he had bin there before vs, according to Captaine *Champernownes* report (the winde being as good then for him as for vs) our Reare Admirall called a councill of many Captaines, and Officers (that were come thither by order) to consult of the taking of the Towne, if our Generall came not, thinking it a great shame and pittie to let slip so faire a pray, so neere at hand, without attempting it in time, before they had carried all away. Besides a great shame and disgrace we should doe our selves, to enterprise nothing upon them that had begun the warres, shooting first as vs as we rode at anchor, and then after their bringing downe to the water side so many Auncients, did proudly as it were inuite vs to assaile them, if we durst, having withall, hung out a red Flagge of defiance, from the top of the high Fort. The hope of the wealth of this good Towne, and the ransom of Houses and Prisoners, together with those bravadoes which they shewed, did so set on fire all our Mariners and Souldiers, as that they began to mutine, and raile on the Reare Admirall, and at all the Commanders there, taxing them for these delays, as not daring to attempt the taking thereof: Besides, they were the more eagerly led upon the spoile, and gaining of this Towne, and Fort, for that they saw no great likelihood of benefit by this Voyage but what was gotten aloath in the Islands. In conclusion, albeit we heard no newes of our Generall in two dayes more expectation, yet at the councill of Captaines which our Reare Admirall had assembled, some of them varied much from the common desire, and would by no means assent to the landing, without my Lord Generalls knowledge. And of this opinion was Sir *Gulielm Mericke*, Sir *Nicholas Parker*, and some other Captaines: Our Reare Admirall, with Sir *William Brooke*, my selfe, Sir *William Harney*, and other Gentlemen, and Commanders of our Reare Admiralls his Squadron (called to this consultation) were of a contrary opinion, judging that my Lord Generall would repute vs but Killers, and Cowards, to lye so long, before so good a Towne, with so many Shippes and men, and to doe nothing in his absence, seeing them hourly before our eyes, to sit to carry, and packe away their goods and wealth. And this was also a common opinion and brute, as well of the multitude, as of the *Low Countrey* Captaine. But yet the violent and earnest persuasions of Sir *Gulielm Mericke*, did so prevail with vs, vrging our obedience and duect to our Generall, as that we flaid from the Enterprise at that time, and expected our Generalls coming one day longer, especially for that they perswaded vs, if his Lordship came not the next day, then themselves would also land with vs.

Which

When which we had also expected in vaine, and the winde changing somewhat vnfit for that Roade, our Reare Admirall, and diuers of his Squadron, and many other of the Shippes following him, weired, and coasted about the point, to the North-west side of the Island, some foure miles farther from the Towne then we were before, and there left all our ancors, being then a better Roade then the first, as the winde was changed. But Sir *Gulielm Mericke* with some five or sixe Shippes of his contors, staid still in the first Roade, and would not budge. When we had in this sort changed our Roade, and being now the fourth day of our arrivall before *Fayal*, which was not above a dayes sailing from the place, from whence our Generall lent for vs, we might see before vs, a very fine and pleasant Countrey, full of little Villages, and fruitful fields: and therefore we much desired to refresh our selves aland there with victuals, and water, as our Generall had promised we should doe, when we came to *Fayal*, and as diuers others had done before vs at *Floriet*, and as we had then, but that we were called away to *Fayal* by Captaine *Champernownes* soladine, as was foretold, as was foretold. And in truth we were in great want of fresh water, which we had not renewed, since our setting out from *Pinnab*. All these occasions considered, and we being now retired from the Towne and Forts, we all refolved that we might without offence, with a few of our owne men, goe aloath, and refresh our selves, and seeke for waters whereupon we manned a Barge, a long Boate, and a Pinnace with threecore Muskets, and forty Pikes, rather to guard our selves in our landing, and watering with discretion, then expecting any encounter or resistance, from the Towne or Forts, on the other side of the Island. But our men were no sooner placed in our Boates, and all things ordered, and we ready to pur off from the Ships side, but we might discover fixe Auncients of foote, and some dozen Horsemen coming on a speedy march from the Towne and Forts, directly towards the place where wee were to make our discent: for from one side of the high Fort on the Mountaine, they might also overlooke vs, where our ships rode, and discover all our preparation.

When we had a while aduised of this new Brauado, that they went about, and saw them still to come on faster, with so many strong companies of men (or at the least the bodies of men furnished with womens hearts) and had made such haste, as that they possessed themselves of the Trenches and Flankers, where we were to land, and there had placed their Companies, and Colours, attending our approach, as they made shew, by waving their Swords, and displaying their Auncients in great brauery (for doubtlesse they thought we feared to land in their faces, because we lay so long before the Town, and neuer attempted any thing, and were so shrinkt aside off after they had provoked vs to with great shot, and many other affronts) we seeing that proportion of an hundred men (provided only to guard our watering) to be too few to assault, and win a landing vpon so many, in a place of so great disadvantage, and yet disdain to goe backe, or make any shew of feare; our Reare Admirall in his Barge rowed to Sir *William Brooke* Ship, and to Sir *William Harney*, and desired them, and some other Sea Captaines, to accompany him in landing, with such men as conveniently they could furnish: For (said he) seeing these Spaniards and Portugals are so gallant to seeke and follow vs, and to keepe vs from watering, wee will try our fortunes with them, and either win our landing, or gaine a beating.

Sir *William Brooke*, Sir *William Harney*, and some others, very willingly assented, and presently there were made ready with shot, and Pike one hundred and sixtie men more in Boates. And after this our Reare Admirall rowing by Captaine *Bret Sidney White, Berry*, and other Captaines of the *Low Countrey* Souldiers, that were there abroad in other Shippes, they all cried out, to take them and their companies with them, assuring him, that if he adventured to land with Mariners, and with his owne attendants, without some Companies of Land Souldiers, hee would receive a disgrace. He answered, that he durst not take any of my Lord Generalls his company of the *Low Countrey*, no knowing in what seruice he ment to vie them; but he was refolved with the Gentlemen, and company of his owne Squadron, first to make a discent, and then to call them, and send Boates for them, if he proceeded any further, and that neither my Lord Generall, nor any of his traine, should haue cause to be ashamed of vs, for undertaking that in the face of our Enemies, which we durst not follow, and performe. And therefore told those Captaines, that hee would first attempt to win a landing, and then after if they could but second him aloath with two hundred men more, hee would undertake to lodge them that night in the Towne, and the next night after in the Forts. These Captaines were all glad of the newes, and promised to come after vs, if we would lend our Boates for them; for most of their Shippes had lost their Boates with foule weather.

This order and direction being giuen, we hastened as fast as our Oares could ply without the company of any *Low Countrey* Souldiers (being as I said two hundred and sixtie strong, and the enemy more then the double as many) to the landing place which was first guarded with a mighty ledge of Rocks, some forty paces long into the Sea, and afterwards trencht, and flanked with earth and stone, and onely a narrow lane betweene two walls left for our Entrance. But withall, we caused some of our Pinnaces that carried Ordnance, to lye as close to the shoare as they could, to flinke and beate vpon them in their trenches a little before, and iust as wee made they approach: which we found to good purpose, and as well performed, especially by one Cap-

Hard placed to land in.

Helps by Pinnaces.

raire Banker, in a fine Flee Boate of the *Flemish* Squadron. But if there had bin but one hundred *Low Countrie Spaniards* at that defence, it had cost many of our liues, & yet perhaps have misfired against a faire greater force then ours was at that time. But as we made on wards with our Boats, the shot plied so thicke vpon vs, as that in truth the Mariners would scarce come forwards, haueing the lesser liking to the businesse, the neerer they came to it. And in like sort did I see some others flagger, and stand blank, that before made great heues, and would gladly be taken for valiant Leaders: and some of these, our Reare Admirall did not spare to call vpon openly, and re-buke aloud with disgracefull words, seeing their baseness.

Benefice of
Ioune.

Sir W. R. his
solution.
They land.

Flight of the
enemy.

More a shute
scene then
hands.

Spaniards and
Portugall yield
themselves.

Spaniards and
Portugall school
ers of Fortune
extreme in
batteries.

And are not
other Nations
so fit for promp-
tious fight.

And withall finding a general amazement amongst the Mariners, and as it were a stay amongst all the Boates, well perceiving that this manner of howering, was both more disgracefull, and al-
19 more vnsafe, lying so open to the enemies shot (which through feare and amazement the Ma-
riners, and Rowers, neither observed nor vnderstood) with a loud voice commanded his Water-
men to rowe in full vpon the Rocks, and bad as many as were not afraid, to follow him: Here-
upon some Boates ran in with vs, and out of them landed Master *Garret* a Pensioner, now
Earle of *Kildare*, a Noble and valiant Gentleman; *Sir William Brooke*, *Sir William Harney*, *Sir Iohn
Scott*, Master *Duke Brooke*, Captaine *Henry Thome*, Captaine *White*, Master *Thomas Hargrey*, Mas-
ter *Walter Chute*, Captaine *Arthure Radford*, Master *Henry Allen*, Captaine *William Morgan*,
Master *Charles Mackert*, and diuers other Gentlemen, whose names I would not omit, if I
could call them all to minde. And in clambling ouer the rocks, and wading through the water,
we passed pell mell, with Swords, Shot, and Pikes vpon the narrow Entrance. Whereupon those
20 that were at the defence, after some little resistance, began to shrinke, and then seeing vs to come
faster on vpon them, suddenly retiring, cast away their weapons, turned their backs, and fled,
and the like did the rest in the higher Trenches, and quickly recovered the hills, and the woods,
being a people very swift, and nimble of foote; for we could take none of them, but such as after
yielded vnto vs. And as for their Ancients, we could not recover one, for the Horsemen that
they had, carried them cleane away. And in this sort we gained both our landing, and our En-
emies Trenches. In which attempt some few men were drowned, and laine, diuers hurt, and two
loog Boates bulged, and lost. And after that we saw all things cleare, we assembled our Troopes
together, and refreshed ourselves, with such comfort, as we had there, which done, we went backe
30 our Boates for those *Low Countrie* Captaines afterward; who vpon their arriuall congratulated
our good successe, in taking so strong a peece of ground, fortified, and guarded with so many men.
When these Captaines were come vnto vs, we thenooke our liues to be a prettie Armeie, being
then in strength to the number of foure hundred and fixtie well armed, and appointed: where-
of there were of Captaines and Gentlemen of good fort thirty, or forty which gaue great life to
the businesse.

And hauing done so much already, we then thought it the best way to goe through with the
matter, and to prepare the Towne in a readinesse for our Generall, and to make our selues Bur-
gers: thereof in the meane season, and therefore our Reare Admirall appointed Captaine *Bret*
to vize the Office of Sergeant Major, and gaue direction to the other Captaines to aduance their
Colours, and to call their Companies together, in a readinesse, and to putting our Troopes in order,
we marched directly toward the Towne, whereby the way, diuers of these fame very *Spaniards*,
and *Portugalls*, that a little before so braued vs, came and rendered themselves in great humility,
with white Napkins on the end of stikes, all whom we received, and well intreated, vnto
some for Guides, and some for our Carriages, and others to fetch vs in fresh Victuals, and
Fruites. And it is worth the noting, to see the faire differing humors, vpon the change of Fortunes,
in these *Spaniards*, and *Portugalls*. For where they conquer or command, no people are so proud, and
insolent, and when they are once mastered, and subdued, no Nation of the world so base, or softer of seruile
crouching, and obsequence, as though on a fadane Nature had framed them in a new mould, so some
an instant will they fall from (soveraigne to slavery. And surely (as home) they are in generall but a
40 baggage people, timorous, and very vnwarlike. As we haue well experienced by several Inuasions, where-
of one Armeie was conducted by Sir Iohn Norris, and Sir Francis Drake to Lisbona, and the other by
the Earle of Essex, and the Lord Admirall Howard to Cadix, without any resistance, encounter in
the field, or show of assailing our Forces by battaile, all the while we stayed there, but afterwards with a
little battering, and harrying in the warres, we see them growe very brave, and valiant
Souldiers.

This Towne was some foure miles from this landing place, and all the Country in which we
marched very champion, with pretty little rising hills, and all the fields our full of Mellons, Po-
tatoes, and other Fruites. Betwene vs, and the Towne, was this high Fort, whereof I spake be-
fore, and that other Fort at the end of the Towne: By these two we were refused to passe, the
better thereby to discover and observe their strength, and situation: although there was ano-
ther way that led to the Towne, some two miles further about, which we tooke not. But our
restitution was the next morning to goe in hand with these Forts, which now we could not per-
forme, the day being too far spent, and our men already overwearyed with the last way, toge-
ther

ther with a long march, and extreme hot weather, besides want of victuals. And therefore for
that night we went onely, either by faire or foule meanes to possesse our selues of the Towne,
and there to lodge, and so to content our selues, as hauing performed already, a sufficient daies worke.
But in our march, as we approached neere the high Fort (by which of necessity we were now to
passe) they did very fiercely beate on vs both with great and small shot, hurting diuers, and kil-
ling some of our people. Amongst others I saw a very strange accident happen to Captaine
40 *William Morgan*, by whom my selfe at that time stood, when from the Fort he received vpon a round
buckle or his girdle, with in the forefront, a Musket shot, that brused all his belly blacke, in a round
spot, and battered the Bullet flat at his feete, but did him no other hurt. Hee was in his doublet
and hose without any Armour, or Target, for the which a little before I found fault with him,
and his answer to me was, that his flesh was of the Musket proofe, as indeede it after proved,
with the helpe of a buckle of a *Spanys* girdle, and good fortune besides, which in the common opi-
nion saoureth the valiant.

In this approaching towards the Fort, our Reare Admirall accompanied with diuers other Gen-
tlemen of the best fort, to the number of forty, in the head of all the Troopes, with his leading
staffe, and no other Armour then his Collar (a brauery in a chiefe Commander not to be commen-
ded) led on the Company with soft march, full in the face of the Fort, defendinging downe a little
hill, whilst with their great Ordnance, and Musketterie, we were very shrewdly puffed. But he,
with this little Vauntguard was no lesse patient, and entred vnder the covert of their trenches,
and barricados, that were at the foote of this steepe hill, but the maine body of our little Armeie,
that a while marched in good order, began presently to breake their ranks, and from marching
fell to flat running in stragling manner, so loose as euer they began to finde themselves within the
mercy of the Musket shot, and so continued in this disorderly, and timorous course, vntill they
were vpon our heeles, vnder the wals, and trenches, almost as loone as we, that were in manner of
a Vauntguard come some twelue score before them in a headly low march. Our Reare Admirall,
and we allcried out on them for this (famefull) disorder, and taxed Captaine *Bret*, and Captaine *Berry*,
with other of the Captaines for it, and of them demanded, if these were the men, that should haue done
50 such stead in our landing, to saue vs from dishonour, or if this be the manner of their old *Low Countrie*
Troopes, to show such base cowardise, at the first sight of the Enemy, and for Muskets shot so farre off from
a Fort. The fauit was not surely in these Captaines for they were well knowne, and showed themselves to be
honest and resolute men, and did their best to stay this disorder. But their answer was this, that these com-
panies, that did so headlike beate themselves, were in deede men taken out of Flushing, and Brill, the
Cautionary Towns, and raw Souldiers: that neuer lined in a safe Garrison, or soldado or neuer had scene ene-
my, or encountered with him in the field. And therefore for these kinde of *Low Countrie* Souldiers, they
said, we should neuer finde them, but as base and backward selues, as the other Regiments that had
followed the Campes were ready and valiant. And as it seemed to vs then, and as since I haue heard diuers
confirmes, their answer was true, and grounded vpon reason and Experience. And therefore it is not
60 a misse to take good notice of such as onely seeme to take pay, to walke round, and guard ports in Garrison
Townes, for in the field they will most commonly be missing, or at least (if present) doe little hurt for con-
science sake.

We being thus come vnto the foote of the high Fort, and vnder covert of the Trenches, and
wals, which they had abandoned, retiring themselves into their fortifications, and strengths on
the top of the Hill; our Reare Admirall commanded Captaine *Bret* to appoint a Sergeant or two,
with some few shot, to goe proue and discouer the way towards the Towne, and take life in hand
with them one of our *Portugall* guides, for the more assurance, and for the better instructions for
conducting the Troopes, because he was informed by the Guides, that the way in diuers places
lay very open, and dangerous to the shot of the high Fort, as well as to the Fort at the Townes
end. And the worse, by reason of low wals made of loose stones, on either side of the wayes,
which the great Artillery, and Musketterie would beate vpon, and scatter amongst vs, and so in-
deede afterwards in the march we found it true. Captaine *Bret* answered, that although it had
70 pleased our Reare Admirall to appoint him to another Office, yet if he would expelly command
him, he would also suruey this passage himselfe. But it was not thought fit at that time to wanc
the Sergeant Major amongst such raw, and disorderly troopes; and therefore hee was againe wil-
led to appoint a Lieutenant, and a Sergeant or two, to goe about that businesse, in manner as was
afore said. But vpon this order to giuen, Captaine *Bret* made report, that hee found the Sergeants
and Lieutenants very vnwilling to vnder take this discovery, making the passage very difficult, by
reason that they law them from the hill top, to beate so dangerously with their great Artillery
vpon vs, and the loose wals, & also to ply vs to fait with their Muskets, the which they might
better doe on that way. And therefore the Troopes were very desirous, to haue pulled by with
some people, and not in any orderly march, and strength, which indeede had bin a very roue, and
80 also an hazardous course. For as we were credibly informed, the Island was able to make a thou-
sand men turnish with weapons, and wee were perswaded (or at least to suspit) that they
would gather the body of their most strength, for the defence of their best Towne, towards the
which we were now marching.

Strange acci-
dent of a shot

Reare Admirall
taxed.

Disorder.

Difference
twixt Campe
and Garrison
Souldiers.

Rear Admiral valiant.

Our Rear Admirall seeing all men to make such scrupulosity of this businesse, when Captaine *Bret* had related unto him the backwardnesse of these *Low Countrey* Garrison Souldiers, thereupon answered, that he would not offer that to any, which he would himselfe refuse to undertake, if neede required; although it were not the dutie and office of the chiefe Commander, to vndergoe so ordinary a seruice, but a thing duly appertaining to the inferior Officers, & Souldiers; Notwithstanding (said he) though I could induce others to do it, they shall well perceiue, that I my selfe will doe that which they dare not performe: whereof I am ashamed in their behalfe, and how our Generall, and we all are abused, in the opinion of these *Low Countrey* Souldiers. And therefore called for his Curates and Caskes, and said, that he would both goe view the way for them, which they had made to nicke of, and also the passages, and ascents vnto the hill top, and as well as hee could take view of the strength, and fortifications thereof, for our better directions against the next morning that we should attempt it. Captaine *Bret* thereupon very willingly offered himselfe to doe, and did earnestly desire me to direct our Rear Admirall in vnder-taking it. And I thereupon did openly disauise him that commanded in chiefe, from putting his owne person to those inferior Offices of hazard, fitter for a Lieutenant or a Sergeant, then himselfe to performe, knowing, that all the direction, as well of those troopes, as also of a whole Squadron of the Niuie, did at that time onely rest vpon him, in the absence of the Admirall, & Vice Admirall. Notwithstanding he was obdurate therein, as well in scorn to them that had refused, as also in deteade of a deeme, to be the better informed of the strength, and fortification of the high Fort. Wherein when I saw him resolute, I told him that I would out of the loue of a kinsman, in particular, and also out of an honest regard, take such part as he did, from whom I had receiued many kinde fauours, and accompany him, but not out of any great desire I had to goe about a peece of work, that consisted of much danger, and little honour in the performance. Hee thanked mee for mine offer, but yet wished me not to goe, if it were against my minde; notwithstanding I accompanied him, and so did some eight or ten more of our seruants and followers. But I say truly, and to afterwards it was much spoken of, that there was not any one more of quality, that did accompany him in that businesse.

Dangerous discovery.

In this sort, and in this number did he himselfe goe to discover the passage, and also was careful and diligent to obserue and search out the strenghts and ascents to the hill. In which doing, we were thierwile troubled with the great Artillery, which did beat vpon the old wals, along the which we were to passe, and thierwithall much indangered and harmed vs. For besides some that were hurt, two of our traine had their heads stricken cleane from their shoulders; my selfe was then shot through the left leg with a Musket bullet, but mistied the boates being but a little wound, but the bullet did burne both my filke flocking and bunkin, as if it had bin singled with an hot Iron. I was then four or three places. And still they plied vnto fast with small shot, as that I well remember: he wished me to put of a larger scarfe, which I then wore, being (as hee said) a very faire mark for them. But I was not willing to do the *Spaniards* too much honor at that time, albeit I could have wished it had not bin on me, & therefore told the Rear Admirall again, that his white scarfe was as eminent as my red, and therefore now would follow his example. But yet in my poore opinion I see no great honor, nor discretion in those nice ceremonies, but when men goe to France, they may with reputation, either put on, or put off all habiliments, for their most advantage and security, and especially in going to discover, which best may be performed, when themselves are least discovered. And this part was in minde of a report which I heard many yeeres since of Monsieur La Noue, that famous French Captain, and one Bullye de A'moyas, a gallant French Gentleman. I heere two being with Monsieur the French Kings brother, some 24. yeeres since at the siege of Bines in the Low Countries, were to informe themselves of a hanker, or some Camel that was to be beaten with Artillery. La Noue was the Marshall of Monsieur Campe, and Bullye his great favourite, & Lieutenant General (as I take it) Bullye would needs haue Monsieur in a braverie, inuite La Noue to vnder-take it with him the discovery of that place, which La Noue out of his better iudgement, and experience in the Warres, thought not fit to press a seruice for their places, but rather to be preferred to some private Captaines of valour, and iudgement, that would very covertly goe about it. But such was Bullyes forward heate, and sollicitie to the businesse, as that La Noue, who was inferior to none in true valour, disclained to seele that, which the other still urged, and made so light of. And being stirred by Bullyes during braverie, he fell to the businesse, and led Bullye such a dance in his best and doubtless vnder-taken the discovery, and so fully carried him on fill with a sober discourse, further and further into the very mouth of the Canon and Musket shot, with a soft steady pace, as that Bullye began to finde and dislike their entertainment, seeing the imminent danger that they still ranne into. And thereupon suddenly asked La Noue, what hee meant so farre gone to engage himselfe, and on so slow a pace: whereunto La Noue answered, that hee did so, to make Bullye know, that La Noue had a heart as well to execute, as to come to give counsel when neede required. But at last, they both falling into the true reckoning of their follies; the one, for urging a valiant old Souldier, and the other for assenting to the vaine glorious humour of youth; inconsiderate courage, came off very quietly both together, hauing had their fill of discovering. And yet these Stimulates (as the Latines name them) shone ever in all ages raised. As I see in his Commentaries make

makes an official observation of two of his Captaines for the like: The one was called Titus Pullo, and the other Lucius Varenus, and it happened in his Warres of France, in the wintering Campe of Quintus Cicero, one of his Lieutenants being furiously assailed by the Gauls, but most resolutely defended. The manner hee describeth excellently, and large, in his Commentaries, to which I referre you.

And now to our purpose, by this time, we had reasonably to our satisfaction, made a sufficient discovery, both of the way for our Troopes to passe, and also of the ascents to the high Fort on the Mountaine. And then there came vnto vs Captaine *Bret*, and one Master *Henry Allen*, and others; who finding me hurt, very kindly benomed my harme, and I in requitall of their curtesie, as much lamented the want of all their good companies at that banquet: vpon the coming of these vnto vs, we went backe two of our men to Captain *Bret* (Sergeant Major for that time) to be his Guides, and to will him presently to march on with his Troopes towards the Towne after vs, and that we would stay for them, because we then looked to be fought withall, or at the least, to haue some little sally, or bickering out of the Fort at the Townes end, which we must needs passe by, before we could come to the Towne. This was a very fine fortification all of stone wallee, with curtaine, flankers, and ditch, very artificially built: but presently vpon our approach they abandoned it, and in our passing by we entered into it, and found that they had newly forsaken the place. The like did they afterwards from the Towne, and were all fled vp into the Countrey, and into the Mountaines, leaving those two hundred that were garrisoned in the high Fort. The Towne was empty, and left very bare of all things, but of such wares as could not suddenly be removed, which was Wine, Salt, and Corne, whereof they left a little store for our refreshing. The rest of our Troopes by this time were now come on very neere to the Towne, but there were some few and twentie of them hid, and some fouen or eight laie in the passage.

Fortification forsaken. Towne almost empty.

And in this manner we did afterwards enter the Towne very peaceably: which was a pleasant place, built all of Stone, and covered with Tile; and full of fine Gardens, Orchards, and Wells of delicate waters, with faire Streets, and one very faire Church, and also a Nunnerie, and a Fryerie. It is in bignesse about the proportion of *Phymouth*, or *Tarmouth*, but seated much like *Dover* Towne. This Island is of late yeeres become very watchfull, and the people more growne to the view of its armes, and haue for their defence erected this new fortification, on the high hill, with a Garrison of two hundred *Spaniards* in it. For not long before, it had bin very gallantly surprisid, and (as I thinke) lacked, and ranfomed by the right Honorable *George Clifford* Earle of *Comberland* (a noble Gentleman) that had often exposed both his life, and his person, to his great honour and exorable perience in those Seafaring Aduentures. And presently vpon our entrance we made *Bartiacques*, perience in those Seafaring Aduentures. And a strong Corps de Guard in the Market place. For the town being overalled, we were to liue, that if we lay there open, and carelessly refreshing our selues, and our souldiers scattered abroad in seeking for victuals, we might easily be surprisid without good order, and directions giuen, before we fell to our repair, or rest. But this order being first performed, then were others to better liberty to search safely for bootie. Therefore Proclamation was made, that vpon paine of death none should straggle twenty foor without the Towne, and that not without the knowledge and leaue of an Officer, and then to goe vpon their guard with fire weapon, and company. Haueing now refreshed and repoled our selues all night without any trouble, more then two fawle alarms, that were giuen vpon the sight of diuers of the inhabitants that approached towards the Towne, to view the manner of our dealings with their buoings (which proved nothing, but mistrust of the worst) for which, all things were well prouided to withstand the enemy) the next morning being the 22. of September, euen with the day break, we might see our Generall with his Fleet at hand, bearing in with all sailes towards the Rocks of *Fayal*, who all this while had bin beating vp and down the Sea, looking about for the *Admirall*, and other Aduenturers. Vpon his arrival, our intent for attempting the high Fort was frustrated, and all our proceedings in *Fayal* were by Sir *Gualle Merrick* at large related, vnto our Generall, and so aggregated, and writted into an euill sense, by him, Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Ashby* Sherke, and others, by putting my Lord in the head, that their parties were plied by the Rear Admirall only to steale honor, & reputation from him, and to let his owne forwardnesse to the view of the world; which intimation of theirs, was an exception that they knew our Generall was very apt of his owne disposition to take hold of, being a man that did affect nothing in the world so much as Fame, and to be reputed matchlesse for magnanimitie, and vnder-taking, and could hardly induce any that should obscure his glory in that kinde, though otherwise he fauoured them neuer so much. And that this is true, those that vnderstand his humour best, cannot easily deny. The which (I protest) I doe not speake, either out of any meed of one that is dead, or to picke a thauoe of any that liue, but simply out of a resolution to write an vnpartiall truth, or else to be silent. For those spirits that baste flattery, or seruile feare dash transpires in following their Histories, are of all others to be reputed the vnworshipped, and most pernicious in a well-politicked Common wealth. For we see that these Histories which haue written the stories of *Cyrus*, *Pyrrhus*, *Alexander*, *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, *Cæsar*, and of all other these great Kings, & renowned Heroes, do as well raise them for their vices, as glorifie them for their virtues: For who liues without faults? And so sincerely & boldly do they follow the truth in their writings, as that

They enter the Towne. Towne delicate.

Earle of Comberland. See sup. l. 6. s. 1.

Their order for safety and booty.

The Generals commanding.

Sir Gualle Merrick was his chiefest officer.

Earle of Effes his ambition or honour.

A a a a a a a a a

they are thereby freed from malice, or revenge, because they are free from all partialitie; or if any shew any, yet it is secret; for the prosecution of such secretie, is reputed more impie in all sorts, and flat Tyrannie in Princes. And to conclude, this impotent humor of induring rivalry, and other meanes practise, is very incident to men in high places, especially if they be of great courage, or tickled with Ambition.

It was besides alledged, that the presumption and scorn, to land such Forces without his Lordships leave, was not to be passed over without severe punishment; and a Marshall Court to be called, to censure the offence and breach of order, and discipline, with many other as bitter arguments, and denials, as their wits could compile, to aggravate the Generals wrath against all that were in this Action, and especially the Reare Admirall. Against whom, they spared not so farre to insinuate, as that they gave it out, that he was well worthy to looke his head for his labour. And so had they inuigiled the General against vally, as that all the forenoone was spent in reprehending and displacing all the Land Captaines, and Officers that accompanied the Reare Admirall in that Action, who being sent for to answer before the Generall aboard his ship, was before the Messenger came for him, gone in his Barge to see the Generall, and to guide him to the Land, not to much as suspecting that any thing had binill taken for that matter, but rather looking for great thanks at the Generall his hands. But so loone as he entered the Generals ship, he found all mens countenances estranged, as he passed through them. And when he was entered into the Generals cabin, after a faint welcome, the Generall began to challenge him, or breach of order and Articles: To whom the Reare Admirall answered, that he knew none of any Troop breach: my Lord replied, that there was an Article that none should land any of it Troops without the Generals presence, or his order. The Reare Admirall desired the Generall to quesh him leave to defend himselfe by those Lawes, which himselfe as well as others had deuted, and his Lordship with the Council of warre had authorized, and that then his Lordship should finde, that he had not committed any Error at all. For (saith he) there is an Article, that no Captaine of any ship, nor Captaine of any Company, if he be severed from the Fleet, shall land any where without direction, from the Generall, or some other principall Commander, upon paine of death. &c. But I take my selfe (and he) to be a principall Commander, under your Lordship, and therefore not subject to that Article, nor under the power of the Law Marshall, because a successfull commander of the whole Fleet in her Majesties Letters Patents, your Lordship, and my Lord Thomas Howard failing. And besides your Lordship agrees that I should land as this Island, with your Lordship, whom I have attended three four dayes, and finding that your Lordship came not, being in your way thitherwards halfe a dozen leagues before, I waied anchor, I could not but thinke, that you thought me from wrong to take this Island, and that your Lordship was gone, with some of the rest to some of the other Islands. And staid so long from landing at Sir Guillie Merricks retreat, as I heard were some company, even at my backe, murmur, and say, that I durst not adventure it. And to tell your Lordship a plaine truth, my intent at first was onely to water, untill I saw them follow me in that braving manner, which with our reputations was could not then flum, and give over, being already in our Boates for that purpose. For if I had intended the taking of the Towne, I would never have retired so farre off from our first Roade, that lay right before it.

This dispute held some halfe houre, and then the Generall went aboard, and rested himselfe in the Reare Admirals lodging, being well enough satisfied at that time. In so much as the Reare Admirall desired my Lord to sup there, and that if his Lordship went to call the matter further in question, he would claime no priviledge nor favour thereby, but answer it in the morning. To which Sir Christopher Blunt (taking my Lords answer from him) said, that he thought my Lord would not sup at all. But the Reare Admirall finding Sir Christopher Blunts disposition, told him, that when he invited him he might disable his owne appetite, but if my Lord pleased to stay, he would be very glad of his presence. In this meane while my Lord Thomas Howard very nobly, and kindly taking care, that no wrong, nor disgrace might be offered to the Reare Admirall by any desire, or practise of his Enemies, dealt with the Generall to finde how hee should be refused, and the next morning offered the Reare Admirall, that my Lord sought nothing but a due acknowledgement of an offence, alledging that the rest would thinke him a very weak and tame Com-mandment of an offence, alledging that the rest would thinke him a very weak and tame Com-mander, if he should receive no manner of satisfaction. The Reare Admirall hoping that hee had done nothing vnjustifiable, and well assured, that he was successfull in the Commission, for the whole commandment of the Fleet (And therefore not subject to any corporall danger) asallo because he assured himselfe of the Vice Admirals his honorable love, and sincere desiring, came againe in the morning to visite the Generall. Otherwise (remembering the little truth that men ought to repose in reconciled enemies, and the strong malice borne him by others in greatest fauour with my Lord) had ment to have put himselfe into his owne Squadron, and to have defended himselfe, or left my Lord. But my Lord Thomas Howard, perceiving him to goe, and satisfie the Generall (vpon whose word onely he made that adventure, after he had given him his honour, with great kindnesse, and resolution, that he would make himselfe a party, if any wrong or violence were offered, contrary to the Generall promise vnto him) he did as the Vice Admirall advised him. And so all things after a little dispute came to a quiet end and conclusion.

And within a day or two after, the Generall accompanied with the Vice Admirall, and other Lords, and Commanders dined aboard our ship, where he was exceedingly entertained, and com-mended.

remed. Onely this I omitted that when the Generall committed Captaine Bret, Berry, and Sydney, I the Reare Admirall desired that those Gentlemen might receive no hard measure in his cause, for whatsoever his Lordship doth conceive to have bin milions, hee must take it wholly on himselfe to answer, being at that time the Chief and Commander. This I have set downe in manner as I heard it, then from men of good foot, not being present therat my selfe, nor at that time able to write on the Generall, by reason of the shot through my legge, which I had received but the day before, in this thanklesse service.

Thus was the whole day spent in reprehending and disciplining vs for our paines. And yet notwithstanding, these aggressors, and chiefe Initiators of our Generall, vouchsafed to take the benefit of our reproued Trauails, in lodging, and relieving themselves in this good Towne, both this night, and three or four dayes after. But in the same day that our Generall arrived, about one of the clocke after midnight, all the Portugalls, and Spaniards in the high Fort, with their baggage and baggage, abandoned the place, leaving behind them fix peeces of great Artillery mounted. For when they saw the whole Fleet together, and so many gallant Troopes land with our Generall, their hearts fainted, and so they fled into the Countrey, and wedy Mountaines adjoining. Then in the morning when it was too late (although as yet wee knew not so much) direction was given to certain troopes, and companies, to guard all the foot of the high Fort, to stop, and stay them from stealing from thence, that were already gone, for it was given out, that it they did not presently layderder it, the place should be assailed.

But when newes was brought that they had abandoned the Fort, and carried all away, then was there much decanting of the foule oversight, so to suffer the Birds to escape out of the Cage, that might have bin so surely kept, if we had not bestowed more labour in disciplining and correcting our owne pretended faults for landing, then discretion or diligence in prosecuting the Enemy, whom we had at an advantage. For presently vpon their arrival, they did nothing but examine and discipline out offence. Whereas if they had gone in hand with the Fort, and cast a careful eye thereunto, we had not lost the ransoming of so many Spaniards prisoners, nor the benefit of the spoyle which they had carried out of the Towne, for safety &c. that place. And at this grosse error there was much muttering. But now diuers of the land officers (to colour and excuse their owne default) laid this blame also on vs, alledging that we should have lea good

gave vpon the Fort, if we had done like men of warre, vpon our first landing, and then all had bin sure. And although this excuse passed at first for some payment, for the common and more ignorant fort, yet all men of iudgement could easily perceive, how impossible a matter it was for vs out of foure hundred and sixtie to spare so many, as should sufficiently guard two hundred soldiers, from falling out of such a Fort, and yet proceede with the recovering of the other Fort, and Towne that was before vs. For the defence of both which, the Island was able and had in readiness (as our spies and guides assured vs) above one thousand able men well furnished, vpon whom we were to have a vigilant eye, and to keepe a convenient strength after we had once possessed the Towne. But after the Generall was come, this might easily have bin performed, or if he had not come, they had not fled so suddainly, and the same morning, we our selves had at-tempted the Fort, and made no doubt to carry it. But then with the presence of our Generall, vpon his arrival, all our determinations, and authorities were concluded.

Afterwards when our men entered this Fort, which the Spaniards had abandoned, there they found diuers peeces of Artillery, and an English Gentleman whose name was Hart, and a Flemming with both their throates cut. Then were there certaine comparies sent abroad the Countrey, to trace those Spaniards and Portugalls, and to make waile of all that lay in their way. But of the Garrison they could neuer recover one man. Now after three or four dayes the anger and dislikes of our Generall towards vs, were well pacified, and vpon further consideration and conference with the Reare Admirall of his doings, hee grew againe into very kinde termes with him, and at his suite relealed and restored all the disgraced Captaines that landed, and were in this service, and so having taken all the benefit, and refreshing of this Towne, and Island that we could come by, our time being so short, on the fourteenth of September we were all commanded to goe aboard. And for a farewell, and for the funerals of our lost men, and those two that were so desperately murdered in the high Fort, the Towne was brauely let on fire, and all the Ordnance of the Towne, and Forts brought away with vs. And I am perswaded that if the warres had not bin by chance to begun before by vs, vpon that Island by their owne seeking, and foolish brauery, and afterwards aggravated by their cruelty in murdering so desperately two of our Captaine in the high Fort, Fayal had escaped as free as did Cuernia, Flores, Gratiola, Saint Michaels, or any of the other. For surely they were all at our metcy, the Fort of Tercera onely excepted. But in all these Actions I obserued, and well saw, that our Generall in his true disposition, affected rather to be renowned for bounty, clemency, and valour, then for the glory of a dreadfull Conquerour. All this while the Flemmings were playing their parts in the title of Pike, which was about a league from Fayal; where I leaue them ransacking the Wines, and burning all that was within their power.

The fix and twentieth of September we made towards Gratiola, where we cast anchor, and presently

Sir Walter Ral-
leigh commeth
aboard the
Generall.

Accusation.

His answer.

Lord T. Howard
(now Earl of
Sunderland) his
Christian and
friendly medi-
ation.

The Generall
pacified.

High Fort aban-
doned.

Enuy speak
more in pre-
terred en-
emies, and is al-
ways worst to it
selfe, though
bad to all.

Fort and an-
other left with
throates cut.

Towne fired.

Reward of cru-
elty actually.

Graciola
submerseth.

presently whilst we rode before it, there came aboard our General, the chiefe men of the I-
land submitting themselves, and craving mercy of our General, alledging (as they of *Flores*
had done) that the inhabitants thereof were *Portugals*, and friends, and naturall Enemies to the
Spaniards, though they wanted meates and force to show it, being held vnder them by strong
hand. To this Iland our Generall heaued his accustomed mercy, and required of them some pro-
visions of Wine, Fruits, and fresh victuals for the relieuing of the Fleet; but of any other com-
petition we heard not, although it was supposed they did, or might haue yielded a better ran-
some: but this was very willingly sent by the inhabitants vnto vs. Here some of the Comman-
dants went aboard the General, and besought him to goe land, and somewhat better to suruey
this Iland, and for one day to let his Fleet anchor in that Roade, which his Lordship shewed
great willingness vnto. But the Maister of the Generalls Ship, whose name was *Gronela* a dull and
villanike fellow was vterly against that counsell, and alledged that the yeere was farre spent,
and the place of anchoring there not good for the ground tackle, protesting that it would be dan-
gerous to the whole Fleet, and put it in iazzard, and therefore very earnestly perswaded and
verged the leaving of that Roade; which aduice of his, our Generall then followed, to our great
lift, and hinderance, as afterwards it fell out. But *Gronela* the Maister must pardon mee to lay in
my opinion, that it was an vndiscrēt aduice, to so diuert our Fleet in such haste from that
Iland, considering the long abode he made afterwards before Saint *Michael*, and at *Vila Franca*,
to this purpose in all his Roades as this, and later in the yeere. Hereupon we wayed, leaving
Gratiola vpon Saint *Michael* Isle, and made for Saint *Michael* Iland, and on Saint *Michael*
day, early in the morning, we made that land, and bare in with the fluore. And as we came
very neere vnto it, two of the Sterne-most Ships of our Fleet, shot off twicqor thrice, and bare vp
with all sailes they could packe on, towards the Admiralls ship.

Newes of the
Indian Fleet.Three Spanis
ships taken.

These brought newes of the *Indian Fleet* then by them discouered, coming directly from
the Roade of *Gratiola*, that the General had foruoluntarily left but the Euenng before, by the
villuckie aduice of *Gronela* the Maister of his ship. Vpon the Intelligence giuen by these two ships,
our Admirall shot off a peece, and presently call about, and therewithall, wee in the other ships
perceued casting vp of Hates, and great shootes aboard the Admirall, for ioy of this newes. And
the like afterwards was done in the Vice-Admiralls ship, and so passed throughout all the Fleet.
Within some few houres after, we encountered, and tooke three *Spanis* ships, coming from the
Huana, the greatest of them being about foure hundred tonnes, and esteemed to be a very rich
ship, as well for the lading, as for the passengers that were in her. To this *Spaniard*, our ship cal-
led the *Wafflight* being neereft, gaue Chale, and caused her to strike, and yeelde: but yet
our Lord Generall lasting after, would suffer none but his owne Boate to goe aboard her, being full
of good prisoners, and pillage besides her lading, which was *Cochynella*, and other such rich
Wares. This ship and the other two that were in her company, being very good prizes also, made
to the General a relation of forty sailes of *Indian* men, whereof some eight were fraught with
the Kings Treasure, that did dissemble with them from the *Huana*, bound for *Spain*. And as
we after heard, the *Garland*, the *Runebow*, the *Dreadnought*, the *Marigold*, and others, fell a-
mongst iustexte saile of the richest of this *Indian Fleet*, whereof they found one, and whilst
they were busie in seeking to take the spoile of her (as it was credibly reported) all the rest did
escape, and recouer *Terreca*. But of this I speake as the general voice went, and not vpon other
assurance, for they were then separated from vs, and the rest of the Fleet; And therefore I must
adde this conclusion, to desire that *Imag* if the vnderstanding yet be pardoned, if in the relations I
cannot truly, nor at large write the accidents, and courses of all their ships in particular, being no eye witness
thereof, nor possible could so be. For to doe that in a land army, or in a battaile is very hard, and much more
in a Sea Voyage consisting of so many ships sometimes separated.

Ind an Fleet
pursued to Ter-
ceira.The Deere de-
scribed.

A Counsell.

Vpon intelligence of this escaping, and passing by so villuckily of these *Indian Ships*, we were
all much perplexed. For by that chance, and by our vnfortunate haff from *Gratiola*, but the very
night before, we saw that Euen, and faith of destiny demed to make vs so happy, as to be ma-
sters of so great a fortune, as when had fallen into our laps, if wee had not fill followed all those
counsellis that fell out to the worst. Notwithstanding, with all the speed wee could make, we in-
stantly followed after them to *Terreca*, where they were entered some fixe houres before vs, and
had moored their Ships full vnder the Towne and Fort, being one of the strongest pieces of all
Europe. There we might alvnde behold them safe within the Roade, which was a great Inlet in-
trenched with a high Land, in manner of *Peninsula*; so as the Shippes lay vnder the command of
two strong Fortifications, a place neither here nor possible for our Ships to follow them, except we
had meant, that they should haue there stuck fast for coming out againe. Now was there a ge-
nerall counsell called aboard the Admirall, what course to take herein, and many great aduents-
ures propoised and offered to be attempted, by some Coronels and Captaines, with Boates and
Pinnaces for the landing of men, to force those places, but all in vaine, and altogether vnfeasible.
For whereas they, with one thousand five hundred men, offered to take both the Iland and
Forts, some others of the chiefe Sea-Commanders in their iudgements, well knowing the great
difficultie to Land men, and Munitions on so disadvantageous a place, and in so quill a season of the
yeeres

yeere; besides the great strength of the Fortifications, so well furnished at that time by this new
armall) were vterly against it, as a matter triuolous, and of more apparant danger to our Idles,
then to the Enemy, and for it yeelded sundry reasons. All which these Coronels seemed to ac-
count light or, and would needs in great brauery, still vrge the vnertaking of it, if they might
haue but the proportion of one thousand five hundred men, before going of which the General
himselfe seemed greatly to allow, and insit vpon, and therefore of necessitie to be yeelded vnto by
the inferior Commanders.

But as Vice-Admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, finding indeed the make whereof some of
our great Captaines thus, to wit, that it would haue lured their turnes to haue vained, that if the
Vice-Admirall, and Reare-Admirall had bene willing to this enterprise, and not credited it by
counter counsellis, the *Spanis* Fleet and Treasure (oy making the Ilands of *Terreca*) might haue
bene recovered, his Lordship refused either to tie them to their pretended resolutions, or to make
him see, that they could not tiee themselves of him, by any such finishe & pretences. And there-
fore told the general plainly, that if indeed he would so willingly haue it attempted, himselfe and
the Reare-Admirall for their parts would be forward and readie to aduenture as farre as any o-
thers. And moreover, the better to inable the action, said that they would undertake to find him
three thousand strong and able men, to spare out of the Fleet, and yet leave the Naue sufficiently
manned. And therefore (said they) if your Lordship see no other reasons to let or hinder this
offered attempt, there shal be no want of so many men as we speake of, which is double the num-
ber that was demanded. But vpon this constant offer, the matter was againe debated, and grew
somewhat colier, being better digested. So as in conclusion it was deemed inconuenient, and im-
possible to be effected, as our Forces and helpes, and theirs at that time stood, and the time of the
yeere so farre spent, and the winds and the Seas growne so tempestuous for landing in Boats. But
this offer had not bin made, then, the relinquishing of their glorious motions, and attempts, had
bin laid vpon the backwardnesse and disuasions of the Sea-men, which was well enough per-
ceiued, and therefore accordingly answered.

These vnfeasible offers, and Brauadoes, puts me in mind of the like inconsiderate vnfortunate offer
of Sir R. Greenfield in the Reuenge, who being Vice-Admirall to the same Lord Thomas
Howard Admirall in a journey to these Ilands in certaine of the *Queenes Ships*, they returned to meet
with a great Fleet of the King of Spaines, neere to the Ile of *Flores*, consisting of so many bage and mighty
Gallies, as was vs fit for them to undertake, being in number and force three times as strong as ours
was. And therefore fitter to be warily dealt withall, then rashly aduentured vpon, therefore the Admi-
rall (one of the due consideration and iudgement of the office, and place hee held, as also for that at his re-
turne home, hee was to giue a strict account of the charge committed vnto him) thought it fitt to keepe still
aloofe, and in the weather of this powerfull Naue, and so to fight with them at his best advantage, off, and
on, as occasion serued, or else to free himselfe from them if need required: For his Ships being more num-
ber, rare, and swift, then the Spaniards, it had bin a grosse error to haue thrust himselfe wilfully in a-
mongst them, and so to giue them the advantage of boarding, being high and mighty built Ships, strong-
ly manned and full of shot, and the manner of fight, by boarding most advantageous for those huge Gallies.
Besides being, as they were all men of Warre, and brace as many as the English, and no other better
to bee got by boarding them, but blows, and the hazard of battaile, which is vncertaine victory is be-
hooned in aaduently to carry himselfe, and rather to follow the heedy steps of a Fabius Maximus, then the
beauly steps of a Terentius Varro. But his Vice-Admirall, being indeed a man very wilful, and violent
in his courtes, could in no wise be perswaded to follow his Admirall, and his counsells. But thrusting
himselfe rashly in amongst the Spaniards, those mighty Vessels being a Sea-boord, and some of them getting
into the weather of him, so becalmed all his sailes, as that hee could not vfe the benefit of working vpon a
wind to his best advantage, nor free himselfe of them when hee would, but was clapt aboard by two or three
of them; where to redeeme his error, seeing hee had brought himselfe so vnadvisedly into a deperate
worke, hee very resolutely fought, and made long resistance, to the great auance and losse of the Assay-
lants. But in the end, being shakten and beaten to fitters with their great Ordnance, and oppressed with the
multitude of them, coming in fresh vpon him, was by manye force mastered, and yet disdaining to yelde,
for that hee had received his death wound in the fight, fought by all meanes to haue blowne up his Ship,
by setting fire on his owne Powder roomes, and therewithall to haue destroyed as many of the Spaniards
as lay aboard him; but by the care of his Captaine (whose name was *Lugborne*) was withstood and pre-
vented. A right ancient Roman resolution, but somewhat too much varying from the true Christian Re-
ligion; to draw a violent and sudden death on so many soules, for the better gracing of his particular re-
proue. And thus lost by his owne wilfulness, brought hee one of the Royall Naues, into the power and
possession of the Spaniards, which during all the Warres, neuer before nor after they could obtaine. And
the fauour of God it was, that his fowle example had not vnticed more of his men, at the same time to the like
folly and ruine. Now the best that hee could hope for, was after the exchanging of some great shot with
them, to haue come off againe if hee could. A brauery to small purpose, for to subdue them, was not in the
power of all the English, if they had bene as many more in all likelihood and reason. Vpon which grownd
wise Commanders ought to build their resolutions, before they put themselves in the hazard of battaile.
Besides, as truth it was a very insolent and disorderly part, for a Vice-Admirall, being a man of his yeeres
and

Digression
touching rafe
and
brauados,
Sir R. Greenfield
his story you
haue before,
which perhops
may somewhat
better excuse
him.Ramus ex-
plic.Ramus, the
only Ship of
the Navy Roy-
all, possided
all, possided
by the Span-
iards and da-
t by board-
ing.

and experience, foolishly without cause, against all discretion to vary from his Admiralls course, and from the opinion of all his Consorts, only to bid himselfe voluntarily to so foolish and buter a banquet, wherein hee could be lost. And had would it be for Generalls, and Chief Commanders, to fulfill these Instructions, or satisfy that which is expected at their hands, if they should be drawn on, or ingage themselves, by the vaine example of every one that is carried with a heady humour, to follow his owne wilful conceits. For so was that noble Paulus Æmilius, and the Roman Armie with him lost, at the Battail of Cannis, in being constrained to second the foolish bravery of Varro, his rival Collegue. And in the undesired desperate fight, did that valiant Duke of Yorke, Richard Plantagenet, Father to Edward the Fourth, wilfully call away himselfe, when with time and men only, contrary to the persuasions and counsel of all his friends, out of the pride of his bravery, he would needs fall out of his Castle of Sandall, in a great battail to the Queenes Armie, that was twenty thousand strong, whereby his weak forces were quickly defeated, at Wakefield, and himselfe slaine, with his young sonne the Earle of Rutland. It is said to bee the dutie of a great Captaine, to seek victory with as little losse to himselfe, as may bee, and more military discipline is to be in making a faire and safe retreat, then in giving a furious and desperate charge. The experience whereof I well see, in that gallant Souldier Sir John Norrie, who was as much Honour and Fame, by that brave, and well ordered retreat which hee made. For example, as in any one piece of service that ever hee did. We had also fresh in our memories, a Sea experiment of the very incredible success of Sir Richard Greenfield, in the like attempt of Peter de Streffe, Admiral of a French Fleet, against a mighty Spanish Navy, commanded by the Marquisse of Sancta Cruz, at these Islands. Where this Streffe sent off a wilful bravery, contrary to the better advice of all his Captaines, and Masters, having already landed many brave troops of Frenchmen, in the Islands, as adjacent to Don Antonio, named King of Portugal, upon the first view would needs lay the Marquisse and the Spanish Fleet aboard, being compassed of mighty huge Gallies, and the French but slender nimble Ships. By which unequal match, and foolish daring hee was beaten downe. Right all his Naue destroyed (sawing the Coast Brylack, and a few others of better indgement, that would not follow his vaine conceits), and himselfe being taken prisoner, was alive most dispitefully torne, and drawne asunder with two Ships. Thus lost hee himselfe, and his bowen, brought many gallant Gentlemen and Souldiers to a butcherly execution, and utterly thrust Don Antonio from the possession of the Iles of Aiores, and confounded all those brave French troops, which a little before hee had placed in them. But in another manner, and with better success, were our affaires governed, in the year 88. when that mighty Fleet of Spaine, which they termed invincible, came to invade vs. For then I remember, amongst other good discipline, and instructions for the Sea fight; it was frantically ordained, that none of our Ships should voluntarily (if they could by any means avoid it) lay any Spaniards aboard, but alwayes to fight with them upon advantage, and whenever by all means to keepe into the weather of them, and so leave or take an occasion served, they coming in unawares, and our end only to keepe them from landing. The which direction was so well observed, as that this invincible Fleet, for all their force and powerful appearance, proved at last invincible, left many of their Ancors and good Ships behind them, got not, nor sunk any one of ours: but being fore gauled and beaten, with this manner of fight, and greatly affrighted with fire, and such like stratagems, were at last glad to pecte away, as full as they could out of the backe door. I mean by the North Sea, round about Scotland, and Ireland, wherein they found a miserable and tedious fight, never having gotten so much as a dyle of our fresh water, nor ever landed one man (except prisoners) upon our Coast. Now, if our Admirall, the Lord Charles Howard had been a wilfull Commander, standing upon these vaine glorious termes of boarding and assaulting the enemy, and not have proceeded by counsel and policie temperately, then had hee done that which the Spaniards expected and desired, their Ships being fit for the purpose, and coming to boarding and hand fight, might very well have distressed vs, and so have battered both the Name, and the Kingdom the other. But this noble Lord, as hee was very fortunate and indicious in Sea service, so hee truly and wisely considered, how great a weight and charge lay on his indgement and will, and therefore did accordingly, with great wisdom and temper, marshall his affaires, to the overthrow of his Enemies, to the perpetual honour of his name, and the victorious service of his Prince and Country. This therefore may stand for a Maxime and Canon, to all great and wise Commanders, that to whom a King or State commits the will and direction of an Army: it binds him in the free use of his owne courage, or from expressing (upon every temptation) his particular valour. For that forward humour of daring, is to be used in younger yeeres, before they arrive to these places of dignity or command; and then euer after, they should seldom in the Lyons skin, setting aside the effects of braving or vaine glory, as did that Fabius Cunctator, of whose Enemies in private I write. Non potuit enim rumores ante salutem. And the best presidents I have here taken occasion to record, thereby only to shew what inconveniences and detriments doe follow such unbridled heat, and heady humours, and to the contrary, what benefit and advantage is gained in the true use of timely and temperate proceedings. For surely, if these desperate offers, made by the Land Souldiers, instigating our forward Generall to the taking of the Tercera, had been then put in execution, the end had beene, that many a valiant man had there left his bones, and the rest returned home with the forme of a disgraced attempt. Besides, if the Adelantado with the Spanish Naue had then chanced to have come on our backes, whilst our best men were otherwise engaged about this desperate and uselesse enterprise, it might have turned to the destruction of the whole Fleet, as at the

least to the assured losse of as many as were landed about that businessse. But (thanks be to God) good counsel prevailed, and prevented those hazards.

After that this dispute was so calmly concluded; our Generall himselfe, and the Lord Mountjoy in the Defiance, and two or three other tall Ships, bare in as close along the floate as they could, exchanging upon pleasure, some fifteen or twenty great shot with them, to very little purpose, and to let the Ile of Tercera, a place very strong both by Nature and Art, and at that time well stored with Men, Munition, and Treasure; by reason of the late arrival of thole Indian Ships. From thence were returned againe to the Ile of Saint Michaels, which before on Michaelmasse day wee made, and left then upon this Intelligence. And now as soone as we were entered into the Road, that lies before Saint Michaels Towne, wee let fall our Ancors, and there the Generall accompanied with diuers of our chiefe Officers, coming about our Reare-Admirall, hung our Flag of Conquest, where it was consulted about landing, and the taking of this good Towne, which lay so gloriously before our eyes, promising many rich rewards to the Victors in the which there was a light Fort towards the Seaside, but the Towne unwall'd. The Generall appointed that all Companies should bee made ready to land forthwith. But our Reare-Admirall desired his Lordship, that hee would first permit him to view the place, and to find out where the Army might best make a defence, because the Billowes who thole Islands doe sometimes to roule from the Seas, might easily overturne the best Boates we had, as wee found by experience at Fayal, where wee had two long Boats curruted in landing, and Master Thomas Key may all throwne with a Sea on the Rocks in his Boat. Our Generall at first, to the Reare-Admiralls request, for viewing a fit place, But as hee was putting off, and scarce gone from the Ships five or six paces, my Lord, standing in the Gallery with Sir Christopher Blunt, called him backe againe in great haste, and said that hee would goe himselfe and view it. Whereupon the Reare-Admirall returned againe, as my Lord commanded; and as his Lordship went out of the Ship into his Barge unarm'd altogether, but with his Coffer and Sword, and without either Shot or Pike to any waye on him, the Reare-Admirall called aloud unto him, and desired his Lordship to take his Cask, and Target proote with him, it hee purposed to goe neere the shore, fearing there lay so many Muskets on the reif, there to receive him. Whereunto my Lord answered, That hee would none, because hee diddained to take any advantage of the Watermen that rowed him.

But (in my opinion) though that answer much flattered his valour, yet became it not the place that my Lord held, for in truth a Generall ought not to be so adventurous, and careless of himselfe upon every slight occasion, nor to goe unarmed to places of imminent perill. Homer describes the valiant Heroes, and bravest Leaders of the Greekes to be best armed: At Achilles, an excellent Armour framed by Vulcan, at the request of Thetis his mother, and Ajax with his sumefield shield. In summe, as their very arms are famous even to these dayes, so the use whereof now wee make seemefull. But they are no better Souldiers in the warres, that hold these opinions: for it is truly said, that a great and wise Generall would dye old. And I have read that famous Epaminondas, was forced by his Countrymen the Thebanes, for being too forward, and serving in a battail ill armed, although hee was the victor. But to our matter: After that these landing places were viewed a farre off, and were not well liked, nor yet so neerly approached at that time, as within Culverin Shot (for there lay all along the shore about foure hundred Shot upon the reif, intrenching themselves to be on our Boats;) in conclusion, after many offers and hurries made aloofe, the convenience of that place for Landing was excepted against. Albeit in truth it was a faire and handy beach (as all the Fleet might well perceive) and some foure or five miles from the Towne, and Fort, and much more safe then that of Fayal, where wee before was our landing. And that this is most true, many that were present (now living) and few both, can iustly affirme.

And although our Generall himselfe, was very resolute and apt to undertake any good occasion of service, yet hee was then soled and accompanied with such politicke Land Captaines, as that of all the services which fell into consultations and deliberations, thole most commonly, which were uselesse, were offered to be undertaken, and things more likely and reasonable neglected. Whereby our affaires speed accordingly. And in this regard that this dissent was not by my Lord Generall his viewers, allowed of, as fit for the Army to land at, so many Engines being placed and intrenched there to impeach vs, it was presently by another consultation agreed, that the Reare-Admirall should with all the strength of the Fleet, lay as neere before the Towne of Saint Michaels, as conveniently they could, to hold them in expectation; whilst my Lord Generall and the rest, with two thousand men imbarcked into small Barkes and Pinnaces, secretly in the night did convey themselves about the point, to land at a Towne called Villa Franca, five or six miles further then the first determinate landing. And for that purpose, they had most of all our Boats with them, and three English men for their guides; that perfectly knew all the Islands and the Townes, by long trade and living amongst them. Thole three guides assured our Generall both of a quiet landing, and of a very faire and secret way, to march from thence to Saint Michaels Towne.

Our trouper being thus shipped, and our Generall also, they made halt towards Villa Franca, where

They arise
to see the
the 1. and
time.

How Sea

Boldnesse by
some cheefe
fortitude.

Villa Franca

They land at
Villa Franca.

where they arrived safe, & were all landed by the next morning, without any manner of resistance. For mozt of all the Town upon their arrival abandoned the Town, and we that were left under the command of the Reare-Admirall, in the best Ships before the Towne of Saint Michaels, did all the night give them perpetuall Alarms, with Shot, Drummes, and Trumpets, in such Boats as were left, sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, alongt the shoare, where the Spaniards kept: their *Corps de Guards*, and fiers, who were often in great amazements, calling, and running to and fro, thinking verily that we were landing in that place or about it. And thus wee did, to give our Army the better, and more secret meanes to make their descent, and so to come unlooked for on their backs, as their very way did lie, and might in truth very conveniently have beene performed: They being thus landed, wee in the Ships did all the next day looke out apace, hoping to see our troups come marching over the Hills and Plaines, that were perfect in our view: for the mozt part of the way that they were to come, being all alongt the Sea side, was in our sight more brim from the Ships by farre, then if wee had bene aloare. But this good Towne of Villa Franca, had so well commanded and interrained our men, (being feated in a pleasant soyle, full of fruits, wines, and fresh viuals, and the Sellars stuffed full of Oade and Wheat) as that our Army was content there to ingarrison, without any further pursuit of Saint Michaels Towne, and there for sixe dayes together they lay feasting, and carrying aboard of Oade, Wheat, Sale, and other merchandise, into certaine private mens Ships that followed the Fleet, for such Purposes.

Heribals Capue.

Whilst wee all in vaine still gaped for their coming, which wee the rather thought would have bin at the last, for that in all this time, they neuer so much as sent word, to make vs partakers of their determination to the contrary, whereby they would be sure we should neither participate any of their Commodities, nor see the dispose of them; although twice cast many conjectures and aymed nere the marke, finding this lingring very strange. But, to doe right to currey man, I assure my selfe, our Generall had no benefit of these wares and commodities, being of a disposition too noble and bountifull to value such trifles worth his regard. For it had bene easie for him to have abounded with wealth and possessions, without following the fortune of the wares, or the hazard of the Seas; if hee had aymed at such common markes. But in this meane while, as ween the great Ships, anchored in Saint Michaels Road, there came in about the Point that lies westwards from the Towne, a small *Brasill* man, and let fall his Ancor in the midst of vs. all. A little after him, we might discern aloofe off a mightie huge Carack, bearing in with all layles toward vs, whom these tooke to be the *Spanish Armada*. And the *Brasill* man confessed that hee thought the same also: for the King of *Spaines* men of Warre (when he makes Fleets) are compounded of the shipping of diuers Nations, and therefore the more hardly to be distinguished from ours, which was at that time compounded of *English*, and *Holland* Bottoms, besides our great *Spanish* Gallions, called the *Saint Andrews*, and some other lesser *Spanish* Vessels that wee had taken before. Now there blew a stiffe gale from the Land, our Saint Michaels Towne, in such sort, that shee must either put rowme into the Sea, or fall vpon vs. For as the wind then stood, shee could not run in with the Towne or Fort by no meanes, neither was it any part of their meaning.

A Brasill man.

A mightie
Carack.Greedinesse
loseth his
morfill.The Carack
can be sette
on ground.
She was set
on fire.
Examples of
Cocks voyage.

As soone as wee had made her to be a Carack, wee tooke in all our Flags by a general commandment from our Reare-Admirall: withall directions were giuen, that no man should once weigh an Ancor, or shoot off a Peece, or put off a Boat, but with leaue or order. All this while she still bare in with vs, with all layles to the Boates end, when suddenly one of the *Holland* Squadron (contrary to all discretion & the direction before) weighed his Ancors, hoisted his top sailes, & made towards this Carack, now ready to double the Poynt that entred the Road where we lay: and when the *Holland* came nere the Carack, hee presently made two or three Shot at her. Whereupon shee discovering vs to be Enemies, changed her course, and at the very instant (in the view of vs all that observed it, as if shee had had the wind at her deuotion) the gale changed, & came full of the Seas: with the helpe whereof, and with the feare of falling into our hands, shee tooke a resolution to runne her selfe a ground, hard vnder the Towne and Fort. Which done from thence there presently came multitudes of Boats, fetching away their men and beft wares, and that done, shee was instantly by them set on fire in many places at once, being full of great Ordnance, as appeared by the report they made. Such is now the custome and obstinacie of all these *Sea-faring* men vnder the *Spanish* iurisdiction, as that by reason of the feruore order, set downe by the King to that effect, they will carelesly burne their Ships, and wares, if they can escape themselves, rather then grow to any compulsion to save some liberty. And the like was seene at Cadix, by the Fleet that was outward bound for the Indies: who after they had entertained a parley with vs, to compound for their Ships, and all the merchandize, at a raysonne of halfe the value: whilst they amused vs with this colourable pretence, thereby they gained time to steale out some of their goods, and afterwards set the Shippes on fire, where they stood. But this argueth as great sacrilege in the Sovereigne, as flauery in the subjects.

This Carrack was a Ship of infinite wealth, that at Saint Hellens watering as shee came from the East Indies, put over to *Brasill*, and so coasted alongt the West Indies, and was fraught with

theriches and wares both of the East and West. Wee hastid all wee could when wee saw her a ground, tottering and reeling, with those few Boats wee had left, to haue entred her. But before wee could make vs ready, or come nere her, being three miles off, shee was on light fire in many places, her Ordnance thundring off apace, and too hot to bee approached, much lesse to be entered at that time, without inescutible destruction. And yet such halft was made to haue prevented this mischief, that diuers had like by ouercharging Boates and Pinnaces, to to haue founded in the Seas, the Billowes going very high. And in that case was our Reare-Admirall among (it others, who for halft to this banquet tooke his Row Barge, and was so ill able him to endure the Seas that were rough, and went high at that time, as that I by chance feeling him so ill hefted, & in danger was faine to clap him aboard with a good stout shipboate that I was in, hauing made halft also to that fealt as fast as I could. But in conclusion wee came all too late, for the broth was growne to hot for our fupping. To behold her thus flaming was a grieuous sight to vs, but a mozt wretched spectacle for the *Portingalls*, so to see their goods by their owne deedes and fury, to perish with fire and water in a goodly vessell, iudged to bee 1800. Tunnes at the least. Shee was a whole night, and all the next day in burning, and in beholding her, you might haue seene the very shape, Cordage, Masts, and Furniture of a Ship so perfectly in fire, as no Painter could haue halfe so well resembled it with Art, or Colours. And when shee was cleane consumed to the water, there arose still a great smoke out of the Sea for many houres after, by reason of some close Decks full of Spices and Sugar vnder water, which the fire had taken hold of.

This Tragedy ouerspatt, wee then fell againe to looke out for our Army coming, but all in vaine. For if in any time, for sixe dayes together after their landing, they had come forward from Villa Franca, the Towne of Saint Michaels, and the Carack also had bene our owne, safe without question. For four forces had in all that time inuested themselves of the Towne (which they might haue done, there being neither *Willes* nor *Bulwarkes* to hold them out) the Carack would haue runne her selfe a ground, vnder the Towne as shee did: if shee had, then had shee fallen into the hand of our Generall, and his *Triumpher*; or, if shee had kept a Sea-board, then had shee fallen into the mercy of our Fleet, which by no meanes shee could haue escaped. But it was a lesse then as miserable, as lamentable, for that no good reason could be yielded (as was thought) nor durst hee demand, why so gallant a Company, so easily landed for so good a purpose, (should so long linger in a little Towne, forsaking themselves and the whole Army, upon Friends and Wine, to the neglecting of the service determined. But it was manifest, that besides their pleasure and good cheer, the great store of Oade, Corne, and Sale, did intice some Land-men of good credit, (who had Ships there of their owne) rather to take the peacable, and private benefit thereof, then to vnderstand some paine and perill, for the winning of Saint Michaels Towne, for the publicke good. And this was a piece of service very unfortunately neglected, but upon whose good reason I could neuer tremble. And I am perswaded, that if his Lordship had built life vpon some mens violent counsells, and vaine conceits, hee might haue done many things better, and long haue liued in great prosperitie. But all his care was to content and winne vnto him, certaine Polititians and *Marsh* all men, whom notwithstanding (according to the custome of the world) hee found many times vngatefully to deale with him, to fence their owne turnes, drawing him without into ambitious humour, and affliction of popullarities, which our Great men rarely succedeth with. And very strange it was, to see so many great fortunes lost in this iourney; but that the very *Houans* did in them (like *Comets*) foretelling the decay and lamentable destiny, that traced our Generall towards his end, whose bright shining felicity was some after eclipsed, and admirably metamorphosed into ruine and destruction. Only this comfort remained to his friends, that hee ended his life with a great resolution, pietie, and penitence, as was possible to bee expressed in the conuenance or words of a man, vntoily diuorced from the world, and wholly deuoted to celestiall Contemplation, to the vnderstand comfort of his Soule.

We from the ships, looking thus till in vaine, for those that neither came nor sent word vs, whereby we lost all opportunitie of watering and refreshing our selues: for we in the *Wassipie*, and diuers of our Contorts, had not watered since our setting out from *Plimouth* began to refuse to goe to our Generall, seeing wee could neuer heare from him in all that time. And as we were entering into this deliberation, wee might perceiue the Admiralls Ship by her Flag turning out from the point of Villa Franca: And two dayes before, many of our great Ships had left the Reare-Admirall, contrary to the Generalls order, which wee durst not breake in the *Wassipie*, by a late caueat, because it was that contrarie to that which was appointed by a Council, and the Generalls his command. But as soone as wee had desired the Admirall (by his Flag) putting rowme; our Reare-Admirall tooke his Barge, and Captaine Morgan with him, and rowed to him; and the same night sent Captaine Morgan backe againe, with directions in the Generalls name, to command all the Fleet to weigh, and to come for Villa Franca. This was no little griefe to vs all, that had so long and diligently waited on Saint Michaels Towne, and looked to haue had the better account of that place, then so barely and abruptly to leaue it after all thes offers. And (to say the truth) it was either a grosse oversight, or a willfull fault vnexcusable to the State, that it was not in better fort manner, ged. For (no doubt) they would willingly haue raysoned their Towne, rather then haue hidden the fortune of the Warres by Sword and Fire, and wee had amongst vs, men of sufficient experience to deale in such compassions, which (for ought I know) they might doe. Thus, with griefe and discontent wee

(The later Watch being mine, and the Rear Admiral being gone to rest) I did instantly command the Maite Gunner to shoot off a great Piece to caule them to looke about, but both our Maite, and the Maite Gunner were so mad at me for forcing them to follow this course, as that they could hardly have suffered a warning Piece to bee shot, but had, they deferred to caule the Maite Gunner to be so wilfullesse, having brought themselves and all the Fleet, cleane out of the danger into this danger. And out of very rage and discontent, these men had quite forgotten all that was said of Charity, and would by no means have bestowed a shot upon them, to alter them from this vnfaire course, but that I vrged their Dutie, and enforced them to shoot, and shoot againe three or four times, one after another, much against their wills.

Whereupon we might within a little time, plainly persecute our Admirall with all his Train, 10 to take about, finding their owne Errors, as afterwards they confessed. And therefore presently they beat vp, to double the Cape of Silley, thereby to enter the *Sleue*, which with much adoe they performed. But wein the *Watt-sight* being now by this time flout in along the North side of *Cornwall*, almost as farre as *Saint Iues*, our ship being extreame weake and leakie, and our Drink and Water come to the last call, at very bare allowance, wee durst not aduance put to the Seas in these wants, and in a Vessell so ill able to beat it vp against the winde, to double againe the Point of Silley, whereby to recouer the *Sleue*. And therefore stood along the Coast, and that night anchored before *Saint Iues*, where we found sundry *Spanish* Carauels, and Fleet-boates of the *Spanish* Fleet, which was let out vnder the *Adelantado*, to have encountered vs at our returne from the lands, but were all disperfed and colled with the same Storme, that before had scattered vs, which fell out: very happily. For if we had met, we must haue tried the Battell, chiefly 20 by Boarding, or else trusted to our Sayles, for that our best and greatest Ordnance (for the sake of our Ships in these stormes) were stricken downe vnder hold. So that we should haue found great disadvantage, to haue encountered with a Naue, coming frong and fresh from the Maïne, and were tired, and scattered a sunder, with a long and painful Voyage. Herein was Gods favour and mercy mightily shewed towards all sides: For by this Storme, which so furiously for the time afflicted vs, were wee, and that *Spanish* Fleet vnder the *Adelantado* seuered, and kept from encountering, which had cost much blood, and mischief: and to say a truth, in all likelihood, the world might haue fallen to our shares.

For when wee had left the Ilands and were once crose-fayled for *England*, I observed, that be- 30 fore the Storme, diuers of our best Ships, made all the haste they could homewards, neuer following nor attending the Admiralls course, nor light. Which is an Emour too much vsd amongst vs, and very disorderly and dangerous; as would haue bene well obserued, if the *Adelantado* had then met with any of those fraglers, or with the Admirall himselfe homewards bound, so disorderly accompanied.

Which manner of disorder and scattering, in the Conduet of a Royall Naue, especially in fo long a Voyage, is very fit to bee straightly reformed.

These *Spanish* Fleet-boates and Carauels, had made many landings by stealth, on that side of 40 *Cornwall*, and put the Countrey in great frights, and amazements: especially, vpon the report of a great Fleet, that was coming after them for *England*. Whereupon our Rear Admirall from before the *Saint Iues*, left the Seas, and went a Land, to take some order for the Countrey of *Cornwall*, whereof hee was then her Maiesties Lieutenant, seeing it then in much amazement and feare, and so meant to goe our land to *Plymouth*, there to meet with our Generall.

From the Road of *Saint Iues*, the next morning, wee in the *Watt-sight* let saile for *Kingroad*, and met with such foule weather, as that ouer against the flat *Holmes*, three brake againe by their Maïne yard, which was before broken, and new fished in the beginning of this Voyage. But at last, with much adoe wee brought her about, to *Kingroad*, and within a few dayes after moored her safe in *Hungerford*: where I tooke speedie order for the paying, and discharging of her men, at the *Spaniards* cost, and also for the repaying of her decayes.

By this time wee also had newes, that our Admirall and the rest of our Fleet, were safely met, 50 and arrived at *Plymouth*. And at the same instant also had we intelligence, by a small man of *Brasill*, but newly come from *Cork* in *Ireland*, that Sir *Iohn Norris* President of *Manster*, and the Lord *Burgh* Deputie of *Ireland*, were both lately deceased.

Of which two men, her Maiestie and the Realme had no small losse, being both Martiall men of great worth, and seruice, as *England* bred in many yeeres before. And although it be no part of this matter to speake of them, yet their Deatnes, being diuulged to vs at the same time, cannot be thought vnfit, or unworthy (by the way) heere to be remembered and lamented.

After I had thus taken order with the Officers of the Ship at *Brissill*, I receiued Letters from the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Admirall, for the accomplishing of that, which I had already 60 (out of due consideration) gone in hand withall: I meane the discharging and paying of the Mariners and Souldiers, being to the number of foure hundred men, which would haue growne to a great, and needefull expente, to haue kept them in pay and victuals vntill such time as I could haue sent vnto the Court, to recuee directions backe againe for the same. And therefore did first take vp monies vpon credit, and then by the Drum make knowne in *Erifon*, that there

Spanish Fleet dispersed.

Disorderly break homewards.

Death of Sir Iohn Norris and Lord Burgh.

were Sugars, Brail wood, and Fernambuck aboard our Ships, which I would presently make sale of, to those that would giue moit for it, and not merchant it vnder hand, nor in secret, to the preiudice and deceiuing of her Maiestie. And therefore with the knowledge and aduice of the Maister, the Purser, and Boatswaine of the Ship, and the Customer, and Searcher of *Brissill*, I landed those Wares in late Cellars, and sold them to the best Chapmen in public que, (settled under the hands of those Officers of the City, and of the Ship, for my discharge in that behaue, and made thereof five hundred pounds. The which summe I deliuered to one *Aigen* then Purser of the *Watt-sight*, to the end that hee by his Booke might pay the Mariners, and the Souldiers by the Powle, as a care of mine for those poore men vnder my Charge, which was duly performed.

The which I haue bene the more precise to remember, and noifie, for that I took no small pains and care, in getting those Sugars, and Brail wood aboard us, out of some *Brasill* house, that was ready to founder in the Sea before *Saint Michaels*, and abandoned to any that would aduantage to goe aboard her, to fetch away the lading. Which businesse (in that vacant time that the *Argue* lay at *Villa Franca*, and we before *S. Michaels Towne*) I put my selfe, and my Mariner-voyagers, to do, I had not so much paines and trouble in the getting, as trouble and vexation afterwards to performe it, whilst I was aboard, when we came to *Kingroad*, from the purloining and stealing of the Mariners, and Officers of the Ship. And so say no more but a truth, I dare thus much asseure, and iustifie, that there had bene in some other of her Maiesties ships the like regard for these goods that were gotten, and of the Prizes taken in this Louney, and as faithfully answered as were those, that I saw for all the crosses and errors, that had happened, it had fully returned to her Maiestie, the double value of all the Charges, she had bene at for this Voyage. But it was strange to see, what carelesse courses were held in all such actions, as were let out by the State, and what poore returns were made againe into the Exchequer. And therefore more strange, that the Prince could submit so often to set out, such changeable Voyages, without any manner of getting, more then to particular persons. For so lett it out before in the Indian Voyage, when *Sancto Domingo*, and *Cattagna* were taken, and sacked by Sir *Francis Drake*, and when *Cadix* in *Spain* was surprisid, and sacked by the *English* Armie, where was infinite wealth. But that of *Lisbona* in *Portugall*, undertaken by Sir *Iohn Norris*, where the *Suburbs* did so abound with Merchandise and Spicery, being wholly at the mercy and disposition of our Armie, was to be excused; for that our Ship kept no promise with him, in coming up the River, that should haue bene assisted the land Armie with Munition and Victuals, and also carried away those Spiceries and rich Merchandize: whereon the Sea-men were greatly wanting, and taxed by the generall voyce. But in this Voyage, wee all saw and knew, that there were besides *Brasill* men, three good Prizes taken that came from the *Huana*, very rich, and at the least to the value above said. Whereupon our Rear Admirall said vnto me in private, that although mee 40 should be little the better for these rich Prizes, yet he was heartily glad for our Generalls sake: because they would in good sort giue contentment to her Maiestie, so that there should bee no reeping against the poore Lord, for the expense of the Voyage. And for my better satisfaction in the value of them, I had caused mine owne Prisoner to giue me notice of the Ships, wherein our bad *Adventurers*, and according to the Rates thereof set downe vpon his owne knowledge: those three Ships could not be so little worth, as they all had formerly affirmed. Now if wee doe but looke into the dishonestie and preiudice of former Ages, and of the mightiest Empire, and best governed State that our was, wee shall plainly see, that they ever sought a more strict and iust account of the benefit of their getting and victuall. And that it was an especiall regard of the Roman Consuls, and Generalls, at their returne from a prosperous Warre, to render a plentifull gaine into the publike Treasurie, which made their State still able to submit in their great actions. And many times their greatest and worthiest Captaines were deeply cleft in question, for mis- 50 using any part of such gettings, as amongst others, was that famous *Scipio*, surnamed *Africanus*, preferred in that kinde by the *Petill*, notwithstanding hee many great seruices to the Common wealth, but what became of himselfe our getting, God knowes. Onely I beare, that there was a Compromise made afterwards with her Maiestie for the *Cochinella*, and other Merchandize, not to a third part of that it was worth. For neither that, nor yet any of the other riches, could truly come to light or publike knowledge, because they were neuer faithfully certified vnder the hands and testimonies of sufficient Officers, when they were first taken: nor any of that which was performed and sold when we came home, but onely to the Buyers advantage. And yet in Conclusion, they that had so played the wise Stewards, in so providing for themselves, and their followers, had all the grace and game, from those that had more carefully and 60 iustly intended the publike Service. But this generall neglect of truth and merit ought to be the world, is the cause, that so few doe apply to follow those sincere and vnprofitable courses: especially, seeing how many doe daily, by fraud and flattery, finde better and smoother wayes to Honours, wealth, and preferment: Even beyond all measure and expectation.

Note touching private gaires and publike losses in many Expeditions.

Remes politici.

The Conclusion of the Worke, with some later Advertisements touching His Maiesties Care for VIRGINIA.

WE haue now compassed the World in the Courses of so many Planets, euery of which had a peculiar wandering, and yet none erring from the publike benefit of the Vniuerse. And as in Geometricall compasses one foote is fixed in the Centre, whiles the other mooueth in the Circumference, so is it with *Parchas* and his Pilgrimes, in this Geographically compassing: they haue their owne motions, but ordered in this Circumference, from, for, and by him which abideth at home in his Centre, and neuer trauelled two hundred miles from *Tbastid* in *Effex* (lately adorned and augmented with Franchises by his Maiestie) where hee was borne. All their lines tend to this Centre, and this Centre to the Basis and Ground thereof, that is to his Countrey, to the honour and benefit whereof, he and all his are due. All Nations dance in this Round to doe the *English* service, and *English* Trauellers here enjoy the Mayne, others the By, to attend, and with their Trauels to perfect the *English*, at left the knowledge of the World to the *English*.

The Map of England.



Yea

Yea, in this *English* Centre also I haue chosen the Centre of that Centre, the Renowned Name of Queene *ELIZABETH*, to which, because Mortalitie hath deprived vs of Her Person, wee haue added that of King *JAMES*, the All that is left vs of Queene *ELIZABETH*, and more then that *All* in further perfection of Sexe and Arts. With those auspicious Names, as the faire Starres in the Constellations of both Poles, our Pilgrimes beganne their Progresse; by the Light of those two Eyes of Great *Brittaine*, they haue taken view of the World, and therefore heere wee end in our Pilgrimage with those two auspicious Names.

His Maiestie first (for *Brute*'s vncertaine) hath combined a Trinitie of Kingdomes into an Vnities, *Fecit eos in gentem vnam*, & made the Ocean the Wall to his Inheritance, hath rooted out the wonted barbarisme of Borderers of *Scottish* Fewds, of *English* Duells, of *Irish* Bogges; hath confirmed and settled those cruder and more indigested beginnings of our prosperitie; hath enjoyed soueraignie longer then euer did any of *Brittaines* Soueraignes (and still it will may we long long enjoy him) hath giuen so manifold securitie against the extreamest and most fatall rigor, both in number, weight and worth of Royall pledges.

The Map of Great Brittain and Ireland.



He is beyond comparison compared with others, a meere transcendent; beyond all his Predecessors, Princes of this Realme; beyond the neighbouring Princes of his own times, beyond the conceits of fables dazled with such brightness: Beyond our victorious *Deborah* not in sex alone, but as Peace is more excellent then War, and

Salomon

1.5em.10.

Salomon then David, in this also that He is, and we enjoy his present Sunshine; in regard of posteritie not only sowing thereto the fruit of his bodie, but of his learned mind, like a *Salomon* indeed by voluminous Writings, and not (which is more vsuall to Princes, with apophthegme-flashes, recorded by others like *Saul* sometime among the Prophets; a Miracle and Oracle both, this in polemical, political, problematicall, apocalyptical, positiue Theology, and Bookes of deuotion also; that, in that his Royall body hath had the honour not to be polluted with women; about men, about *Salomon*. And as wee haue trauelled abroad that we may bring forraine rarities home, we see find no greater raritie abroad or at home then his Maiestie, the Father of the Clergie, the raiser of so many Families to honour, and of honours to Families; whose bountie and clemencie none deny, (let others beware least they perhaps haue *enueyes, because he is good*) so honoured his Subiects with awfull loue, with louing awe, that himselfe hath professed no King herein his superiour: and we can, and all History will profess with vs, that *England* neuer enjoyed better daies then vnder her deceased Mother, and the present *Pater Patria*, who hath secured *Britaine* in peace and prosperitie, whiles all Christian Kingdomes haue beene shaken with warres: and that which alone hath escaped the Lions, hath bene bitten by the Adder, the *Spanish* Dominions being coasted, braued, spoiled of thousands of their people, besides wealth and security, by the basest of enemies, the *Algier* Pirates. Thus at home doth Great *Britaine* enjoy this Gem of Goodnes, the best part of the Ring of the worlds Greatnes: & abroad, wee see that as Gods Steward to others also, His Maiestie hath ballanced the neerer World by his prudence, by iustice of commerce visited the remoter, by trust fortitude without wrong to any man conquered the furthest North, and by iust temperance disposed the overflowing numbers of his Subiects, not in Intrusions and Inuasions of weaker Neighbours, but in the spacious *American* Regions, (some thinly, others not all inhabited) to breed New *Britaines* in another World. We haue giuen Voyages thorow this Booke, and being now returned home and fixed on so illustrious a Name, I meane to trauell no more, here I hang vpon my Pilgrims weeds; here I fix my *Tabernacle, it is good to bee here*: wee haue brought all the World to *England*, *England* it selfe to the greatest of her Soueraignes, King IAMES.

But yet the mention of his Maiesties Plantations, makes me gratefully mention his gracious care of the same, even since the former *Virginian* Relations were printed. I then left *Virginia* with some griefe and sorrow, because of her distracted Children and Fathers, the diuisions and mutuall distastes of the Company here and Planters there, sighing to God for them, who hath put in his Maiesties heart to compassionate these his Subiects, and hauing appointed the Government to be according to a Commission in that Case directed, hath ro further *Virginias* gaine bene content to suffer the losse of many thousands yearly in his Royall Customes arising out of Tobacco (so I haue heard deliuered in open Court) that so only that of the New Plantations may bee vendible till the Colonie may recover greater strength.

His Maiestie is also pleased to send a Running Armie of Souldiers to scoure the Country of the vnneighbourly malicious Naturalls; and to secure the planters from their priuie ambushments. For openly they dare not attempt, but lurking in secret places attend aduantages. I feare not but so bright a Sunshine will quickly produce blessed effects.

Of their vndertakers for three yeeres Tobacco, I list not to speake, because I wish, and euen from that vndertaking, shortly expect better commodities from thence then Tobacco. I cannot but magnifie His Maiesties care, and manifest that also of the Honorable Lords of the Councel, who after diligent search of *Virginian* Affaires the last yeere 1622. appointed Capitaine *John Harvey*, Master *John Pory*, Master *Abraham Persey*, Master *Samuel Matthews* to search further into the diseases and possible remedies of that plantation. In *Februrie* and *March* last a generall

rall Assembly was summoned, and questions propounded to Sir *Francis Wias* Governour and the said Assembly: First, what places in the Countrey were best and most proper to be fortified or maintayned both against *Indians* or other Enemies. Secondly, concerning the present state of the Colonie in reference to the Sauages. Thirdly, touching the hopes really to be conceived of the Plantation, and fourthly touching the Meanes thereunto, &c. Their answer I know not whether I may publish in other things; In this one I presume, for better confirmation of what hath bene said before to incite and confirme Mens affections to *Virginia*; namely their answer to the third, subscribed (as the rest) by about thirty chief mens hands. We hold it to be one of the goodliest parts of the Earth, abounding with Navigable rivers full of varietie of Fish and Fowle; falling from high and steepe Mountaines, which by generall relation of the *Indians* are rich with Mines of Gold, Siluer, and Copper: another Sea lying within fixe dayes journey beyond them, into which other Riuers descend. The soile fruitfull and apt to produce the best sorts of commodities, replenished with many Trees for severall vses, Gums, Dyes, Earths and Simples of admirable vertues; Vines and Mulberry Trees growing wild in great quantities; the Woods full of Deare, Turkeys, and other Beasts and Birds. Sir *Thomas Gates* and Sir *Thomas Dales* reports to the Company, concerning those praises were in no part hyperbolicall, nor any Countrey more worthy of a Princes care and supportance. Other reports concerning the healthfulness of the aire (especially where the ground is cleered of woods) and other needfull prouisions of the plantation in numbers of Men and Armes (which some had hyperbolically disgraced) and in all other necessities, seeing the late massacre hath not permitted it better, I am glad & reioyce that it is no worse, and hope and pray for the fortunate increase thereof daily. I reioyce also to heare (by one lately returned thence, Master *Morell* a Minister and man of credit) that the affaires of *New England* are thriving and hopefull, which two Colonies of *Virginia* and *New England* (with all their Neighbours) God make as *Rachel* and *Leah*, which two did build the house of *Israel*, that they may multiply into thousands, and there enlarge the *Israel* of God, and the Churches Catholike confines, doing worthily in *America*, and being famous in Great *Britaine*. These, with the rest of his Maiesties Dominions, and his neereit and deereit possession, Prince *Charles* his Highnesse, the Count *Palatine*, the Lady *Elizabeth* (more shining, more pure in her fiery trials, and like the pressed palme, and her Royall Godmother, spreading her boughes the more by greater weight) with the sweet and princely Fruits of her wombe, still multiplied (like the *Israelites* vnder the Crosse) God preserve and prosper vnto the Maiesty of our Dread Soueraigne, the mighty Defender of the True Faith,

KING IAMES;

Amen O AMEN.

The end of the tenth Booke.

FINIS.

There is reported also of an English Colony left by C. North in Guiana full containing.

Ruth A. 22.



AN ALPHABETICALL TABLE OF THE PRINCIPALL

things contained in the five Bookes of the fourth

Part of Purchas his Pilgrimes.

A

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